NAIN'S SILENCED MAJORITY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF SCHOOLING IN NORTHERN LABRADOR

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Nain's Silenced Majority:
An Anthropological Examination of Schooling in Northern Labrador

by

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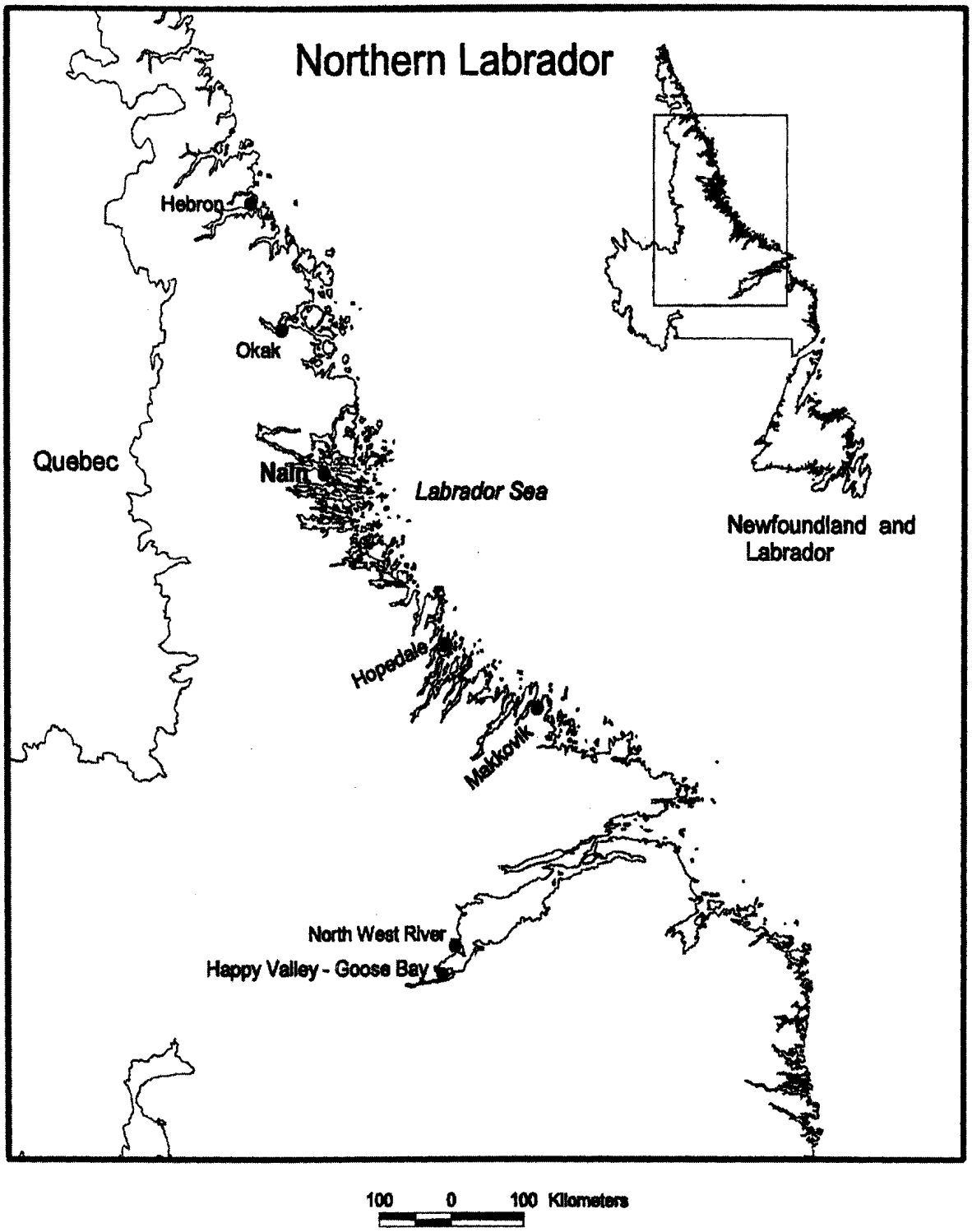
Abstract

In our society *difference* is the antecedent of *division.* That formula has underpinned the provincial government's approach to governing northern Labrador and, ultimately, forms the ideological foundation of its schools. My intent here is to illustrate that the severe problems of schooling in Nain are not the consequence of administrators,' educators,' parents,' or students,' lack of character or initiative; but rather, this research sets out to reveal the opposite. That is, as all things Inuit in Nain are either undermined or subsumed by the state and the language of power, English, this constructed reality is profoundly translated into the classrooms and local people's subjectivities. Schooling then, its legacy and contemporary reality, is contextually and historically examined to provide the greatest insight into the profound systemic inequality that continues to underpin life in Nain, Labrador.



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Acknowledgments

We anthropologists...leave behind our own trail of longings, desires, and unfulfilled expectations in those upon whom we descend (Behar 1996: 25).

I have struggled with the topics raised in this thesis for years. The generous words and insights trustingly shared by local people have turned over in my mind since my return from Nain. How could I possibly make sense of your reality? It took tremendous personal growth to finally try. My fieldwork indelibly changed my life and I am forever grateful to you all. The graciousness and hospitality that was poured out to my small family was heartwarming. Living in Nain put faces and names on people I had only read about; your presence will be with me forevermore. Nakummek.

Fran Williams not only arranged our accommodations through the OkalaKatiget Society, she also provided me with unwarranted warmth and understanding. The administration and faculty of Jens Haven Memorial graciously shared their thoughts and classrooms with me, without which I could not have pieced the entire 'story' together. I am also grateful to 'Frank' the boat's skipper for including us on the trip to Okak, I will never forget your generosity and wisdom. Stan Nochasak played an important role in the conceptualization of Chapter 4.

I am grateful for the assistance and support given to me by the Department of Anthropology, Memorial University of Newfoundland. Rex Clark helped locate my theoretical 'footing' within hegemony; Robert Paine listened patiently to my sometimes outlandish ideas; Adrian Tanner, my first thesis supervisor, was most helpful during fieldwork; and Marilyn Marshall was always up for a chat despite her busy schedule. Sharon Roseman also provided me with a strong foundation that was fundamentally useful in the field. But it was later, during the darkest days of my life, that Sharon's tremendous compassion surfaced. We met a few times over lunch and those conversations were instrumental in pulling me back into this project and ultimately, into Anthropology. Sharon humbly underestimates her influence on my life, but I do not. Thank you Sharon.

Dr. Ralph Pastore was my favourite and most influential professor during my undergraduate career. He treated students as his equal and in return received our respect. I was most fortunate to attend several of Dr. Pastore's courses and his knowledge forms the foundation of my grasp and appreciation of ethnohistory. He will be remembered as a true teacher, scholar and caring human being.

Hannah Drown has been an important part of my life from the outset. We started the Master's program together as colleagues but quickly became confidantes. We sent one another postcards during fieldwork, giggled during presentations and have remained close

ever since. Hannah continues to inspire, challenge and support everyone around her; I am most fortunate to be her friend.

Dr. Hans Rollmann has greatly contributed to my knowledge of the Moravians. He has single-handedly furnished the QEII library at Memorial University with data directly from the Moravian headquarters in Herrnhut, Germany and has offered immeasurable insight and assistance in the compilation of Chapter 2. Dr. Rollmann has been most gracious to me both as a struggling graduate student and as a person. Thank you Dr. Rollmann.

John Kennedy, my final supervisor, agreed to supervise this project despite his hectic schedule. He truly is *the* Labrador expert in terms of scholarship and I have hugely benefitted from his expertise. John's dedication to the people of Labrador is exemplary and his emphasis on the importance of fieldwork stems from that loyalty. John, to his credit, never gave up on me even though it took several years to 'get my act together' and write. He told me once that I owed the completion of this project firstly, to the people of Nain, secondly, to myself and thirdly, to the Department of Anthropology. In that order. He was right and his words have pushed me through to the end. Thank you John.

Louis Chiaramonte has been my mentor and friend for nearly a decade. His intelligence has challenged me from the beginning; his intuition still amazes me; and his humanity is unparalleled. Louis has been a constant source of comfort, guidance and encouragement both academically and spiritually. We have cried and laughed together but above everything else, he has always been there for me. Louis told me once that anthropology was in my heart; he was right, but it took a true anthropologist to see that. Thank you Louis.

Don Yetman has been a tremendous support during my university career which has enriched our daughter's life. Sarah, my daughter, has had to cope with research papers, exams, mid-terms, fieldwork, unjustified grouchiness and thesis writing; there is a great deal of frustration in having a full-time graduate student for a mother. I owe her everything. My extended family has been supportive during my university career even though my mother privately questions why I am still in school; yes Mom, this will lead to a *real* job. Someday.

I wish to thank all of you, for your support and understanding over the past few years. Though there were dark times, we lost a beautiful family member: Ronnie. I love you and miss you. She would have been thrilled that I have finally finished! I am most grateful to the many people that have helped and encouraged me both in graduate school and in my life.

The Anthropology Department provided a generous two year fellowship that enabled me to attend this program. I would also like to thank the J.R. Smallwood Foundation and the Northern Scientific Training Program for funding my three months of fieldwork. This project would have been an entirely different one without their assistance.

As a graduate student I have come alive. I see the world in ways that I could not have imagined otherwise. Only a decade ago I was a high school drop-out with few prospects and many insecurities. After my daughter was born I decided to go back to school and, eventually, discovered a penchant for learning. Getting an education has been a hugely rewarding but difficult path; I would not trade a moment of it. I know how difficult it is to live in this society without a formal education, and for that reason, this project is dedicated to the children, teenagers, adults, and communities who have been cheated and left behind by schooling.

We believe, and we know it is the belief of the Government of Newfoundland, that Labrador will never really belong to Newfoundland until it is populated by Newfoundlanders (Labrador East Integrated School Board 1971: 14).

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Chapter 1
The Power of Ideas

> The silent effects of the past are what makes up the problems of the present. The alcohol makes it easier for residents of Nain to carry hurt and pain from the past, at the same time it creates equal amount[s] of hurt and pain. The community of Nain is tired of being treated by outside society, government and all authorities as though they are ignorant and incapable of taking care of their own lives (Ulapitsaijet 2000: Appendix D).

From 1999 to 2000 Nain lost ten local people under the age of 20 to suicide. Each death resonated deeply within the community of 1159.[1] Yet as the majority of Nain's residents are Labrador Inuit, the reaction outside its borders was markedly different as Newfoundlanders, Labradorians, and Canadians were baffled by news of yet more tragedies plaguing an indigenous community. Though theories abound as to why such devastating social problems underpin Canada's Aboriginal communities, the questions are framed differently within Nain as local people know better than anyone from where their oppression flows. Rather, local people searched for ways to counter that reality as they continued to "want more than anything to share, care and help each other" (Ulapitsaijet 2000: Appendix D): it is within that desperate yet hopeful context that this thesis was researched and written.

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(Statistics Canada 2001). News of the deaths were broadcast by Canada's major media. Shortly thereafter the Labrador Inuit Health Commission (LIHC) established the Crisis Response Team to come to the aid of any community member in need of assistance. That could assume the form of meals, counseling or visits (Labradorimuit 2002). The Ulapitsaijet, a group of respected local people sponsored by the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA)and LIHC, was formed in the Spring of 2000 to gather Nain's residents' perceptions of their community's social problems.

1.1. The Power of Ideas

The power of ideas and their effect on change reverberate throughout this thesis. When groups come together with differing notions about the way things are or should be, those with the most power win. In the case of Nain, coastal Labrador's most northerly and populated Inuit community, local people's 'education' within such a reality has emerged both during their two hundred year schooling experience and in their position within forces of domination. Though the minoritization of local people's values, beliefs, practices and language took time, my focus radiates outward to reveal that such entanglements were fundamentally rooted in policies that shaped Nain into the oppressive entity that local people yearned to escape from in 1999.

1.1.1. Schooling and Education

> Schooling helps legitimize and is in turn legitimized by the social forms in which it is embedded. It legitimizes these forms through the 'myth' of objective knowledge and meritocracy - the idea that individuals are members of social classes because of their own performances (or lack of them) in situations that could lend to social mobility. Formal education is seen as a means to mobility and the failure to perform well in this social medium is viewed as individual and not social failure (Fife 1991: 67).

In this sense schooling and education are representative of two distinct social processes. The former signifies the formal transmission of ideas within an academic setting whereby information is regulated, codified and supported by a hierarchical administration. Education points to the larger processes of socialization and enculturation as it assumes many forms as an ever-developing entity delivering and shaping "culturally appropriate" ideas transmitted among and between families, communities and societies (Fife 1991:30-

31).[2] In this context, the community of Nain's schooling experiences have revolved around the Moravians and the Newfoundland provincial government in differing ways and at differing times, which have in turn shaped but not subsumed local people's education. Still, it is the concept of schooling as institution that has often been held responsible for perpetuating inequality in Nain.

1.1.2. Schooling in northern Labrador: A Literature Review

Labrador schooling has been the focus of several academic studies. The first was Brigitte Schloss' (1964) "The Development of Nain - School 1771-1963" where the community's two century history of formal schooling was considered. While Schloss, a Moravian teacher herself, provided important insights into the Moravians' role as educators within that period, it was a one-sided perspective; Labrador Inuit were not presented as active agents in the process.[3] Then a decade later a report from the Royal Commission on Labrador included an examination of schooling with a section devoted to the scholastic needs of northern coastal students. The report offered several recommendations aimed at preserving local culture and language by training local residents as teachers, introducing language and other Inuit cultural programs in the early grades (1974: Vol. 6). Those points were reiterated by another Royal Commission on Education (RCE) entitled *Our Education*

2

This is a crucial reference point for the Anthropology of Education.

3

To be fair the general consensus among historical treatments of indigenous peoples during that era was to present the latter in passive terms.

Our Future (1992) in its chapter devoted to Aboriginal schooling in the province. Where this analysis differed from its predecessor was in the influence of the increased national concern for schooling raised by organizations representing Aboriginal peoples, for example the LIA (the Labrador Inuit Association). The Commission's recommendations called for alternative curricula to bridge the gap between the local culture, curriculum, teachers, and Aboriginal peoples' increased role in the enterprise (RCE 1992: 296).

Anne Brantenberg researched Nain schooling between 1969-1971. Her article, "The Marginal School and the Children of Nain" (1977), discussed the problematic nature of schooling as a purveyor of beliefs, values and behaviours that were in opposition to the socialization Inuit and Settler received at home. The author addressed the consequent struggles and conflicts that arose between Inuit and Settler children and the unequal treatment they experienced, first by the Moravians then later by the provincial government. In both cases children were distinguished linguistically and ethnically from each other and these practices were translated into schooling. Though Brantenberg wrongly concluded that "the school was never an integral part of the community," as Chapter 2 argues; she rightly attested the failure of the contemporary school system's misguided aim to socialize young people for "careers" and "lifestyles" that were neither "available" nor desirable to local people (356).

By the 1970s schooling in northern Labrador was increasingly politicized. The LIA held two Education Conferences (1977 and 1987) to provide a forum for local people to voice their concerns about schooling that were compiled into reports. For example, young

people's lack of success was discussed by several Inuit elders as the result of language and content incompatibility within the curriculum. Those issues were understood to be compounded by too few local teachers and a lack of control of the school system. Another conference was held in 1987, in this case local teachers and student teachers gathered to discuss ways to improve training and encourage more local people to enter the profession.[4]

In Patrick Flanagan's (1984) *Schooling, Souls and Social Class: The Labrador Inuit*, Nain students' overall poor scholastic performance and high drop-out rates were positioned within a historical, political and social context. As fieldwork was conducted in 1979 Nain's class structure was deepening, Hebron and Nutak Inuit were resettled for only one generation, the white population was extremely outnumbered and educational attainment was out of Nain students' reach, Flanagan concluded:

> It is clear that in order to understand the full range of factors affecting the outcome of one's educational career, we need to consider the historical as well as contemporary conditions which together form the context for the daily lives of parents and students. These same factors play a role in determining one's relative class position in the community, a 'status' which follows - or more likely precedes - the grade 1 student to the school. This status is reinforced in school, despite the efforts of well-intentioned teachers and administrators to help students overcome the disadvantage...they face. When too many of these children fail, the educational institution [is blamed] for accomplishing that which the educational system - and society in general - demand that it do: to teach these lower class children failure (168-169).

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See (LIA Education Conferences 1977; 1987; and Newfoundland and Labrador Native Teacher Training Conference 1987). The results of such increased political concern brought about for example, the primary grade Inuktitut stream, the TEPL (Teacher Education Program of Labrador) and the Curriculum Centre - whereby its "main objective" was to "produce a combination of print and visual materials in Inuktitut to support programmes that are already in schools where Inuktitut is taught" (Watts, Annual Report of the LEISB 1981: 31-32). The implications of these initiatives are discussed in Chapter 4.

Much of Flanagan's predictions, as we shall see, were realized one generation later during my fieldwork in 1999.

A more recent study of Nain schooling was Barry Flynn's 1996 Master of Education thesis. Flynn centred on the administrative structure of the school and argued that the present system was "failing to meet the needs of Labrador Inuit" (1996:i). Most relevant here was Flynn's treatment of the divergent expectations of schooling held by administrators, teachers, and the community of Nain (1996: 63). Though the community was depicted as a homogenous entity quite separate from teachers and administrators, Flynn concluded that Nain residents were deeply concerned about schooling, yet perceived "the system as much less effective and valuable" due to its cultural incongruities with the local setting (ibid.).

The previous studies were instrumental to this research as elements of each helped create its foundation. For example, Schloss' historical overview provided the impetus to locate the Labrador Inuit schooling experience historically; the Royal Commission reports suggested the contemporary school system needed further analysis; local peoples' heartfelt testimony at the conferences demanded the issue be revisited; Brantenberg's study pointed to blatant discrimination disseminated both before and after Confederation in addition to the notion of a pronounced shift in the purpose of schooling; Flanagan presented an analysis of schooling as a constructed entity stratified by an oppressive class system that was shaped and maintained by government policies and procedures; and Flynn emphasized the deep divisions between teachers, administrators and the community of Nain. My research has greatly benefited from these ideas and uses them as a springboard to examine the reality of schooling

in Nain, 1999 which begins with a discussion of Nain's demographics.[5]

1.1.3. Nain's Demographic Reality[6]

While Nain shares several similarities with the Province's overall population the differences are significant. For example, in 2001 Nain's population rose a dramatic 16% in five years; that significantly differed from the overall provincial decline of almost 1%. The median age in Nain was 24 in contrast to 38 province-wide; and 51% of Nain's population fell under the age of 25 whereas 56% of the Province's population rested between 25 and 64. Moreover, the community of Nain housed 12 persons per square kilometre in contrast to the Province's average of 1.4/km². While Nain's population compared favourably with the Province's figures in several education outcomes, the greatest disparity rested with 37% of Nain's males aged 20-34 that lacked a high school diploma. That was 11% higher than their provincial counterparts and, as 27% of was constituted by 25-44 year olds, transpired into a significantly undereducated. Nain also had a 32% unemployment rate in 2001 which was considerably higher than the provincial average of 22%. In terms of language in the workplace, English was the clear winner: 90% of all employment used English; followed

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This chapter could have been written/presented in various ways. For example, it could focus on the English/Inuktitut dichotomy, or I could have assumed a more distant traditional stance. However, my decision to frame this fieldwork within a reflexive model is, in my view, the most accurate and genuine portrayal of this research.

6

The following demographics are taken from Canada Census 2001 as they were recently released and provide the most accurate figures for the fieldwork period (http:www12. statcan.ca/english/profil01/ Details/ details1.cfm?SEARCH=BEGINS&ID=224...). I have struggled with the wisdom of including such information in this thesis; as data of Nain's social problems could fuel longstanding stereotypes of the region and its people. However, as this research frequently refers to Nain's social problems a brief discussion of the most obvious issues facing the community is necessary.

by 7% Inuktitut; and only 4% bilingual. Furthermore, while 28% of Nain's families were headed by single parents, 20% of them were female earning an average of $4000 less than their provincial counterparts ($15,872 and $19,908 respectively). What does all of this mean for a community of 1200 that claims to have 91% Aboriginal ancestry?[7] In 1999 it meant extreme poverty, overcrowded housing, an undereducated majority and chronic unemployment; yet it was business as usual for the youngest generations of Nain's residents as they headed to Jens Haven Memorial to begin yet another school year.[8]

1.2. Fieldwork 1999

The scope of this thesis has been revised numerous times over the years. Initially it was envisioned as an historical research project to be conducted entirely in the library. Thankfully my supervisor John Kennedy suggested I blend that approach with fieldwork.[9] I was at first reluctant to undertake fieldwork for many reasons but interfering in local people's lives was paramount. In time I realized that was a cowardly view as Nain's local people from yesterday remain connected to the people of today. Thus, I decided an historical

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See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the politics of Aboriginality in Nain as an overwhelming number of northern Labrador's residents have relatively recently claimed to have an Aboriginal identity.

8

During the 1999-2000 school year, 405 students attended Jens Haven Memorial, Nain's only school; 119 were enrolled in the K-3 programs and constituted 29% of the total school population. That also meant 35% of Nain's entire population was of school-age (Education Statistics - Table 16 - Labrador School District 1999-2000).

9

This research approach is aptly explained in Kennedy (1995): "In short, I advocate combining field *and* archival research methods. This method gathers a wider range of data than is possible when only one methodology is used..." (viii. Original emphasis).

examination of schooling would enrich an analysis of the contemporary situation in Nain. Still, as we shall see, the focus was again altered but this time in the field. That was entirely due to the influence and generosity of local people who were instrumental in broadening my approach that would otherwise have been severely lacking in perspective and relevance.

1.2.1. Original Research Agenda

During my examination of the previously named studies my focus became gradually centred on the community of Nain, as schooling appeared to be a highly contested issue. There, parents could choose to either enrol their children in an Inuktitut or English stream from kindergarten to grade three where the former was taught by local student teachers and the latter by non-native university educated teachers. The main research objective was to explore why parents chose either program and then examine the implications in the classroom. As fieldwork was restricted to only three months, an in-depth analysis of only one grade was possible; I chose to focus on the second-grade as my daughter, Sarah, would be enrolled in the English stream. Therefore, I proposed to contrast the interactions between second-grade students and their teachers in both the English and Inuktitut classrooms through participant observation, I also planned to interview their parents.

Fieldwork requires several layers of approval from the university, funding agencies, and the community to be researched. That meant I was required to compose and submit a research proposal to all relevant parties. With secured approval from the Anthropology Department, Ethic's Committee, funding agencies, LIA and Labrador School Board, I booked and paid for our flights to Nain and made arrangements to rent a house. Though this

process took months of communication with various departments and agencies, the LIA refused to support the project just two weeks before our departure. I was told the School Council, an organization I was hitherto unaware of, would not convene until the end of September and my admittance to the school was therefore rejected until further notice. Nonetheless, we arrived in Nain as scheduled trusting the desired approval would in the end be secured.

Though I was unable to enter the school as a researcher I was welcomed as a parent as Sarah was enrolled in the second-grade English program. During the first two weeks in Nain I walked my daughter to and from school, attended the opening assembly, waited for her in the hallways, talked to teachers, observed children on school grounds, answered questions about our stay in Nain, all the while feeling frustrated because my primary research goals were stalled. During that time I met with the principal and members of the School Council in a vain attempt to begin research. However, once the School Council met and reviewed my proposal, to my surprise, they rejected it. Their two-page report listed countless inadequacies in my proposed research and I was given one week to prepare an appeal.

On the evening of the School Council meeting I frantically struggled for the right words. I needed to persuade its members of the importance of this project and of the urgency to begin research in the Inuktitut and English stream classrooms. Then just one hour before the meeting it hit me: this project was supposed to reflect what mattered to the residents of Nain, not to me or the university or anyone else. After more thought I went to the School

Council meeting and withdrew my proposal. Teachers, parents and the principal listened patiently as I explained the basis of my mistaken assumptions and in the end they forgave me.[10] Thus, from that point on fieldwork assumed a direction that was guided not by my interests or the university's, but rather by the issues that mattered to the community.

1.2.2. Freefall: A Grounded Methodology[11]

Glasser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory was the most useful theoretical guidepost for fieldwork. Their model defines qualitative research as a process of discovery that is loosely guided by a general framework; in this sense researchers come to recognize the complexities of the field as they emerge and are subsequently pursued as avenues of inquiry. In my case schooling continued to be the focus of fieldwork, however, the original approach and direction were consequently altered.[12] Still, initiating a project devoid of structure was daunting as I was an unknown entity in Nain. That meant I necessarily relied

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Though my proposed observations in the English and Inuktitut classes were no longer viable, I was permitted to interview teachers and analyze the second-grade classrooms after regular school hours.

11

The archival aspect of research both preceded and followed fieldwork. Prior to fieldwork I researched a portion of the Moravian material in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS) at Queen Elizabeth II (QEII), Memorial University. Upon my return to St. John's, however, Dr. Hans Rollmann provided an invaluable compilation of all educational related entries in the *Periodical Accounts* held by the CNS. He also translated several original documents from German while generously imparting some of his tremendous insight into the Moravians' presence in northern Labrador. Dr. Rollmann's contribution to this project is immeasurable. Research material for Chapter 3 was similarly compiled at the CNS and the QEII post-fieldwork as my experience in the field exposed significant gaps in my knowledge of northern Labrador.

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My original research plan entailed observing the second-grade English and Inuktitut classes for two week intervals, then later interviewing local parents once they were comfortable with my presence in the community.

on my identity/status to gain entry into various spheres as, for example, the school was opened to me as a parent and researcher; the white middle class outsider elite received me as a peer; and local children interacted with me as a neighbour/parent. Yet as we shall see, in time doors that were at first opened soon closed and the reverse was also true as I delved deeper into Nain's complexities.

On September 7, 1999 I arrived in Nain with my seven year-old daughter Sarah.[13] We settled into a two bedroom house that would be our home for the next three months. It was located on the western side of town on a residential street, on the edge of a berry patch next to a popular trail that led to a succession of lakes and hills. As the school, post office, stores, medical clinic, and other facilities were located at the centre of town, it took at least ten minutes to walk to most destinations. As school began the day after our arrival my routines were immediately established; that meant my days consisted of walking Sarah to school, walking to stores and the post office, returning home to write notes then repeating the exercise at lunch time, and again after school.[14]

Consequently, the school was the first sphere I was sanctioned to visit regularly in the earliest days and weeks of fieldwork. Much of my time was spent in the

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Though thesis fieldwork at Memorial University often are conducted in the summer, this research centred on schooling and necessarily began one day before it opened for the year.

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The school was closed everyday at noon as all students were required to leave the premises then return for classes at 1:10 p.m. My daughter often finished for the day an hour later as she was considered to be an "advanced" student that required little after-school tutoring that commenced from 2:15 to approximately 3:15 or 3:30, at which time the school was officially closed (see Chapter 4).

primary/elementary hallway waiting for Sarah to begin classes, go home for lunch, or finish the school day. It soon became clear that I was observing interactions between students and teachers and I began to spend more time there. I would sit or stand in the corridor between classes listening to teachers' and students' comments, actions and interactions, then return home to record my observations. My increased presence in the school also helped establish rapport with the second-grade English stream teacher, who proved to be the most accessible non-Native teacher during fieldwork. She consented to one formal interview and several conversations that initially revolved around my daughter but led to broader issues of schooling in Nain.[15]

That was facilitated by an open-ended interview style centring around the Inuktitut and English stream programs. Though the teacher was forthcoming with her views it soon became obvious that our ensuing discussions generated far more insight than my initial queries. That was true for every interview conducted during fieldwork as informants politely answered questions then turned to more pressing issues. Such discussions required little prompting or clarification as some interviews lasted hours and others only minutes; a few were taped but most informants were comfortable with my note taking. It was during that period that I developed a heightened awareness of what people said and did not say, interpreted body language, uncovered agendas and gained insight into various perspectives.

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As my daughter Sarah attended the second-grade English stream, her teacher was receptive to me at first as a parent then later as a researcher. She generously opened her classroom for analysis and offered insight into the class' operations; Chapter 4 discusses those findings in more detail.

However, I was also aware that at that time the project was narrowly defined by my limited acceptance into the community.

The first people to openly accept my presence in Nain belonged to its white/outsider middle class elite. They were generally RCMP officers; university educated teachers and administrators; store managers; and civil servants that occupied various levels of government.[16] As they were open to the notion of research in the schooling arena their perspectives formed an important layer of fieldwork (see Chapter 4). Still, I became increasingly aware that the more time I spent at the school and in the company of Nain's elite, the more unapproachable I was to local people. That meant my actions as well as the markers of my identity were not only confining research, but my status as a white researcher/outsider was distancing an integral component of Nain's population: its majority.

Local children changed that as they pulled this project out of the school and placed it squarely within the community. As newcomers to Nain we inspired great curiosity as children of all ages openly questioned our presence. They would surround us in front of the school, crowd around us during our walks through town and even converged at our house. Gradually news of our presence spread as children who were unrecognizable to us were aware of our purpose in Nain. Meanwhile, several local children befriended both Sarah and me as neighbours, classmates, and their siblings, regularly visited us after school and on

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This is a rough generalization of the people I first encountered in Nain. I do not claim that every RCMP officer, teacher, nurse or government worker, for example, expressed interest in my presence or this project. Rather, those who were the first to approach me during fieldwork were representative of this distinct social class.

weekends. Some slept over, joined us on hikes, went skating, played games in or near our house, accompanied us at a community dance, walked with us to and from school, and talked about their lives. Consequently, local children played a dominant role in this research which ironically unfolded outside the schooling context.[17]

In time local people were similarly more obvious about their interest in our presence. After a few weeks of daily walks around town, store clerks that were usually distant mentioned they had seen me "around." Local teachers commented that they knew my daughter from school, and many local people acknowledged me in stores, at the post office and on the streets. My interview on the local radio station was also helpful as it broadcast the purpose of my research, and by the second month of fieldwork I was known to most of the community. Still, as a white middle class researcher it was understood that I would join the ranks of my middle class peers and so would my daughter. Though Sarah's friendships with local children did not undermine her relations with middle-class children, my association with local people did; for example, the invitation to join a Friday evening get-together with RCMP officers, their wives, teachers and store managers, never materialized as news of my friendship with an unpopular informant spread.[18]

That marked a significant shift in fieldwork as several local people took me into their

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Children were not regarded as informants and were therefore not formally interviewed during fieldwork; their contributions to this research were manifested as a group in order to protect their identities.

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Chapter 5 discusses this in more detail.

confidence. Local parents spoke openly of the Inuktitut/English streams as their children were directly affected by the programs, they discussed their impressions of Nain's social problems and revealed great concern for their children's and community's future. I was invited into many local people's homes to look at photographs, share memories and contemplated their perceptions of schooling, which gave rise to many pertinent issues from the past and present that involved their families and community. It was during that process that I not only gained several informants' trust but fortunately established several friendships.

Yet such an approach to fieldwork was at times personally difficult. I often felt as though I was blindly following avenues of inquiry that unavoidably created tensions with my identity as a mother, woman and researcher. I sometimes tried to "turn off" fieldwork and simply parent my daughter but that proved impossible as our lives were deeply enmeshed within Nain; ironically that gave rise to an avenue of inquiry that I would have otherwise missed. Sarah and I joined a week-long boat trip to Okak that not only revolved around discussions of schooling, but the skipper became one of my most trusted informants. It was during that trip that an essential layer in the lives of local people was uncovered: their unwavering connection to the land. That was the high-point of research as it permanently pushed fieldwork beyond the limits of schooling and into the realm of education.

1.3. Summary of Chapters

This thesis covers a range of issues surrounding the notion of schooling in Nain. The following six chapters demonstrate that the contemporary problems facing Nain's Jens

Haven Memorial and the wider community in 1999, were rooted in the systemic inequality that was created and maintained by long-standing government policies. Most importantly, the extreme material poverty and oppression that has historically and contemporarily targeted Labrador Inuit was not and is not the result of any individual's or groups' actions or intentions. Rather it is far more insidious as the ideas supporting the structure of Nain itself was built on a foundation designed to reward the few and subjugate the many.

Chapter 2 historically situates the importance of schooling and literacy within the hearts and minds of Labrador Inuit. Though the Moravian missionaries established schools in the northern coastal settlements to encourage Christianity and facilitate conversion, Labrador Inuit intrinsically valued reading, writing and actively pursued the Moravians as educators from the outset. That was most pronounced during 1781-1839 as Labrador Inuit were economically independent, yet they incorporated literacy and schooling into their socialization practices one generation after its inception. Later, Labrador Inuit orchestrated a trading network whereby Inuktitut books were supplied to Inuit living away from the Mission as literacy and schooling were extremely important to people all over the region. Though Labrador Inuit social and economic structure changed dramatically between 1840-1949, literacy and schooling continued to be important to local people and it remained within a more or less reciprocal model with the Moravians as educators.

Chapter 3 establishes the ideas underpinning the policies of governance and schooling in northern Labrador. First the Newfoundland government's relinquished control of the region to the Moravian Mission is explained, followed by a description of the latter's

missionizing approach. Subsequently, government's attempt to dominate Newfoundland's school system by undermining the Church's role for over a century is contrasted with its presence in northern Labrador. Where the provincial government condemned the Church's influence in the Island's schools, it paradoxically valorized the Moravians as educators in northern Labrador. Government's reluctant role in northern Labrador was underpinned by the ideas of modernization and equality that propelled the post-Confederate government to raise Newfoundlanders to the level of their Canadian counterparts. That was not the case in northern Labrador, however, as policy-makers in St. John's were preoccupied by the perceived 'Labrador Problem,' or most specifically, 'Eskimo Problem.' That meant government *wanted* the Moravians to remain in northern Labrador as educators, yet its policies of modernization and equality unintentionally drove them out one generation after Confederation. Once the provincial government took charge of the region's school system the greatest changes ever to be effected in northern Labrador's two hundred year history of schooling were realized; as policies designed to assimilate were implemented.

Chapter 4 examines the result of those policies in 1999 as fractures were deeply wedged between the school and community. Administrators and non-Native teachers were frustrated by students' lack of interest and success in schooling which was compounded by their parents' absence in the enterprise. Conversely, local people envisioned the brown brick building as a fortress that was inaccessible to them and therefore avoided; yet paradoxically local people continued to value the notion of schooling as an avenue for economic prosperity. While various criticisms are offered of the Inuktitut primary stream program, I

analyse Jens Haven Memorial's second-grade English stream classroom to illustrate the school system's failure to support local children. That is, most specifically, Inuit children who were just seven and eight years old were already facing inordinate obstacles in schooling despite their enrollment in the mainstream English program.

. Chapter 5 explores the centrality of the land within local people's hearts and minds. It is envisioned both as an escape from the turmoil of life in Nain and an entity connecting local people to their past and present. Still, the numerous barriers that exemplified life in Nain often prevented local people from physically leaving its borders, which often engendered a metaphorical escape. The land also provided their only historical and cultural link to their Aboriginal identity that was not only incompatible in Nain but suppressed and avoided. The land was then an essential aspect of local people's subjectivity as their powerlessness within the community could be overcome while in its presence either literally or figuratively. The danger for local people, then, rested in the severance of that link as hopelessness was sure to follow.

Chapter 6 provides a theoretical framework to understand the emergence and continuation of systemic inequality in Nain. The concept of hegemony forms the analytical foundation for the notions of linguistic domination and hegemonic fields that are illustrated respectively in two case studies. First, Kembo-Sure (1998) argues that the emergence of Kenya's state was facilitated through the legitimization of an abstract language, English, then instituted in the school system to maintain the powerful elite's national dominance. However, Kembo-Sure describes the process as incomplete as the majority of Kenyans

associated the English dominated spheres as separate entities from what truly mattered in their lives. Secondly, Gordillo's (2002) analysis of the Toba of the Argentinean Chaco demonstrates the effect of historical and contemporary processes of domination on the indigenous group's identity, social structure and relationship with the land. Both studies provide fertile ground to illuminate the roots of poverty, oppression and domination in Nain.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis with a discussion of a potential schooling model for Jens Haven Memorial. Invitational education would include the entire community in the process of schooling. Though Nain has become entrenched within a power structure not all its own, and the majority of residents have disengaged themselves from schooling, such a reality was built on the power of ideas. That means transforming the notion of schooling within everyone's minds can begin the process of dismantling such a reality. The school is a logical arena for that to unfold as everyone in Nain, regardless of social position, is unified in their interest to work quietly and effectively toward change, to ultimately mend the faltering relationships between all of Nain's residents. But it is not simply a matter of will among the poor and unemployed, or a question of commitment among educators and students; rather everyone must become cognizant of their role, no matter how major or minor, each person plays in perpetuating the deeply entrenched inequities that Nain is built on.

Chapter 2

Labrador Inuit in Pursuit of Education

> The achievement of literacy added a new dimension to Inuit society and introduced a cultural revolution, as dramatic and important as the adoption of Christianity itself (Brice-Bennett 1981: 199).

The Moravian missionaries ventured to northern Labrador in the 18th century with one purpose: to Christianize Labrador Inuit.[19] Their use of schooling and literacy were at first strictly devices to further that end as was learning and practising the Inuktitut language. For Labrador Inuit, however, their pursuit of schooling and literacy quickly became intrinsically valued and incorporated into socialization practices within one generation. In time that interest spread to Inuit living away from the settlements as the meaning of literacy and schooling surpassed the missionaries' original intentions and ongoing efforts. Still, the Moravians were slow to respond to such interest as they remained focused on conversion and doubted Inuit sincerity in either endeavour. Nonetheless, what followed could not have been foreseen by the missionaries or Inuit as schooling and literacy established a firm foundation that not only insured the Moravians' success in northern Labrador, but also resonated so deeply within the hearts and minds of Labrador Inuit that they became meaningful components of their subjectivity.

19

Much has been written on the establishment of the Moravians' presence in northern Labrador see: (Jenness 1965; Kleivan 1966; Ben-Dor 1966; Hiller 1967). As this research focuses on Labrador Missions the missionizing aspects of the Moravian Brotherhood are solely examined.

2.1. The Moravians

> Though, by these means, the outward situation of these poor savages [sic] may be greatly improved and rendered more human, yet it is certainly of incomparably greater importance, that they be brought to Jesus Christ by the preaching of the gospel; that they be sanctified by the true faith in Him; and thereby, with greater certainty, be civilized and made moral human creatures (P.A. 1774: Vol. 1; p. 30).

The central tenet of the Moravians' belief system was an intense conviction and devotion to their faith. That meant their duty as missionaries compelled them to deliver the Christian message to non-converted peoples[20] around the world.[21] Initially the process was envisioned organically as the message itself was deemed powerful enough to turn people "from the darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." That was naively based on the premise that converts' "evil" ways would be immediately surrendered for that of Christianity (B.S.F.G. Instructions, p. 1). Though over time the Moravians discovered that such spiritual and cultural turnarounds took far longer to foster than anticipated - even at their most successful Missions - the underlying theme remained firm: the Moravians would

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This term is used in place of the Moravians' common signifier "heathen." Though the missionaries were referring to un-baptised people, the contemporary usage is highly offensive and will not be used.

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The 18th century was a period of rapid expansion for the Moravians as they established Missions globally. They were truly a colonizing group as no region appeared too remote or inaccessible for their proselytizing aspirations. The sheer scope of their ambition to christianize the non-converted nations of the world, among other attributes, set them apart from their contemporaries (P.A. 1789: Vol. 1-3; p. 5). Their first settlement was established in 1732 in what was then the Danish West India Islands among the enslaved African population. Several more mission station were founded that year along three neighbouring Caribbean Islands, and a Greenlandic settlement was built the following year. By the end of the century the Moravians opened mission stations in: Asia; Greenland; Africa; Labrador; the West Indies; the Philippines; North America; and South America (P.A. 1818: Vol. 7; p. 5-6). By 1818 the most successful stations were located in Greenland, Labrador and the West Indies (ibid.).

only missionize a *willing* populace. Thus, the missionized played a crucial role in the process that not only obliged them to embrace the missionaries' message, but also to participate in a reciprocal relationship that determined the success or failure of the Mission.

That meant the Moravians' ambitious enterprises were vulnerable to considerable setbacks. According to the *Periodical Accounts*[22] several Missions were established then abandoned with three main factors as the cause: the stations were located in politically unstable regions; the Moravians' presence was interpreted by the ruling elite as politically or economically threatening; or the indigenous population was unreceptive to the Moravians. For example, the Mission in Egypt was closed shortly after its opening following the outbreak of a civil war whereas the new station in the Philippines was abandoned due to difficulties with the government. Most important for this research, however, was the motivation for their termination of their Mission in northern Asia as the population was resistant to the missionaries' presence (P.A.1789:Vol.1;p.5).

While that significantly set the Moravians apart from their contemporaries the missionaries possessed more unique attributes. As their Missions were established in what were then considered the most remote areas of the world, potential converts were less likely to have encountered Europeans. For example, the 1774 Nain diary pointed out the

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Although the *Periodical Accounts* consist of correspondence written by the Moravians with the intention to justify and maintain the Labrador Missions to the S.F.G. funding agency, they provide an extremely valuable look into the relations between Inuit and missionaries. As the Moravians frequently wrote more than brief updates about the schools' operations they regularly included personal comments about the pupils' extraordinary progress and their underlying educational philosophies.

Moravians had met "Esquimeauz many of whom have never seen an European before" (P.A. Nain, 1774-1778: Microfilm 512: Reel 25). That meant the Moravians were virtually alone at the stations and militarily unprotected, unlike other missionary groups that were typically protected and financially supported by the State or Church. Moreover, the missionaries were expected to unquestionably accept that their work might lead them to "suffer, die and be forgotten, content that such was the will of God" (Hiller 1971: 839). Still, their most significant practice rested on their commitment to speak and practice the language of the missionized. Though initially their motives were self-serving[23] as we shall see, the Moravians' insistence on Inuktitut fluency at the Labrador Missions bore unexpected outcomes that lasted well into the last century.

Thus, the ideal Moravian missionary was necessarily required to demonstrate a profound openness to spiritual enlightenment while unencumbered by the dressings of education or financial means. That, along with a desire to spread God's love to those through no fault of their own had been overlooked by Christianity for undetermined periods, made a missionary.

> Both in the beginning and progress of their instructions, the Missionaries endeavour to deliver themselves as *plainly* and *intelligibly* to the faculties of their hearers as possible, and the Lord has given his blessing [that] *even the most illiterate* [missionary]...[can] learn the different difficult languages of

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The Moravians had much to gain from becoming fluent in the converts' languages as it aided their acceptance by their hosts, helped to avoid distortions of the gospels through translations, and enabled the missionaries to monitor the converts' progress toward enlightenment. For those reasons all missionaries were required to communicate only in the converts' language while in their presence (B.S.F.G. Instructions, 1784: 16).

> the Heathen, so as to attain a great fluency in them. One great difficulty arises indeed from the new ideas and words in expressing the divine truths necessary to be introduced into them; but even this has been surmounted through God's grace (P.A. 1789: Vol. 1; 8. My emphasis).

Consequently, the missionaries' primary role at the stations then was to continuously communicate their love for the gospel to anyone who would listen. That they had little or no formal training or special skills for missionizing was not a hindrance:

> The Brethren found no objection to send Missionaries that had *not* received a learned education, provided they, in their degree, answered the description given by the Apostles sent forth by our blessed Saviour himself, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; who though of *mean extractions* and *no human learning*, were nevertheless endowed with the Spirit of God, and had learnt his will concerning man's salvation, by a diligent search in the Holy Scriptures, and a blessed experience of the divine effects of the Gospel in their own hearts (P.A. 1789: Vol. 1; 6. My emphasis).

Such a deeply genuine love for Christ was believed to result from one's immersion within the gospels as they were credited with edifying the most hardened and illiterate souls. In that sense, spiritual enlightenment transcended race, culture, gender, knowledge and intellect. It was precisely within that frame that schooling was founded in northern Labrador. [24]

24

The Moravians established Nain as their first settlement on the northern coast of Labrador in 1771. As the Moravians had operated a Mission in Greenland for several decades they were familiar with the Greenlandic language, culture, and landscape. Once the Moravians discovered Labrador Inuit were closely related culturally, linguistically, and environmentally to their northern counterparts, they were encouraged to open stations there, with Okak (1776) and Hopedale (1782) shortly thereafter (Kennedy 1977: 265). At the time Labrador Inuit were involved in a series of hostile relations with European traders and the Moravians' fluency in Inuktitut played a vital role in their acceptance into the area (Hiller 1971: 841). Labrador Inuit were instantly receptive to Jens Haven, one of the first missionaries to visit the region, as he spoke Inuktitut fluently and immediately distinguished himself from his European contemporaries (M. Rollmann 1993: 53-54). Chapter 3 explains the importance of such hostilities in the establishment of the Mission by the Newfoundland Governor.

2.2. Labrador Inuit and Schooling

> The early reports also convey that there was a genuine love of learning among the Inuit and that education was not something imposed and unwelcome or merely complied with to obtain other comforts or gains. Love of learning made the children educators of parents and eventually would even force the extension of the scope of the Moravian curriculum from being rudimentary and religious to wider learning goals (H. Rollmann 2002: 10).

That took time, however, as the Moravians would not equate Inuit enthusiasm for learning as a genuine interest for several decades. Still, the Moravians wisely conducted the schools around the Inuit subsistence cycle and were consistently amazed by their scholastic progress at all Labrador stations. That meant Labrador Inuit were clearly up to the task from the outset as their quest for knowledge pushed the limits of Moravian schooling for over a century.

Prior to the Moravians' arrival Labrador Inuit were relatively independent as they had adapted their subsistence pursuits in concert with the ecology of the northern coastal region for centuries. As seasonally nomadic sea-mammal hunters they subsisted on a number of species throughout the year; hunting whales in November and storing the meat for the remainder of the winter rendering mid-October to late April as their most sedentarized time of year. Inuit then abandoned their winter camps in the spring and travelled great distances to hunt and fish in small groups while living in skin tents (Taylor 1974: 15-18). That cycle remained constant after the Moravians' arrival in the region as Inuit living at the stations continued to subsist on hunting, wear skin clothing, and live in "multi-family turf-dwellings"

well into the 19th century (Hiller 1971: 849).[25]

That independence translated into the spiritual realm as Labrador Inuit did not readily convert to Christianity. Schooling was then meant to create generations of true believers that simultaneously eradicated all doubts about Christianity and exemplified a Christian lifestyle (Hiller 1971: 849).[26] Yet the Labrador Inuit lifestyle demanded the schools be held around their seasonal cycles, which lasted from November to Easter, forcing the Moravians to concentrate their instructions into a short time period (Hiller 1968: 188-189). Thus, despite the Moravians' intentions, which was evidenced by the following:

> We shall continue to do therein what is in our power, and trust that by the grace of our Saviour, these attempts will tend in the rising generation to extirpate many heathenish and satanic superstitions; that thus Satan may lose his hold, and not overcome them so easily, as when they are instructed in his delusions from their infancy (P.A. Nain, September 16, 1791, Vol. 1: 89),

Labrador Inuit attended the Mission schools because they *wanted* to as they were neither forced nor obligated to participate.

From the outset Labrador Inuit were receptive to the Moravians as educators. Their use of communication to promote their message through words and ideas strung together in

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Pastore (1990) argued that Labrador Inuit remained economically independent until changes in the region's ecology forced them to rely on the only alternative to starvation: the Moravians. That change occurred in c. 1848 as Inuit faced a "succession of poor seal harvests, poor terrestrial hunting and epidemics" seriously threatening their survival (Pastore 1990: 247).

26

The stark contrast between Inuit home life and the schools was particularly great in the earliest years as children were uncomfortable and resistant to the Moravians' unfamiliar rules and rigid schedules. Later, students faced similar problems at the Hebron school, which opened in the 1840s, as many of its pupils originated from Labrador's northern most region extending up to Saglek and was many families' first introduction to Mission life (P.A. Hebron August 16, 1848: Vol. XIX; 79).

new and unusual ways was an instant draw.[27] The first Inuit schools were then opened in both Nain and Okak during the winter of 1780-1781 with instructions held in the mornings for girls and afternoons for boys;[28] that was approved by parents as younger children were not needed for the seal hunt or other pursuits (H. Rollmann 2002: 8). Shortly thereafter the Hopedale Mission was opened (1782) and due to the success of the northern schools, formal lessons commenced the following year:

> On the 8th school started again for the children, and there were 43. It became obvious that they had after all not forgotten everything that they had learned during the previous year. They will have school five times a week (P.A. Hopedale Diary, November 8, 1784: Moravian Archives; 329. Original in German).[29]

Clearly schooling was a priority not only for the Moravians but most significantly for Inuit

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By October 1778 the Moravians boasted fifteen Inuit living in tents in the Nain area and that their regular meetings were well attended. The gatherings consisted of "either a discourse" or the Missionaries reading passages "translated into their language of which they are commonly very attentive" (P.A. Nain 1774-1778 MF: 512; Reel 25). The missionaries' role at the Nain station in the early years was primarily centred on sparking an interest for their cause among Labrador Inuit; as more and more people were drawn to the station the missionaries decided to construct a larger building "for the Esquimaux in which the gospel may be preached to some hundreds at once" (P.A. 1774: No. 1; 27). The meetings were typically organized as follows:

> First a verse out of the Greenland Hymn Book was given out and sung which any of them retain both as to the words and tune so they can join in very well in singing them. After this the gospel was preached to them in a very concise manner. Sometimes they were asked whether they understood what they had heard and upon their desiring, it was further explained to them" (P.A. 1774: No. 1; 20).

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The schools instructed both Inuit and missionary children and were soon changed to a co-educational model as, according to H. Rollmann (2002), the Moravians' consistently emphasized the children's and teachers' need for a "lively"educational environment (9).

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All translations from German were generously made by Dr. Hans Rollmann.

children and parents as forty-three students attended the Hopedale school two years consecutively and easily retained much of what they had learned.[30]

2.2.1. The Emergence of Literacy

Although learning to read Inuktitut was a seemingly difficult and complicated task it was quickly mastered by Labrador Inuit of all ages.[31] As several Inuktitut words contain as many as ten to fifteen syllables, the transition would understandably present difficulties for any group practising an oral tradition. That meant elders were the traditional repositories of knowledge, however, literacy was effortlessly blended into Inuit nomadic lifestyle. For example, as evidenced by a missionary's remark about two unmarried women living in a tent at the Nain station he wrote, they "read well; and their greatest pleasure consists in reading *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists* and the hymns translated into the Eskimo language" (P.A. Nain, September, 1792: Vol. 1; 159). By the end of the 1781 school year in Nain the Moravians reported that children had "all learned the alphabet and counting to one hundred;" with one child acquiring writing skills and "a few [that] learned to alphabetize" (The Nain House Report, March 29, 1781: Original in German). Thus by the late eighteenth century, literacy had gained a strong foothold among Labrador Inuit and that interest was not merely demonstrated by younger generations nor was it a reflection of the Moravians' efforts alone,

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Parents' support and participation was crucial as they prepared their children for lessons, brought them to and from classes and later reinforced what was taught at the schools. Lessons would have been centred on learning the basics of reading - a description of the school's early curriculum will soon follow.

31

The Moravians set the Inuktitut language to the German alphabet as it was an entirely oral language and used the German number system as the former only included 1 through 20 (H. Rollmann 2002: 9).

rather such propensity was indicative of a communal drive and enthusiasm to read.

Schooling was instantly popular and accessible to all Inuit as classes were designed to introduce and reinforce the Christian message to whomever would listen. Consequently many adults joined the lessons particularly in the earliest years as one Moravian reported:

> Several old Inuit have attended school often with great enjoyment and have said several times if the children would be finished with learning then they want to start learning. Some elders have also profited somewhat in that the children repeated [their lessons] often in the homes (The Nain House Report, March 29, 1781; Original in German).

That meant elders were encouraging children to share their newly acquired knowledge and that marked the beginning of a change in the structure of Inuit familial relations. As children began assuming the role of teacher through the conveyance of their new skills and knowledge, both elders and children were actively interchanging their roles as educators *and* students. That not only illustrates an openness and flexibility among Inuit to expand their roles but also their ability and readiness to blend their accumulated knowledge with what was taught at the schools. Though it was likely an unconscious process that grew out of an enjoyment to learn new things, it nonetheless happened; and as Labrador Inuit receptivity to adopt these new skills and ideas grew, the Inuit knowledge base simultaneously broadened. That process significantly contributed to the course of schooling in Labrador and greatly influenced both Inuit and, as we shall see, the Moravians though the latter's acceptance of such versatility took longer to emerge.

2.2.2. The Labrador Curriculum

> Thus we can observe along with the education of the children also a socialization of the missionaries to Inuit values and the give-and-take that characterizes [Moravian] missionary accounts globally (Rollmann 2002: 10).[32]

The Moravians implemented a rudimentary curriculum at the three Mission schools from the 1770s to 1839. They taught children to read and write from books of Inuktitut hymns, scriptures, spelling books, and learn the basic principles of arithmetic. Classes also consisted of singing hymns and listening to the missionaries read sermons aloud, and the students were encouraged to question points that seemed confusing. That meant the students' first priority was to learn the Inuktitut alphabet which was a task later reserved for the youngest students.

The missionaries customized the curriculum to suit students' needs by creating understandable and comprehensive lessons. That was illustrated by the students' progress at the newly established Nain school in 1781. As the Inuit "counting system only went to twenty" the missionaries were compelled to "introduce German numbers" to the students (The Nain House Report, March 29, 1781: Original in German). Most remarkably, the children were taught things unimaginable only a few years previously such as: an Inuktitut alphabet; an expansive numbering system; and "a good number of verses and the Ten

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Such flexibility in the relations between Inuit and Moravians were most conspicuous in the early years at the stations owing to Labrador Inuit economic independence and the Moravians' precarious hold in the region. That changed by the mid-19th century as Chapter 6 explains, a new identity emerged among Inuit as they became Moravian Inuit.

Commandments." Although the Moravians were frustrated with the children's tendency to be distracted and showed a tremendous difficulty to learn to write and "sit still for one hour;" in retrospect those criticisms render the children's accomplishments all the more astounding as the environment greatly contrasted with their home lives (ibid.).

Although the Moravian teachers were expected to use their judgement to meet the students' specific needs at each school they were provided with a loosely defined curriculum plan. It was compiled by Superintendent Albert Martin and distributed to each of the three Labrador schools. Martin introduced the instructions with a claim that they were merely "suggestions" and were intended to help "some young Brethren teach better" as it was "not [his] purpose to give instruction according to a fixed teaching method" (Curriculum Report: undated, Original in German). The Moravians were discouraged to replicate the work at each of the three schools as the settlements were considered to be distinct. Nonetheless, the booklet offered general guidelines for teaching Labrador Inuit students in two possible areas, the first was:

> Counting: I ask everyone to teach the children to not always count with mere numbers but give them applied problems. Instead for example: 4 + 5 + 6 = 15 Do the following: Into the bay there come 3 sledges; the first are pulled by 4 dogs; the second by 5; the third by 6; How many dogs come? It is my experience that our Eskimo children are more industrious with such problems and accordingly count faster than when one operates with mere numbers (ibid.).

Clearly the Superintendent was familiar with the Inuit knowledge base and the potential aptitude of the students as they were presented with meaningful information. Martin's second fictitious lesson illustrated an effective way to teach a biblical story while

emphasizing particular methods of explanation and repetition (ibid.). Most importantly, however, was the Superintendent's emphasis on the children's participation in the classes as the teachers were encouraged to create and maintain a lively exchange of ideas.

The Moravians were also conscious of the students becoming overwhelmed and discouraged by the implementation of a rigid curriculum. That was evidenced by a report from an annual Elders' Conference concerning the Hopedale school in 1786:

> Regarding the learning to write by the Inuit children [we] agree with the minutes that were expressed of our Brethren that one should not in general introduce a writing school for the children. If one should show a special desire however and live with his parents among the Brethren, [that student] could be taught privately (Elders' Conference; Re: Hopedale School, April 11, 1786. Original in German).

As was previously alluded, the majority of students at the Nain school in the late 18th century experienced difficulty in acquiring writing skills. That caused the Moravians concern and later, as we shall see, kept their promise by introducing the program when the Hopedale students were ready.

Such widespread enthusiasm for schooling created problems for the missionaries as pressures mounted from several directions. As the Moravians' missionizing policy required all brethren to gain fluency in the converts' language then strictly rely on that language while in their presence, all Labrador missionaries were required to learn and practice Inuktitut. As many Moravians at the three stations experienced difficulty in acquiring the language that meant the few fluent missionaries were left with the onerous task of conducting lessons and translating texts (P.A. Nain, August 22, 1818: Vol. 7; 7), which caused frustration:

> We have held the schools regularly, and the diligence shown both by small and great gave us great satisfaction. Some know their little school-book almost by heart. We are thankful that our Brethren are willing to permit more books to be printed in the Eskimo language, and regret that we cannot send any manuscripts by this opportunity for want of time to revise them, for those Brethren, who have the most skill in the language, have been otherwise employed. We can assure you, that it is a matter of great concern with us, that we may obtain a true knowledge of the grammar and idiom of the Eskimo tongue...(P.A. Nain, August 26, 1796: Vol. 2; 60).

Moreover, the Moravians' motivation to gain fluency was compounded by both students' appetite for new books and their superiors' eagerness to print them. However, enough translations were sent to Herrnhut (the Moravian headquarters that were located in what is now Germany) shortly thereafter marking the first large production and distribution of Inuktitut books in Labrador.

2.3. Literacy Takes Off 1801-1839[33]

By 1801 Inuit aptitude for learning intensified with the arrival of new books. Within two decades of the schools' operations the Moravians' meagre supply of Inuktitut materials was exhausted warranting the S.F.G.[34] to fund a shipment of recently translated and newly printed texts. Numerous copies of "The printed history of passion week, as extracted from the Harmony of the Four Gospels" were quickly distributed to all able readers among the

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It was during this period that Labrador Inuit were economically self-sufficient (see footnote #7) rendering their drive for literacy and schooling as an intrinsic endeavour that predated sedentarization. Though Pastore (1990) argued sedentarization occurred later in circa 1848, I have ended the period slightly earlier as the research material is most aptly represented within this period.

34

The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, was the "British Mission agency, founded in 1741, to manage the Mission's trade" (Kennedy 1977: Endnote#2; 301).

three schools (P.A. Hopedale, July 26, 1801: Vol. 3; 10). Although the children were enthusiastic about schooling prior to that period, the Moravians could not have predicted the lasting implications that replenishing the already worn-out Greenlandic stock would have on Inuit, schooling and themselves.

During this period Inuit children's appetite for learning was unmistakable as they were consistently remarked upon in the *Periodical Accounts*. Parents and elders were similarly inspired as literacy was now playing a role that they fundamentally led both inside and outside the stations, though the Moravians continued to regard schooling and literacy as vehicles toward spiritual enlightenment. After 1801, however, the latter's comments regularly pointed to students' preparedness and eagerness at the schools impressing even the most reluctant of teachers:

> The newly-printed [books]...furnished a desirable opportunity, to catechise the children, and to explain to them, as well as we are able, in a language so difficult and deficient in expression, all that appertains to their souls' salvation. Some of them have come so far, that they can understand it, and read it to others, living in the same house, it may be justly expected that much good will be done by it (P.A. Okak, September 6, 1801: Vol. 13; 19).

Although this missionary devalued the Inuktitut language he showed an appreciation for the children's efforts to become literate. In addition, it was not the children or Inuit that he blamed as being "difficult" or "deficient in expression," it was the language.

More important was the Inuit community's reaction to the books as children were increasingly encouraged to read and learn more at school. The positive effects of the new shipment was lasting and the results were evident two years later:

> In the schools for the children, to which other young people, and particularly women come, the scholars showed much eagerness to learn. They easily comprehend what is explained to them at school; and most of them know their book of instruction by heart, as well as most of the hymns in the hymn-book. Several of them can read with fluency in the printed history of our Saviour's sufferings, extracted from the four Evangelists (P.A. Hopedale, October 3, 1803: Vol. 3; 253).

That enthusiasm was inspiring to both the students' progress and the schools' operations as the Moravians responded accordingly. For example, in the early years teaching writing skills was a difficult and often frustrating task, however, by 1804 students at the Hopedale school were demonstrating a keen interest and aptitude for it as one missionary reported:

> Many of them [Inuit students], especially among the men, show a great desire to learn to write. Some have proceeded so far, though with but little instruction, as to be able to write a pretty legible hand; and a few have even copied out collections of hymns. These are subjects which excite our hearts to praise and thanksgiving (P.A. Hopedale, August 8, 1804: Vol. 3; 325).

Although the missionary concluded the students' progress did not cancel out Satan's "great influence," the entry evidenced the students' genuine interest to learn the new skill (ibid.). That meant the students' propensity for learning surprised and encouraged the Moravians to not only continue their work but to also design programs that catered to their skills and interests.

2.3.1. Schooling and Literacy

Inuit students interest and aptitude for learning was directed to literacy rather than Christianity causing several missionaries to consider Inuit students' involvement in the schools as fleeting and superficial. The Moravians relied on two strategies to explain the children's failure to achieve spiritual enlightenment through schooling. The first, which was

expressed several times in the *Periodical Accounts* during the period discussed, referred to the students' considerable performance at the Mission schools, yet believed their accumulated knowledge would dissipate once they left the stations with their families:

> There are some hopeful young people among them, but we regret that in spring they must follow their parents to the hunting-places; as they are too apt, during the summer, to forget what they have learnt in winter (P.A. Okak, September 5, 1800: Vol. 2; 467).

> As to the children, we cannot inform you of any particularly powerful awakening amongst them. Most of them, however, show evident tokens, that they are not left without the instruction of the Holy Spirit. Both in the meetings and schools they have frequently been much affected, by what they hear of the Gospel of Christ, and they promise that they will only belong to Him. It is a great pity that, during the summer months, when they are absent with their parents, they too easily forget both what they have learned and felt the power of (P.A. Okak, September 1, 1809: Vol. 4; 459).

A similar sentiment was expressed by a missionary several decades later:

> Our school children have in general afforded us satisfaction, particularly as we perceived among them a great desire to read and understand the word of God. The annual examination did great credit to their proficiency, and made us the more deeply regret the hard necessity, which compels them to accompany their parents to their provision-places during the summer months, and thus to forego the benefit of Christian instruction for a considerable portion of the year (P.A. Nain, August 8, 1837: Vol. 14; 214).

Another reason used to explain the children's interest in schooling as a secular entity, rather than a spiritual one, was based on Inuit subsistence pursuits:

> The main hindrance to their [Inuit children] retaining better what they have heard and learned, is the roving life of the Eskimo, which being necessary for providing their maintenance, we cannot prevent (P.A. Okak, September 3, 1802: Vol.3; 112-113).

Still, Inuit were absorbing aspects of their teachings into their lives as one missionary wrote:

> We no more see bold, undaunted heathens sitting before us, with defiance or ridicule in their looks; but people eagerly expecting a blessing, desirous of experiencing the power of the word of life, shedding tears of repentance on account of their sins, full of devotion and earnest inquiry (P.A. Nain, November, 1806: Vol. 4; 285).

Inuit desire to learn to read was genuine and substantive yet the Moravians believed it was merely a step toward their potential conversion, and consistently sought confirmations of a deeper effect of the gospels than Inuit children were prepared to demonstrate.

Nonetheless, the Moravians remained hopeful the Christian message would gain a foothold among the youngest generations of Inuit over time. Several missionaries were convinced that their propensity for literacy evidenced their growing devotion to the Christian doctrine. Numerous *Periodical Account* entries during the first few decades of schooling at the three stations reflected that theme. For example, a missionary at the Nain station expressed his delight that the children were attending the schools "with pleasure and diligence" causing him to be "more than ever convinced of the necessity of conversion" (P.A. Nain, September 17, 1800: Vol. 2; 472). Another missionary wrote of his hope that Inuit desire to read meant future spiritual enlightenment for the youngest generation:

> They [the students] all showed an earnest desire, and even a considerable degree of capacity, to learn to read, and made good use of it in their own dwellings. We earnestly pray for a real awakening among the little children (P.A. Hopedale, September 29, 1806: Vol. 4; 87).

Yet the children were more receptive to learning the curriculum which was frustrating for the Moravians:

> We constantly exhort them not only to keep in their heads what they hear and learn concerning the things of God, but to let it sink deep into their hearts,

> that they may know and love him (P.A. Okak, September 5, 1800: Vol. 2; 467).
>
> We ardently wish and pray that they all [Inuit], and especially the young people, might not only learn these things by rote, but experience the power thereof in their hearts, and in general, that it would please the Lord to awaken the children and create in them a desire to be saved. They are too apt to be indifferent and slothful (P.A. Hopedale, October 3, 1803: Vol. 3; 253).

The Moravians eventually came to understand the significance of books to inculcate their mission. They were instantly valued and prized by Inuit of all ages, especially children, providing the missionaries with a convenient and effective medium to promote Christianity:

> I entertain no doubt of their great utility, for I consider them a most valuable means of drawing the attention of the ignorant and careless to the contents of the sacred volume...The long and frequent absence of our people from the different settlements, and their consistent deprivation of the public means of grace, render it peculiarly necessary to provide them with copies of the Holy Scriptures, and other edifying works, that they may not lose the spiritual knowledge to which they have already attained (P.A. Private Correspondence, L. Morhardt, Hebron, August 3, 1837: Vol. 14; 222).

Despite the missionary's beliefs that Inuit lived in ignorance while away from the stations, they were reading, regardless of their location, and that worked to reinforce their *education* both at the stations and at the hunting camps. In fact several generations of Inuit attended classes regularly, and despite the missionaries' frustration at the perceived slowness and superficiality of the enterprise, they documented the positive changes they were witnessing:

> Old and young attended [the classes], and we were often witnesses of the power of the word of the cross, to soften and melt the hard heart of man. Classes have also been held, not without benefit to the souls (P.A. Hopedale, July 25, 1810: Vol. 5; 52).

Inuit were embracing aspects of the gospel into their lives yet it was not enough for the

Moravians as they were hoping for a "real awakening."[35] However, adult Inuit were progressing at the schools in ways that showed more promise in accepting the missionaries' message as the following reveals:

> ...we hope that many of the scholars have not only advanced in learning, but also increased in grace. On the whole, we have reason to rejoice at the growth of our Eskimo congregation in the knowledge of our Saviour, and their own hearts, in which they have made pleasing progress...(P.A. Okak, October 9, 1811: Vol. 5; 134).

2.3.2. The Role of Books

Adult Inuit enthusiasm for school became officially recognized early in the nineteenth century. By 1804 the Hopedale school divided its classes into two sections: one for the children and the other for adults (P.A. Hopedale, November 21, 1804: Vol. 3; 337). The Okak school resembled its neighbour as classes were "diligently attended, both by young and old" (P.A. Okak, August 12, 1809: Vol. 4; 451). The following extract is particularly insightful as it underscored the importance of schooling within the growing Inuit community, while simultaneously revealing the Moravians' flexibility to accommodate the students' desire to learn:

> The schools are now kept in two divisions, and attended by about fifty people, small and great. Several women, who lived here as children, and at that time went to school, but have since in a great measure forgotten what

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The Moravians would only baptise those who demonstrated a profoundly deep and genuine love for conversion. Though christianizing Inuit was their main objective in Labrador, the Moravians waited several decades (1804-5) before they were convinced of a "real awakening" occurring in the region (Brice-Bennett 1987: 88). Still, the *Periodical Accounts* are full of missionaries' expressions of doubt as to whether converts' hearts had truly been awakened to the light of God; and as literacy and schooling were seen almost entirely in those terms (at least initially), the missionaries necessarily questioned students' interest in the enterprise.

> they had learned, are now diligently seeking to regain what they have lost, and to learn to read well. The Eskimo continue, both in the morning and evening, to have family worship, of their own accord, and generally attended by most of the inhabitants (P.A. Extracts of Okak Diaries, November 18, 1805: Vol. 4; 134).

By 1805 the socialization of literacy had become cemented in the hearts and minds of Labrador Inuit. The importance of books became apparent to the missionaries as they produced more translations and wrote often of Inuit receptivity:

> Our people take this little book with them to the islands, when they go out to seek provisions: and in their tents, or snow-houses, spend their evenings in reading it, with great edification and blessing (P.A. Hopedale, August 22, 1812: Vol. 5; 262).

The S.F.G. was equally encouraged by the students' aptitude as they continued to fund more translations, providing the three stations with Inuktitut versions of the "gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. John" in 1813 (P.A. Nain, August 14, 1813: Vol. 5; 407), prompting a missionary to write:

> By our people [Inuit] having now received so many printed books, they have become ever eager to learn to read, and better to understand the holy Scriptures. In the schools, (which have been well attended by young and old) the more difficult parts are explained to them: thus they obtain a clearer insight into the gospel (P.A. Nain, August 14, 1813: Vol. 5; 408-409).

That meant the missionaries were devoting more time translating texts than they had previously, as they clearly recognized the success of books to spread their message to Labrador Inuit. That was not lost on the S.F.G. as they continued to pressure the missionaries to produce more translations, as was evident the following year:

> We beg you again to present our unfeigned thanks to the British and Foreign Bible Society, for their readiness to print for us any integral part of the

> Scriptures in the Eskimo language. But we cannot send out any manuscript translations this year, as they need more revision. By the next opportunity we hope to be able to transmit some of the Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, and to profit by so generous an offer (P.A. Nain, August 24, 1814: Vol. 6; 56).

Nonetheless, the Moravians completed the translations as promised and received a shipment of newly printed copies in 1818. Those books were a "valuable present" that were given to the able readers among the "whole congregation" as Inuit read them "in their leisure hours, and in their tents and houses" (P.A. Okak, September 9, 1818: Vol. 6; 9). The following year a missionary wrote of the books' worth among Labrador Inuit:

> ...they value the scriptures above every other gift, and always carry the books with them, as their choicest treasure, whenever they go from us to any distance...(P.A. Okak, September 1, 1819: Vol. 6; 161).

Moreover, a missionary noted Inuit were far more receptive to their message when it was in print than if they were simply preached to:

> We have hitherto read to the Eskimo, from the manuscript, the Epistles of the Apostles, at the public service; but how greatly will they value the benefit of having them in their own hands, in a printed copy, which we look forward to with great delight. They may then take them home, and read and meditate on them in their families (P.A. Nain, September 12, 1819: Vol. 6; 164).

> We have the pleasure to add, that the Epistles, thus put into the hands of our people, have been most eagerly received and read, and, by the grace of God, contributed greatly towards their growth in the knowledge and love of their Saviour...many passages from them have made such an impression upon the minds of some of our schoolchildren, that they repeat them by hearts, if they are only made attentive to the chapter in which they are found (P.A. Nain, August 12, 1820: Vol. 7; 317).

By 1824 the Moravians translated the New Testament and printed copies were distributed all three communities. They proved to be an incredible bounty to Inuit as Brother

Benjamin Kohlmeister, an Okak teacher, wrote in a letter addressed to the S.F.G.:

> We have, indeed, ever since the arrival of this most precious gift, observed a great change. Their [Inuit] understanding of the word of God, and the doctrines which it contains, has greatly increased, and the influence upon their moral conduct is manifest...(P.A. Letter addressed to the S.F.G., by the Brother Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister, on his return to Labrador, 1824: Vol. 9; 236).

The new books offered Inuit inspiration to continue learning as more difficult and challenging concepts were introduced. A letter from Brother George Schmidtman illustrates:

> The translation of the Revelations of St. John is a very difficult task, and many German words must necessarily be introduced, to express things, for which the Eskimo language has no words. As an assistant in this work, I use an Eskimo brother, who engages in it with his whole heart...(P.A. Letter from Brother George Schmidtman, Nain, August 20, 1821: Vol. 8; 186).

Brother Schmidtman's statement reveals the flexibility involved in translating biblical texts into Inuktitut. As the missionary was responsible for numerous translations, he was personally affected by Inuit eagerness for books and more importantly, the exchange between the men as they shared their knowledge.

By the middle of the 1820s Labrador Inuit enthusiasm for books was matched by their appetite for schooling. That was evident in Brother Kohlmeister's 1824 letter as he made astounding observations concerning children as young as "five and even four years of age" that "read well" and:

> The severest punishment that can be inflicted upon a child, is to keep him from school...During the long winter-nights, and when at a distance from the settlements, at their hunting-places, their most agreeable occupation is to read those parts of the Scriptures together...As there are some who have not acquired this proficiency, having become converts at a more advanced period of life, the children or young people read aloud, while the rest are quietly

> mending their tackle, or sitting doing and doing their work (P.A. Letter, Brother Kohlmeister 1824: Vol. 9; 236; 238-239).

Brother Kohlmeister also commented on the children's "acquisition of the art of writing" as it enabled "many of them the means of intercourse with their friends in other settlements;" the missionary wrote that he held onto as many as fifty of the children's letters for safekeeping at a time as he delivered them from station to station (ibid.). Another letter to the S.F.G. written by the Hopedale "school-master" and "music director" similarly described the students' progress:

> I cannot sufficiently describe what a rich treasure has been bestowed upon our Eskimo by giving them the New Testament in their own language...In my frequent conversations with our Eskimo, I have found, that they delight to speak of the different histories of the Old Testament...I cannot help quoting a simple question, put to me by an Eskimo, who, being very desirous to see the inside of my watch, was quite overwhelmed with astonishment, when he beheld its complicated machinery. He asked, whether Jesus could possibly make a watch? (P.A. Extracts of Letters from some of the Brethren's Missionaries in Labrador to the Secretary, Hopedale, 1826: Vol. 10; 66).

By that point literacy and schooling were social as well as intellectual endeavours, actively pursued and highly valued by Labrador Inuit.

The Moravians' response to such a reality was equally as interesting, however, as their accounts of disobedient and disinterested students offers greater insight. After 1830 the Moravians *expected* students to demonstrate a profound eagerness and facility for schooling that sometimes led to disappointment. Occasionally the missionaries discussed older Inuit as learning "very slowly" in contrast to the children's "considerable progress" (P.A. Hopedale, August 23, 1830: Vol. 11; 371) or the "various characters" at the schools with

"some more and others less hopeful" (Z. Glitch. P.A. Extracts of Private letters, Okak, August 23, 1830: Vol. 11; 379). Another missionary at the Okak school made a similar remark as students were "generally satisfactory...though there are some who, owing to carelessness or stupidity, make but little progress" (P.A. Okak, August 23, 1839: Vol. 15; 107). Such comments reflected the Moravians' frustration at the underachievers' efforts not their capabilities. That also reveals that the disruptive students were not representative of their classmates, nor were their difficulties thought to be rooted in an inherent inadequacy. In fairness, however, the Okak school was "diligently attended by about 154 scholars" in 1830 rendering the schoolhouse grossly over-crowded and the troublemakers a considerable minority (ibid.). Even the missionaries that perceived Inuit as intellectually inferior wrote of their amazement concerning the students' scholastic progress as, for example, a Nain missionary wrote:

> Considering their natural slowness of apprehension, we have reason to be astonished at the progress made by many among them. It has not infrequently happened, that the youngest have shown the greatest diligence and readiness in learning, and that their example has tended to quicken the dullness, or rebuke the sloth of the elder pupils (P.A. Nain, August 1840: Vol. 15; 310).

Another missionary at Okak expressed his frustration that "some of the older pupils have, however, caused me not a little grief by their levity and inattention" (P.A. Okak, Extracts of Private Correspondence, Brother F. Erdman, August 3, 1837: Vol. 14; 290). Yet that was followed by the missionary's admission of his inadequate grasp of Inuktitut and in all likelihood, the logical hindrance. Most important was the missionary's assertion that younger

children "who are only from five to seven years of age already read well" indicating lessons were reinforced at home (ibid.).

2.3.3. Literacy and Schooling Converge 1830s

By the end of the decade the Labrador schools' curricula had officially broadened as classes were now more adequately tailored to the students' developmental needs and interests. For example, the Hopedale school provided two classes for students, one for older children where they learned to read, memorize scriptures and hymns; and the other for younger children, several under four years of age where all "are taught to spell, and many of them are already learning the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, &c." (P.A. Hopedale, August 2, 1839: Vol. 15; 103). The Okak school functioned similarly, yet the following teacher's comments are particularly revealing:

> They also show a great delight in learning portions of hymns, and passages of Scripture, and many have acquired considerable readiness in referring to texts, both in the Old and New Testament, - so much so, that they will often anticipate their teacher in this exercise. Even children of six years of age have acquired a surprising facility of reference. In the instruction given to our pupils, portions of Scripture history, and of the history of our own church, are not forgotten. We do not, at present, see the practicality of establishing an infant-school at this settlement, owing in part to the extreme severity of the winters, which often prevents even older children coming to school without the assistance of their mothers (P.A. Okak, August 21, 1838: Vol. 14; 423).

Clearly students were enthusiastic and capable of learning more than rudimentary skills and their parents were supporting their attendance "even" on the coldest days. Most significant, however, was the issue of opening an infant-school that was originally brought

up by the S.F.G. to provide the Moravians with a greater audience to socialize the youngest generation in the Christian message. However, the Okak missionaries were convinced that it was unnecessary given the children's early proficiency in literacy. That meant Labrador missionaries had expanded their understanding of the Moravians' original purpose for schooling. As the following attests, schooling now had a dual function to both promote Christianity *and* inculcate knowledge:

> My attempt to teach some of them cyphering, has for the present failed, but I shall hope some day to renew it...Though I have met with many of the boys, who could count as far as 500 with ease and correctness, even these were apt to be puzzled by the question, 'How much is twice one?' When, however, I asked, 'If your father catches one seal to-day, and to-morrow two seals, how many has he in all?' they had an answer immediately ready. In due time they were able to add up considerable sums, and even to learn by heart the multiplication-table. For each one of the boys belonging to the first class, about twenty in number, I took the trouble to note down on paper the division of the year into months, and how many days there are in each, and as I made a practice of questioning them daily on the subject, in due time the majority had acquired the wished information (P.A. Okak, August 29, 1839, Extracts of Private Correspondence, F. Erdman: Vol. 15; 114).

The most important force behind Inuit children's aptitude and interest in schooling was now apparent to the Moravians. They finally recognized that parents were teaching their youngest children to read at home and were behind the older children's attendance. The following entry written by Brother C.B. Henn illustrates:

> Many of the older pupils take great delight in committing to memory passages of Scripture and Hymns, and I have been often pleased and surprised to observe the readiness with which some of them can refer to the texts, which they have learned. Hardly are the texts quoted, though taken from different books of the Old or New Testaments, when they begin to read them aloud. This is especially the case with the girls. The little children also learn well: even infants three or four years old, who do not as yet attend the

> school, frequently visit us in our houses, for the purpose of repeating the verses they have got by heart. It is however greatly to be regretted that the wandering life which our Eskimo are compelled to lead between Easter and November, - having to seek their livelihood at places, some of which are fifty to seventy miles distant, - deprives their children of the full measure of advantage they might else derive from the schools (P.A. Extracts from Private Correspondence, C.B. Henn, Nain, August 19, 1836: Vol. 14; 19).

Parents' role in schooling was now crucial as the schools were tremendously overcrowded and severely understaffed. For example, attendance at the Okak school during the specified period[36] was as follows: in 1805 there were 50 students, both adults and children; that tripled by 1823 with 140 children; and in 1830, 154 children wrote the annual examination (P.A. Okak: Vol. 4; 134; Vol. 9; 60: Vol. 11; 379). Furthermore, later in the century girls attended school until they were 17 or 18, whereas boys were taken out much earlier to help their families (P.A. Extracts of Private Correspondence, Nain, July 1866: Vol. 25; 162). Although the Moravians continued to lament the short school year, parents were profoundly important to the schools' operations.

By 1839 the Moravians expected and received a high level of participation in schooling from the entire Inuit community. Although they remained sceptical of the practicality of such skills and knowledge outside the Missions, Inuit consistently demonstrated an interest and aptitude for learning and literacy. From the 1770s to 1839, Inuit and the Moravians were full participants in a reciprocal relationship that revolved around schooling and literacy. Yet even more astounding was the spread of literacy

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Moravians at the Okak school were the only teachers recording school attendance in the *Periodical Accounts* during the specified period.

orchestrated *by* Inuit *for* Inuit living outside the stations.

2.3.4. The Spread of Schooling and Literacy Outside the Missions

> There seems to be starting a change among the southern inhabitants of our country. An extraordinary desire to read and learn has been awakened among them (Correspondence from Zacharius Glitsch to Br. LaTrobe. August 17, 1840: Micro Film 512: Original in German).

Throughout the 19th century Labrador Inuit demonstrated a profound interest for books. Children brought them home to read to their families and, to the Moravians' amazement, were regularly carried to and from their summer hunting and fishing places. Most significantly, however, was the spread of literacy and schooling that was organized by Inuit living *outside* the Missions as books were at the centre of a trading network that supplied numerous people but most particularly a group of literate Inuit in southern Labrador. By the 1840s books had become a meaningful addition to Inuit culture that was outside the Moravians' sphere of influence.

In the 1810s Labrador Inuit participated in an elaborate mail system that connected people from the north to the south. To the Moravians' dismay, southern Inuit wrote letters to their northern relatives "enticing" them to "venture south," however, in the missionaries' estimation those letters greatly exaggerated the virtues of southern life (H. Rollmann, Personal Conversation, May 2003). Most interesting, however, was that Inuit living outside the Mission were literate and used those skills to their advantage. Furthermore, Inuit were acting as "cultural agents" in the distribution and trade of Inuktitut books to southern Inuit living near Rigolet. That material was used by Moravian Inuit to teach men, women, and

children living in the area to read and write (ibid.; and H. Rollmann 2002: 11, Endnote #1). Such enthusiasm was not isolated to southern Inuit, however, as northern Inuit were similarly receptive to literacy:

> Last year a company of Northlanders paid us a visit. Among them was a boy who was detained here by his relations, and soon showed a great desire to continue with us...and we were much pleased to find, that the instruction which we gave him in reading was not thrown away. Before the end of the winter, he had learned to read tolerably well...(P.A. Okak, August 21, 1838: Vol. 14; 424).

Another missionary wrote of giving away copies of the "Book of Common Prayer, and of various Tracts, in the English language," into "the hands of the Southlanders[37] in our neighbourhood" (P.A. Hopedale, August 2, 1839: Vol. 15; 102). Thus, the quest for literacy was spreading geographically throughout northern Labrador as Inuit from all over the region were active participants.

2.3.5. 1840-1949[38]

By the middle of the nineteenth century almost all Inuit living at the three coastal stations could read. As "illiteracy was practically wiped out" by the 1840s the missionaries began acknowledging Inuit parents' tremendous influence on their children's quest for literacy (Kleivan 1966: 80). The children's scholastic aptitude was so impressive that one

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Southlanders referred to all un-baptised people living to the south of the coastal stations.

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While schooling and literacy remained important to Labrador Inuit, and later Settlers, during this period, it was no longer outside the Moravians' influence as sedentarization was now firmly intact. As this chapter centres on Labrador Inuit in pursuit of schooling independent of external forces their schooling experience is not as extensively detailed in contrast to the previous period.

missionary compared their propensity for learning to their European counterparts:

> In the learning of hymns and passages of scriptures by heart, the Esquimaux children manifest greater readiness than European children of the same age. Even little children, who do not know their letters, learn from their mothers to repeat verses of hymns very nicely (P.A. Hopedale, August 10, 1865: Vol. 22; 103).

Inuit parents at the Hopedale station were particularly enthused about their children's intellectual progress as they turned the annual examinations into a communal "festival" (P.A. Hopedale, Extracts of the diaries of Hopedale, August 1865 - July 1866; August 1866-1867: Vol. 26; 168, 364).

Yet the Moravians were so accustomed to operating schools among a community of literate Inuit that the more recently opened school at Hebron provided stark contrasts. For example, in the words of two missionaries:

> I think there is a difference between the children at this place, and those at the southern stations [Nain, Okak, and Hopedale], in point of learning; the former being inferior to the latter. This, probably, arises from the fact that many of the parents here grew up in heathenism, and have never learned to read. Consequently, they are unable to assist their children and keep them to their lessons (P.A. Hebron, Extracts of Private Correspondence, Fr. Tappe, undated: Vol. 22 [1856-1857]; 390).

> We can very plainly note the difference of domestic training in our scholars. In the case of children, whose parents can themselves read, and take an interest in the improvement of their offspring, or even instruct them at home, it is not wonderful [surprising] that there should be an advantage over those whose parents have perhaps recently from among the heathen, and are themselves almost wholly untaught. Orphan-children also not infrequently lack encouragement on the part of those who have the charge of them. This last remark should, however, not be taken too strictly, as there are credible exceptions (P.A. Hebron, August 12, 1861: Vol. 24; 129).

Thus, parents living at the three older settlements, Nain, Okak, and Hopedale, were mostly

literate and enjoyed fifty years experience of Moravian schooling, whereas the more northerly Hebron school, which was opened in the 1830s, offered instructions to Inuit who were eager to learn though they had not yet adopted literacy into their socialization practices.

Another dimension was added to the Mission schools later in the century as Settler children began attending classes. The first discussion of Settlers at the schools was at the newly opened Zoar station, which was established in the 1860s and located 65 miles north of Hopedale. Though that was the first Labrador Mission school to offer English instruction[39] the Moravians were eager to school Settler children[40] and begin English lessons at all the schools. The Moravians recognized that "English was important because there is a much more active relationship with the Southlanders," however, their lack of fluency prevented them from implementing an appropriate program for almost two decades.[41]

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Settler children understood both Inuktitut and English yet spoke the former more often than the latter as the following evidences: "Some children of settlers, who speak both English and Eskimo, read and repeated several portions of Scripture and hymns in the former language" (P.A. Zoar, Extracts of the diary of Zoar, August 1867-August 1868: Vol. 27; 57).

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For instance a missionary wrote: "I remained at Flounder Bight [Makkovik] for three weeks, making a trial with an English school for settler's children, which has long been a felt want. Mr. Anderson opened his house for the purpose, and provided the greater part of the expense. His own children and three from a neighbour furnished a company of nine, quite enough to begin with, especially as not one of them ever seen a school, and had to learn to sit still before other work could be taken in hand...writing-paper was very scarce, and the whole stock of ink was in my travelling case...Every day visiting settlers arrived, and showed great interest in our work...(P.A. Hopedale, Br. Ritter, August 1880: Vol. 31; 341). Also see (P.A. Hopedale, August 26, 1893, Part II: Vol. 2; 176); (P.A. proposed station Ailik, September, 1894, Part II: Vol. 2; 370); (P.A. Makkovik, December 1900, Part II: Vol. 4; 410).

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(General Mission Conference at Nain: 16-21 March, 1865: Minutes. R.15.Ka.11c.3a [Herrnhut]. Original in German).

By 1880 an English school was opened for Settler children at Hopedale[42] yet parents faced fundamental obstacles that were not reminiscent of Inuit parents' experience. For example, Settlers were required to provide classroom furnishings, pay tuition and finance their children's lodgings as they typically lived from twenty to fifty miles away from the Missions (P.A. Hopedale, Br. Ritter, August 1880: Vol. 31; 341). One missionary's comments offers more insight: "Beyond doubt the Eskimo children [are] urged to learn by their parents at home, more than are those of the Settlers" (P.A. Nain, Extracts from the Mission Station Reports, 1916-17, P. Hettasch, Part II: Vol. 10; 123). Consequently, Settler children's success at the schools was markedly lower than that of their Inuit counterparts as they lacked the tremendous social and economic supports and incentives enjoyed by the latter.

Parents' interest and participation in schooling clearly influenced its operations during the Moravians' reign as educators in northern Labrador. Their enthusiasm for schooling grew in relation to their quest for knowledge and literacy during the specified period, prompting missionaries to broaden the curriculum. By 1840, for example, the Moravians included secular subjects such as geography and arithmetic, adding science and history later in the century (Kleivan 1966: 81). Although the Moravians' focus on schooling eventually widened to prepare "children to take their place in the community" rather than

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English night classes were also offered at the Hebron station in 1896 (P.A. Hebron, Report of the Labrador Mission for the Ship-year 1896-97, "General Remarks Regarding the Five Older Stations," Part II: Vol. 3: 369).

singularly concentrating on conversion, the missionaries also "discouraged the Inuit from going south for more education, and punished Inuit caught speaking English" (A. Brantenberg 1977: 345). In contrast, Settlers were less restricted by the Moravians as they typically lived away from the stations and were neither as devoted or indebted to the Mission as Inuit were (ibid). That may have inspired the Moravians to maintain the pronounced ethnic and linguistic divisions that were reminiscent of both groups' schooling experience up until 1949, when the province of Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation (A. Brantenberg 1977: 345-346).

Thus, from the 1780s to the 1840s Labrador Inuit were not obligated to go to school or learn to read: they chose to. The numerous obstacles facing adults and children to attend classes were consistently overshadowed by their desire to learn to read; that was evident in the hundreds of references to schooling in the *Periodical Accounts*. Reading introduced Labrador Inuit to a novel world that was instantly welcomed and actively pursued. They did not distinguish the schools or the Moravians as the locus of literacy as the *Periodical Accounts* consistently evidenced that Labrador Inuit read together in their homes and while they lived away from the stations; moreover, many Inuit families living outside the settlements encouraged their children to attend school and learn to read while they visited the Missions without showing an interest in conversion. That meant Labrador Inuit desire to read transcended the missionaries' efforts and expectations as it assumed its own meaning.

Chapter 3:

The Labrador 'Problem:'

> Perhaps the crux of the whole situation in Labrador is that Newfoundlanders failed to learn the lessons of colonialism...[as they] lived under a colonial system a total of 452 years. Out of this experience, Newfoundlanders should have formed a firm resolve that no part of Newfoundland and Labrador would ever again be treated as a colony, or even appear to be so treated (Royal Commission on Labrador 1974: Vol. 6; 1295).

The Newfoundland Government practised a hands-off approach to governing Labrador for over two centuries. Early in Labrador's political history the Moravians offered themselves as the region's benevolent solution and Government surrendered its authority to the Church indefinitely. That greatly contrasts with its involvement in Newfoundland's affairs as it struggled for a century to undermine the Church's rein of the Island's school system. Where Government tirelessly pursued control of Newfoundland's schools it was reluctantly drawn into Labrador's affairs then lastly into its schools. As northern Labrador was monopolized by the Moravians, ignored by Government, then dominated by a reluctant yet powerful partner, the provincial government, the ideas of modernization and equality upheld Government's grudging role in Labrador both before and after Confederation. Though the provincial government tried to retain the Moravians as educators in order to minimize its participation in schooling, its policies unintentionally and ironically expelled them. Consequently, those ideologies prevailed and subsumed northern Labrador's schools in just one generation marking the beginning of the greatest changes to effect schooling in

its two hundred year history.

3.1. Labrador Governance

The British Government's[43] endorsement of Moravian governance in northern Labrador was timely and a product of the late eighteenth century. That period was marked by Christianizing groups and governments attempting to work together to ease the suffering of the world's indigenous peoples believed to be victimized by rapid colonial expansion.[44] Yet the Newfoundland Government had a lot to gain from the Moravians' willingness to establish Missions in Labrador; the project appealed to the Governor's sense of honour and decency by solving the "problem" of protecting Inuit from unscrupulous Europeans, while simultaneously distancing the explosive conflict between Inuit and Europeans from the lucrative yet burgeoning fishing industry (Hutton 1922: 132).[45] That meant the relationship

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The terms British and Newfoundland Governments are used interchangeably to signify that while the latter was granted representative government in 1832 it remained a British Colony until 1949.

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See Chapter 2 for more on the Moravians' christianizing approach.

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The most recent prehistoric ancestors of Labrador Inuit, Thule, lived in the region north of Hamilton Inlet after 1450 AD. (Schledermann, 1971; cited in Kennedy 1977: 264). In the sixteenth century European fishers began frequenting the southern coast with a few wintering there later. Traders accompanied the fishing expeditions and bartered with Inuit offering tools and weapons in exchange for furs and blubber (Jenness 1965: 7). The following two centuries were marked by Labrador Inuit travelling south to trade with Euro-Americans, with "extensive contact" occurring at the end of the eighteenth century. While those relations have been predominately depicted in northern Labrador's historiography as violent and fraught by mutual resentment (Inuit were thought to have "stolen what they could not obtain through barter," and "shot on sight by the heavily armed and suspicious foreigners"[Kennedy 1977: 265]). More recently, however, Kennedy argues that scenario was "overdrawn" as "reports of Inuit violence were put out by French concessioners, to discourage competition (Kennedy June, 2003: Personal Communication). Scholarly debates aside, the contemporary government used the argument that relations between Inuit/Europeans were extremely hostile in order to justify the Moravians' control of the region.

between the British Government and the Moravians rested on a paternalistic albeit well-meaning understanding of Labrador Inuit.

Governance of coastal Labrador became the Governor of Newfoundland's official responsibility in the late eighteenth century. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 specifically placed the coastline without mention of the interior under Governor Palliser's jurisdiction (Tanner et. al. 1994: 28). As relations between Inuit and European traders and fishers became intolerable, the British Government understood the necessity to quell the feuding as the area had enormous potential for profit (Jenness 1965: 8-9; Kennedy 1977: 266). Government deliberated on the motion for three years after the Moravians submitted their petition in 1765; although it was anxious to "manage the Eskimos" (Hutton 1922: 131), and the Moravians appeared to be the "panacea for all existing ills along the coast," the Brethren's request for 100, 000 acres of land for each settlement was suspicious (Davey 1905: 98-99). Yet the Moravians' moral argument prevailed as they agreed to keep unscrupulous Europeans out of the region and Labrador Inuit inside, warranting Government to relinquish 100, 000 acres of land to the Mission in 1769 (Davey 1905: 107).

Though Government's decision to support such a project may have appeared generous it served several political purposes. As Governor Palliser promoted the Moravians' endeavour as a "laudable plan, not only of uniting these people [Labrador Inuit] with the English Nation, but of instructing them in the Christian religion" those ideas were tremendously favourable for the young Colony's interests (Hugh Palliser April 30, 1765;

cited in MacGregor 1909: 145).[46] The Moravians merely asked for Government's endorsement and protection in theory, as they required no financial assistance and negligible government involvement. Furthermore, the land issued to the missionaries was considered to be marginal and carefully chosen as to not interfere with the lucrative fishing industry (M. Shuldham: March 17, 1774; cited in MacGregor 1909: 146). Thus, Government chose a path that served its interests in several ways: northern Labrador would be effectively governed; the bitter conflict between Labrador Inuit and Euro-Americans would cease; the fishing and trading industry would prosper; and Labrador Inuit would become acculturated into mainstream society; all at little or no expense to Government.

3.1.1. Moravian Governance 1769-1949

The Moravians' award of land was the watershed of their governance in Labrador as they were accorded almost total control of the region soon after.[47] In 1772, Governor Shuldham, Governor Palliser's successor, officially sanctioned Moravian authority in

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The Moravians' offer was highly attractive to officials as they were funded by a private agency, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG) based in London, England and became the Labrador Missions' sole benefactor once Government support was secured (Davey 1905: 82; Hutton 1922: 134). The Moravians also sought to become active in commerce through trade with Labrador Inuit to further supplement their costs (Davey 1905: 86).

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That arrangement satisfied the Moravians' policy that required them to establish and maintain good relations with the respective Governments at each settlement. Count Zinzendorf, a patron of the Brethren, understood the necessity of government support for the Missions regardless of their location, and required each missionary to "love and honour the King of the country." That served them well as "wheresoever the missionaries went, they had the sympathy of the Government" spanning from Labrador, Greenland, the United States, South Africa, and the Danish West Indies (Hutton 1922: 191). The undertone of that conviction was the Brethren's belief that "as soon as the Government were made fully aware of the true aim and object" their efforts would be unquestionably supported (Davey 1905: 55).

relation to Labrador Inuit by penning a declaration calling for them to "use every fair and gentle means in their power to prevent [Labrador Inuit] from going to the southward, without first obtaining their *permission* in writing for so doing" (Shuldham May 4, 1772: cited in MacGregor 1909: 146. My emphasis). That authority was magnified two years later as the Governor issued a proclamation solidifying the Moravians' reign over the entire region (M. Shuldham: March 17, 1774; cited in MacGregor 1909: 146), which "has been regarded as the foundation of all the liberty and protection which the Brethren have enjoyed ever since under the British Government"(Davey 1905: 98).[48]

Still, government approval was useless without the cooperation of Labrador Inuit. Ironically, though the Moravians had secured the right to establish Missions in the region, they were in many ways dependent on Labrador Inuit. As Chapter 2 explained, the latter were relatively autonomous in the late 18th century whereas the Moravians were not and their desire to build a spiritual enclave by definition required little or no interruptions by the State or outside forces. That greatly influenced the symbiotic relations between the missionizers

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While there were limitations to the authority bestowed to the Moravians the idea of their control was lasting within Government. Although the land agreement (1769) and Proclamation (1774) did not grant the Moravians "judicial powers," their control was restricted to almost all aspects of societal life with the exception of enacting or enforcing laws, meaning their legal authority merely enabled them to "expel evil-doers" from the settlements (MacGregor 1908: 335: Privy Council no. 462: 1352; as cited in Richling 1978: 123). Yet the idea of Moravian authority outweighed their weak judicial position as was evidenced from the short-lived "re-annexation" of the Coast of Labrador to the Province of Quebec in 1774. Governor Shuldham clearly stipulated that the Proclamation of 1774, which recognized the Moravians' governance in northern Labrador, was to be enforced by the Quebec administration. The Governor's bid was fulfilled as, according to his successor's report, Governor MacGregor, "that from its first arrival on the Coast to this day, the Moravian Mission has, without break or interruption, had the 'countenance and protection' of the Government of Newfoundland" (M. Shuldham August 3, 1774: as cited in MacGregor 1909).

and missionized as the Moravians necessarily sought the permission of local Inuit to establish their first station; had they not the Labrador project would have been in serious jeopardy. Thus, while Inuit were self-supporting Labrador governance was like a pyramid; with Labrador Inuit and Moravians constituting its sides and Government at its base. The power structure gradually eroded as Labrador Inuit fell deeper and deeper under Moravian influence toppling the once triangular relationship, irreversibly tipping the power balance in the Moravians' favour.

As Labrador Inuit became economically dependent on the Brethren the idea of Moravian governance was realized. Between 1855 to 1926 the Brethren "successfully dominated the local economy," which irreversibly altered the Inuit social structure, effectively repositioning the Moravians "as agents of the Crown, administering laws and regulations, controlling trade within their sphere of interest and acting as tutors and benefactors" (Tanner et. al. 1994: 26). [49] According to Richling (1978) as Inuit became centred around the Moravian settlements, becoming increasingly sedentarized, new systems of social control were adopted effectively altering Inuit identity that were ultimately controlled by the Moravians as the "centre of political authority" (122-123). That indisputably generated enormous changes to Inuit social structure and heightened the power imbalances between the groups (Kennedy 1977: 265). Yet the Moravians' strong economic position began to dismantle by 1926 marking the beginning of the end of the Moravians'

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See also Kleivan 1966; and Paine 1977 for descriptions of the period of pervasive Moravian dominance.

official reign as the Lords of Labrador.

Government's eagerness to relinquish control of Labrador to the Moravian Church was antithetical to its historic pursuit to eradicate the Church's power in Newfoundland. As the Moravians' policies were geared toward gaining government approval then keeping it far away from its operations, that course was similarly orchestrated and followed by their counterparts on the Island of Newfoundland. However, in contrast to Government's hands-off approach in northern Labrador it coveted the Churches' monopoly of Newfoundland's school system for over a century. That meant where the Moravians were left alone and even valorized for their role in the schools, as we shall see, the same was not true further south as Government paradoxically sought to displace the Church's authority then replace the conventional ideals of schooling with that of their own.

3.2. Newfoundland's School System 1830's to 1949

The Churches controlled Newfoundland's school system for a century by keeping the Colonial Government at bay. That was instituted by a unique denominational framework affording rights to "every church (recognized for educational purposes[50]) to establish and maintain its own schools with the support of state funds" (Parsons 1969: 1). Over time the denominational system became disordered and inefficient leading the Churches to open their century-long bolted door to Government, agreeing to a limited yet increased role in the enterprise. The tables swiftly turned after Confederation, however, as the Churches

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Significantly, the Moravian Church was never included in that category.

unintentionally slipped into Government's traditionally subordinate position, only to begin a futile struggle to conserve their presence in Newfoundland's burgeoning secular system.[51] Government never lost its grip after gaining control of the schools, however, as it swiftly changed the course of schooling to lead generations of Newfoundlanders toward Government's primary goal for the province: *modernization.*

3.2.1. Steps Toward Modernization: Newfoundland Schooling Pre-Confederation

The Colonial Government played a marginal role in establishing and operating the school system in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Newfoundland was a British Colony reliant on a seasonal fishing industry, schooling was not a concern for its residents. Therefore the Churches assumed the role of directing all matters concerning education for the numerous settlements scattered across Newfoundland before 1836, growing into an island-wide school system over the next four decades. The small Colony's residents supported the Churches', and its various societies,' dominant role in the schools as settlement was dictated by denominational affiliation.[52]

The Newfoundland Government's first attempt to insert itself into the school system

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The Newfoundland Royal Commission on Education and Youth (Hereafter NRCEY) unanimously agreed there were inherent problems in the denominational system, yet three of its commissioners included a "Minority Report" that warned of opening "the door to complete secular education" by accommodating the Government's drive to diminish the Churches' authority in Newfoundland's school system (1967: 194-197).

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Newfoundlanders' ties to the Churches were so strong that the Colony became divided into enclaves of "Irish and English - the former predominantly Roman Catholic, the latter mainly Protestant" (Sheldon 1972: 4-5).

was largely unsuccessful. In 1832 the Colony was accorded representative government and provided small grants to the two main Churches in charge of education; seven years later the funds were proportionally divided between "Catholic and Protestant interests" to "ease religious conflict" at the school district level (Atlantic Region Report 1975: 2). Four years later, however, Government overstepped its bounds by creating Newfoundland's first Education Act in 1836 that emphasized a "non-sectarian school system" (Sheldon 1972: 23). That effectively sealed Government's fate as an outcast in Newfoundland's schools for almost a century, as its proposal incited outbursts of heated opposition from the public, Churches and politicians. The only role accorded to Government in the school system at that time was a toothless financial one. Thus, Newfoundland's denominational school system was born in 1836 to serve the scattered rural population yet operated separately by both Churches and funded by the Newfoundland Government (Sheldon 1972: 24).

Government's second attempt to enter the school system was less intrusive and more successful. In 1874 it drafted an Education Act recognizing the denominational system that "provided for separate denominational public schools" (The Organization and Administration of Public Schools in Newfoundland [Hereafter OAPSN] 1960: 209). Government's century-long marginalized role in Newfoundland's school system continued until 1920, ending shortly after the formation of the first Department of Education in St. John's. As the Churches operating the schools were fraught with financial and communication problems, Government's increased participation was finally welcomed. For the first time the Churches agreed to implement the "principle of a centralized

administration," which was their first official recognition of the need to cooperate with Government, and each other, to effectively operate the schools (NRCEY 1967: 20).

Yet the balance of power in the school system continued to favour the Churches as Government's authority remained limited. The "principle of denominational Education" became "established by law in [the] Colony," forbidding "interference" from any agency including Government (Education Act 1927: 7). That meant that although an Amended Education Act was penned in 1927, it was written within the Churches' mandate and effectively cemented their power to organize more concretely along denominational lines. Thus, Newfoundland became carved up by "Education Districts" that administered the school boards and managed the schools within the respective denominations (Education Act 1927: 1).[53] Despite more Amendments to the Education Acts of 1935 to 1944, which legislated massive restructuring to the Department of Education and implemented a policy of compulsory schooling for children aged seven to fourteen (1945), Government's distance from the daily operations of the schools continued (The Education Act of 1945, Amendments to Acts from 1935-1944: 8; and 21). That coveted authority was held by and large by the school boards, as they were given a relative amount of freedom to implement curricula considered most appropriate to suit their communities' educational and denominational needs

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The school Districts were as follows: the Church of England; Roman Catholic; United Church; Presbyterian; Congregational; Salvation Army; and Seventh Day Adventist Districts; stretching across the entire island (Education Act 1927: 41). The school system grew into an unmanageable number of districts in a short period of time, as for example, in 1895 there were 132, in 1916 there 215, in 1927 there were 241 and by 1960 there were 289 School Districts with even more School Boards serving a population of 415, 000; furthermore there were more than 1300 schools with 67% of them with less than four classrooms (NRCEY 1967: 75-76).

(Revised Statutes of Newfoundland 1952: 1308-1312).

3.2.2. Newfoundland Schooling Post-Confederation

Government effectively tightened its grip on the school system after Confederation in 1949. Although the denominational principles remained intact as they were protected under Newfoundland's *Terms of Union* (Frecker 1956, Submission:1) the Department of Education successfully aligned the school system to fit within a model of uniformity. That meant the curriculum was almost identical in all the schools, similar texts were used, and the certification of teachers became uniform (OAPSN 1960: 216). The authority held by the school boards practically ceased soon after Confederation, however, as the NRCEY reported their "powers and responsibilities exist on paper only" and "all major decisions" for the smaller boards were made by the Department of Education (NRCEY 1967: 73).

As the authority of the provincial government in the school system grew its role became repositioned beside the once dominant Churches. Although politicians tried to sell the Province's redefined school system as a "state system," because the denominations assumed a new role that removed their monopoly on educational policy (Rowe 1952: 193), both entities forged a legal partnership affording neither the Church nor Government to make important educational decisions without the other's approval (OAPSN 1960: 214). However, Newfoundland's policy makers were gaining more ground in their quest to increase Government's role in the arrangement. For example, the NRCEY of 1967 concluded that the "reorganization of school districts is essential to the future progress of Newfoundland education," as the numerous "small school districts provide one of the greatest single

handicaps to educational progress and efficiency in the Province" (83). Yet, according to Cooper et. al., the general public undervalued schooling and remained unconvinced that it was a pathway leading them to "advance economically or socially" (1968: 4).[54] Despite the newly implemented changes to schooling inspired by adopting a uniform and 'improved' system, public opinion and the structure of the system itself continued to favour Newfoundland's traditionally pluralistic model of denominational education. In other words, Government had the authority to control the school system but lacked public support.

That led to the provincial government's attempt to 'educate' the public on the value and purpose of schooling as the key to modernization. The Province's longest serving and arguably most influential Minister of Education, F. W. Rowe,[55] eagerly supported the modernization program in the schools as evidenced by his speech that asserted "centralization will improve educational attainment" (Rowe 1958: 9) and warned that:

> Newfoundland is in a state of ferment, not only in education but in almost every aspect of our life and culture...the measures proposed here [secularizing the school system] are absolutely necessary if Newfoundland's standards as a whole are to be *raised* to the level of those in the rest in Canada (Rowe 1958: 28. My emphasis).

According to Dr. Rowe, Newfoundlanders lived "near-barbarism" in the eighteenth century due to their isolation from the "outside world" (Rowe 1952: 131). He was convinced that

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Cooper et. al. were delegates at a conference designed to make an educational tax, which would inevitably impose "hardship" on all Newfoundlanders' lives, acceptable and justifiable amid an economically strained population.

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Dr. F. W. Rowe was Newfoundland's third provincial Minister of Education and served from July, 1956 to May 1959 and again from October, 1967 to July 1971 (Andrews 1985: 416).

the "real enemies of an efficient education system in Newfoundland" stemmed from the "isolation" of small communities across the Province; Dr. Rowe was determined to change the face of schooling to lead the people of Newfoundland toward a 'superior' way of life, that is, to be equals in Canadian society (Rowe 1952: 140). He understood the power of schooling to foster such integration as the Education Minister wrote:

> ...the habits, beliefs, and prejudices of a people do not change overnight. Any violent attempt to change the system would probably cause more harm than good. Changes, to be really effective among a people whose philosophy and outlook have been so peculiarly nurtured and moulded by centuries of history, economics, and geography, must be evolutionary rather than revolutionary, especially where such changes are likely to impinge on religious scruples or prejudices (ibid.).

Yet that program ignored and created contradictions for a fundamental reality in the provincial school system. In 1954 more than 50% of the schools were either "sole-charge" or one-classroom schools with 16% of the Province's total enrollment attending the latter (Frecker 1956: 7). As most of the schools were located in rural areas and the most qualified teachers gravitated to the larger centres, the most "untrained, poorly educated, inexperienced teachers"taught in the smaller schools (Frecker 1956: 3). The Deputy Minister of Education's solution was to "aim at a standard where no teacher would be in charge of a classroom who did not have at least two years of post matriculation" (Frecker 1956: 5). Rather than dealing with the specific issues facing the majority of the province's schools, which were mostly centred on inadequate access to adequate schooling, the Deputy Minister was blinded by the contradictory messages underpinning the modernization program. That is, modernizing the school system meant that schools in the smaller communities were

ignored by definition as they would eventually be abandoned once their populations resettled to the larger centres. That mindset cultivated the Deputy Minister's moralistic conclusion that "the one-room school is still one of the major problems in Newfoundland education" while offering solutions that would inevitably intensify the predicament (Frecker 1956: 7).

By the mid-to late 1960's the notion of 'equality' was added to the idea of centralization as a fundamental principle of Newfoundland schooling. For example, the NRCEY (1967) recognized "that every human being has the right to an education,"and that one of its guiding principles was that "each child must be guaranteed equality of educational opportunity" (1; and 73). Yet Government's attempt to realize such a principle was criticized by A. C. Hunter as he pointed out that while administrators and politicians were "hot in the pursuit of equality," they failed to understand the complexities of what education was, or ought to be:

> ...schooling must be thought of as a part of the whole process of education, other parts being played by the home, the church, and so on down to the snack bar and the street. It concerns the whole of society and involves, or should involve, the whole of society, not be delegated to experts (Hunter 1965: 5-6).

Another point broached by Dr. Hunter was to question the purpose of schooling on a larger scale, that is, if "Schooling is part of a whole process of fitting people, and of helping them to fit themselves, for life in society" (Hunter 1965: 2), then what notion of society was the Department of Education attempting to fit Newfoundlanders into? and more fundamentally,

the residents of northern Labrador?[56]

This section has shown that the relationship between the Churches and Government in the Newfoundland school system has been a long-standing tug-of-war with both sides vying for control. Once Government gained dominance in the schools after 1949 the core idea of Newfoundland schooling became centred on competing with the rest of Canada. That concept was not a natural progression of the contemporary school system but rather Government's attempt to transform Newfoundland society to fit within an overarching societal ideal. In contrast, Government superceded Moravian authority in every social, economic and political sphere with the *exception* of schooling, as northern Labrador was considered to be the antithesis of modernity.

3.3. Labrador as Burden: 1926-1948

> The mental picture most Newfoundlanders have of Labrador, and this applies to many officials in Confederation Building where they should know better, is the same as seen on official maps of the Province. The island of Newfoundland is shown life-size, while Labrador is placed in a small insert...It is extremely difficult for people who have never visited Labrador to realize that it is more than 2 ½ times as big as the Island portion of the Province...It is not that Government has vacated the field in Labrador; it has never occupied it (RCL 1974: Vol. 6; 1298-1299).

The first stage of the contemporary Newfoundland Government's involvement with northern coastal Labrador was purely economic. By 1926 the Moravians lost economic

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The Newfoundland Task Force on Education adds another layer to this analysis, as it argued that equality "is in some ways contradictory to another basic notion, that of local control of education" and "it is no simple matter to even define what is meant by equality, when one considers that individuals differ in their ability to benefit from the educational system" (1979: 24).

control of the region and in an attempt to prevent bankruptcy, leased their "trading rights and properties" to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) for twenty-one years (Annual Report 1952: 5; Kennedy 1977: 280). Yet the HBC's trading operation failed forcing them to abandon Labrador's northern coast prematurely in 1942. Although the Brethren were pleased with the outcome, they were generally suspicious of the profit driven company, as trade was the primary industry in the region and the communities looked to the Newfoundland Government to revitalize it (Kennedy 1977: 281).

Yet Newfoundland's economy was also jeopardized at the onset of the Depression as the Government was crippled with debt. By 1933 Newfoundland's public debt became so unmanageable that the Colony faced bankruptcy, and was spared by "emergency intervention" from Canada and Great Britain (Chadwick 1967: 154-171; as cited by Tanner et. al. 1994: 29-30). [57] As Newfoundland's economy increasingly strengthened by the end of the Second World War its Commission of Government's options broadened. The Colony's improved economy re-opened the possibility for representative government, leading to a National Convention giving elected members a forum to discuss Newfoundland's alternatives and was, significantly, the "first election that included

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Newfoundland's financial problems were so severe that it lost representative government in January, 1934, and was replaced by a "London-appointed commission" to govern it for fifteen years (ibid.). As the Labrador Coast was under its jurisdiction, the Newfoundland Government assumed the barest responsibility for it; that is, a financial one, and the region received increased government relief that was administered by the Newfoundland Ranger Force after 1935 (Tanner et. al. 1994: 28-29).

Labrador."[58]

Consequently, Newfoundland's Commission of Government's improved financial position was also felt in Labrador. In 1942 the Northern Labrador Trading Operation (NLTO) was established, which was a division of the Department of Natural Resources, and was Government's attempt to keep Labrador's coastal economy moving (Annual Report 1952: 5; Kennedy 1977: 281). The NLTO began injecting large amounts of money into the region's economy advancing "amounts totalling approximately $305, 000" from 1942 to 1952.[59] As "Government's relationship to the administration of the area [was] almost entirely economic"(Annual Report 1952: 6), the Moravians' social and political reign in northern Labrador remained firmly intact for another decade.

3.3.1. Labrador as Burden: Post-Confederation

> There is a difference of opinion amongst those interested in the welfare of Northern Labrador concerning the best way to help the people not only educationally but socially and economically...The problem is not a simple one...In any event, a considerable time would be required to effect radical changes in the living habits of the natives...(Frecker 1949: 1-2).

Shortly after Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949 the newly formed Provincial government began administering Labrador. Yet as the majority of northern

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The delegates contemplated on reinstating representative government or continuing the Commission's governance in Newfoundland; Confederation with Canada was not on the mandate and was an unpopular alternative yet was won by a "bare majority" at a second referendum in 1948 (Tanner et. al. 1944: 30).

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That was a huge and unprecedented amount of money in the region as until 1939 "cash was almost an unknown commodity on the coast" (Tanner 1947: 538).

Labrador's population was Aboriginal, as we shall see, Newfoundland's government entered the arrangement grudgingly. At that time the Federal Government was beginning to acknowledge its financial responsibility for Canada's Indigenous Peoples yet that was not extended to the Aboriginal residents of Newfoundland and Labrador.[60] As both levels of Government wrestled with the question of 'responsibility' for Labrador residents and after several years reached a solution: the Federal Government would provide most of the funding whereas the Newfoundland Government would administer it (Kennedy 1977: 281).[61]

That radically transformed Labrador governance as it grew into an overarching regional administration. By September, 1951 a new agency, the Division of Northern Labrador Affairs (DNLA), replaced the fledgling NLTO and was organized under the Department of Public Welfare (Annual Report 1953: 6). The Provincial government had:

> ...decided to establish within one Department of Government a division which would be responsible for the affairs of northern Labrador, and which would be the focus of all Government activity at headquarters [in St. John's]

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As they were not mentioned in the *Terms of Union* Newfoundland's indigenous population were positioned as 'equal' Newfoundland citizens, impeding their entitlement to 'privileges' afforded to their national counterparts. That meant Newfoundland was "alone in Canada" as it "maintained sole responsibility" for "Eskimo and Indians within its borders" because, and this racial explanation was used, Europeans had permanently settled among them practising intermarriage for generations (Royal Commission on Labrador [Hereafter RCL] 1974: Vol. 6; 1170).

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In 1954 the Federal Government assumed "financial" responsibility for northern Labrador's residents' health care expenses for ten years, with an extra allotment of $200,000 per annum. By 1959 the Province was expending far more than that for services in the region yet its requests for more Federal aid was ignored until 1965 rendering Labrador as something to be avoided by all levels of Government (RCL 1974: Vol 6; 1171-1176).

for that area (ibid.).[62]

Although several branches of Government were involved in the activities of northern Labrador the DNLA was ultimately in charge. That meant trade and social welfare were administered by the DNLA in addition to distributing federal funding which increased in 1954 and again in 1965 (Kennedy 1977: 282). By that time Moravian governance was extinguished as the DNLA was "the most pervasive institutional force Labrador has ever seen," and was "an agency which after 1952, increasingly came to affect most facets of life" (ibid.).

For that reason the views of the DNLA's first director, Walter G. Rockwood are relevant.[63] Mr. Rockwood's submission to the Department's 1953 Annual Report summarizes his understanding of the DNLA's mission:

> The DNLA was created to *cope* with the *special problems* of administration in this remote section of the province. One of these problems [is], the difficulty experienced by private enterprise operating in the area...Another major problem is that the area is inhabited mainly by Eskimos and Indians who have not yet *developed* to the stage where they can be expected to compete on an equal footing with Whites in earning a livelihood, and, who, at least for some time to come, will need patient understanding and guidance

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The DNLA consisted of a director and Government appointed clerical staff. A "permanent" Standing Advisory Committee was also formed to assist the DNLA's activities, comprising of five Deputy Cabinet ministers from the Departments of: Public Welfare, Health, Mines and Resources, Education, and Fisheries and Co-operative (ibid.).

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Rockwood's appointment began in January, 1952. As a former Newfoundland Ranger he served as an enforcement officer in northern Labrador for several years (Annual Report 1952: 6). Though Mr. Rockwood had many preconceptions of life in northern Labrador he travelled to the northern coast for six weeks after his appointment to gain a better understanding of the services needed in the communities (Annual Report 1953: 76).

> in their adjustment to economic and cultural conditions into which they are increasingly being *enmeshed* and *absorbed.* Nor is Newfoundland alone in this problem, since the same situation exists to a greater or lesser degree all across northern Canada, Alaska and Greenland (Annual Report 1953: 82. My emphasis.).

This statement echoed Government's quest to raise Newfoundlanders to a 'higher' place yet another layer was added in the case of the residents of northern Labrador: race. The DNLA was responsible for all matters in northern Labrador rendering his remarks as representative of the agency and, by definition the Provincial government's, perception of its role in the region. Those views were not peculiar to Newfoundland's politicians as they were shared by prominent officials in the Canadian Government[64] revealing the roots of an imbalanced yet widespread burgeoning relationship between Government and Aboriginal Peoples and that unsurprisingly translated into schooling.

3.4. The 'Eskimo Problem:' Labrador Schooling

> In this part of Labrador the total population is estimated to be around 1,200, 800 of whom are considered to be pure Eskimo. The sociological and educational problems are made more difficult because part of the population to be served is not pure native. In this memorandum I am chiefly concerned with the Eskimo problem, though the needs of the settlers and half-breeds [sic] must not be forgotten (G.A. Frecker, Deputy Minister of Education, 1949: 1).

That "confidential" advice was given to the current Minister of Education in 1949.

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In Noel Dyck's *What is the Indian 'Problem:' Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian and Indian Administration* (1991) government officials characteristically pointed to the "Eskimo and Indian Problem" to justify policies designed to speed up Aboriginal Peoples' believed slow yet inevitable "progress" toward assimilation with Canadian society.

Though Frecker was asked to provide "recommendations concerning the education status of Northern Labrador" and conceded that "this is a serious problem calling for consideration by experts" (3); he discussed radically altering the region's economy to further sedentarize the population to eventually erase their nomadic way of life. As we can see, Frecker surpassed the intended task as he concluded the "Eskimo problem" to be so extensive that:

> ...whatever is done should, in my opinion, be done through and with the co-operation of the Moravian Mission Authorities. Well intentioned but inexperienced Newfoundlanders would find the task of caring for the native population well-nigh impossible (7).[65]

That mindset did not emerge in isolation as Frecker's recommendations formed the template of the newly established Provincial Government's educational policy in 1949.

Policy-makers' attempt to realize an 'accepted responsibility' was mostly theoretical as Government assumed an entirely financial role for almost three decades. That meant Moravian schooling[66] was *not* radically altered by Government at Confederation, despite the introduction of several changes to the schools in 1952. Thus, the administration of the Moravian schools can be divided into two phases: the first was from 1941 to 1954, when the

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Two sentences later Frecker added the contradictory byline, "Newfoundland must take a much more active role in the welfare of the people of Labrador" (ibid), underscoring the Deputy Minister's and Government's bewilderment of the 'problem.' Though Frecker visited the coast in the summer of 1948, his report was an extension of Rockwood's 1943 report that stated "education of the Eskimo should be an *accepted responsibility* of the Newfoundland Government which in this matter should consult with the Moravian Missionaries who through experience were best fitted to carry on the work" (Recommendation of Mr. W. Rockwood, Government Agent, Memorandum written in 1943 headed 'Educational Problems in Labrador;' as cited in: Department of Public Welfare 1964: 76. My emphasis).

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Government consistently referred to northern Labrador's schools as 'Moravian' throughout the specified period underlining the Brethren's ultimate responsibility for them.

missionaries exercised absolute control; followed by 1955 to 1968, when government policies first hindered the Moravians from teaching in northern Labrador then unintentionally pushed them out of the schools. Consequently, the second phase generated the most far-reaching yet incremental process of change to occur in northern Labrador's schools as the purpose of schooling became fundamentally transformed.

3.4.1. Changes to Labrador Schooling Post-Confederation: The Fiction

> If you spoke English in school, you would probably get a slap for it. The Elders tried for years to get English taught in the schools without any success and finally after Confederation, they did have the opportunity to see English being taught in the schools... They found then that this went a little bit too far. After a number of years they realized they had made a mistake...It was the community Elders themselves who wished to have English taught in the schools in the first place because they hadn't had the opportunity to learn English when they were going to school(LIA Education Conference. Abel Leo. 1987: 20. Translated).

The Moravians also advocated the implementation of several changes that were instituted in 1952. That year schooling became officially English, compulsory, and uniform as the curriculum and certification of teachers were aligned with the provincial system (Jenness 1965: 88; OAPSC 1960: 216; A. Brantenberg 1977: 346-347). The Moravians promptly responded to the Department's orders as the report from the Nain school stated: "all teaching, except scripture, is given in English" (P.A. Nain, 1952: 32; cited in Kleivan 1966: 105; D. Peacock Annual Report 1953: 2). Although the above changes have been consistently attributed to destroying the established system of Inuit/Moravian schooling,[67]

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See (A. Brantenberg 1977).

on closer examination that structure shared more similarities with the Department of Education's mandate than Government recognized. For example, the Newfoundland curriculum was successfully introduced to the schools as early as 1942 by superintendent Doris Peacock, preceding the Department of Education's orders by a decade (F.W. Peacock 1972: 3). The tradition of local children's regular school attendance pre-dated Confederation by more than a century and easily surpassed the Department's legally mandated school-age requirement (Jenness 1965: 88; Chapter 2).[68] Most significantly, however, was the transition from Inuktitut as the primary language of instruction to that of English as local people and the Moravians were in favour of gaining fluency and incorporating it into schooling (LIA Education Conference 1977 and 1987; Chapter 2).[69]

One of the most dramatic changes to effect northern schooling after Confederation was, however, experienced by the teachers. Before 1949 English and German speaking Moravians were drawn to the communities to work primarily as missionaries with teaching as their secondary role (F.W. Peacock 1972: 2). That meant the Moravians' guiding principle had remained intact as their allegiance continued to rest on spreading the gospel to local people while living at the stations indefinitely (Chapter 2). However, once Government

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The School Attendance Act of 1942 stipulated that children between the ages of 7 and 14 were legally required to attend school (1942: 21), yet Chapter 2 illustrates numerous historical references of Inuit students in regular attendance consistently representing the youngest and eldest generations.

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This argument is not intended to diminish the painful and substantive implications that the imposition of the dominant society's ideas and language has, and continues to have, in northern Labrador's schools. Rather its aim is to explain local people's initial openness to new forms of knowledge and expression. Chapter 4 discusses the profound consequences of the process on local people.

revised teacher qualifications the process of discouraging Moravian recruits began. By the end of the decade the Moravians had "difficulty in securing qualified teachers" as they were responsible for hiring them and their task was daunting as, "Ideally, teachers should speak both Eskimo and English, while other abilities such as music or crafts are an added asset"(OAPSN 1960: 212). By 1955 teachers in the Moravian schools were paid directly by the Department of Education yet only if they possessed appropriate academic credentials (Schloss 1964: 23; Andrews 1985: 93).[70] Nonetheless, Government incrementally displaced Moravian authority in the schools as candidates were expected to be teachers first and missionaries second. That was an accidental displacement as Government greatly benefited from the Moravians' control of the schools while its policies ironically undermined the arrangement.

3.4.2. Government's 'Hands-Off' Approach to Labrador Schooling 1941-1954

Government's initial and most significant role in northern Labrador's schools was again, financial. Beginning in 1941 the Moravian schools received a $1000 grant from the Commission of Government's Treasury, which was an attempt to equalize opportunities for the "children in Newfoundland and Labrador" (Department of Public Welfare 1964: 75).[71]

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See the Education (Amendment) Act 1949 legislating changes to teachers' salaries in the denominational system (and Andrews 1985: 376), effective April 1, 1954 a "new salary scale for teachers" was introduced that afforded bonuses for teachers in one-room schools with pupils in grades above VIII, and to teachers in Labrador" and "was based on school enrollment" (Andrews 1985: 93).

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That grant grew into an annual payment the following year and was increased to $4,000 by 1949 (Newfoundland Commission 1954: 30); the Newfoundland Provincial Government similarly supported the arrangement as the funding went up and down after 1949 ending at $4,900 at the end of the 1969-70 school

That financial support exceeded the funds allotted for building maintenance and other schooling costs while remaining a prudent arrangement for Government. For example, by the end of the 1967-68 school year the total Provincial expenditures for the 'Operation' and Maintenance of 'Indian and Eskimo schools' was $469,214, and was 0.6 % of the Province's total expenditure on education for that year (Department of Education, Annual Report 1969: 21).[72]

Both the Commission of Government and the Provincial government unquestionably supported Moravian authority in the schools before and after Confederation. In 1941, the same year the funding began, Doris Peacock and her husband Rev. F. W. Peacock were appointed joint superintendents of the four schools serving the communities of Nain, Hebron, Hopedale and Makkovik (F.W. Peacock 1972: 2).[73] Two years later Government "awarded Teaching Certificates" to the Moravian teachers under the "Newfoundland Teacher Grading

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year (Department of Education, Annual Report 1969: 19).

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Northern Labrador's "Indian and Eskimo schools" received far less financial support than their counterparts in northern Canada as Federal educational supplements were much lower for Newfoundland in 1960. Although the Provincial government commissioned a report detailing such "discrimination," the argument pointed to the injustice facing the Provincial government rather than the students. Thus, their 'accepted responsibility' appeared excessive to Government, despite the schools' minimal expense and Government's negligible involvement in their operations, the schools were deemed "added financial responsibilities" for "a province whose educational load is heavy enough" (Wall 1960: 18). Most fundamentally, that report, which was written to highlight "educational problems" in remote areas of the Province, only discussed northern Labrador's schools in financial terms without any other educational considerations.

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All the schools operated as day schools but Nain and Makkovik were also boarding schools (Jenness 1965: 87). The Hebron school was closed later in the decade as the entire community was resettled to Nain and Makkovik by the provincial government, Moravian Mission and International Grenfell Association (for a gripping account of the relocations see: "How the North was Lost: Hebron and Nutak Remembered" (Evans 1999).

Regulations" (Department of Education, Annual Report 1969: 19).[74] That control was officially increased in 1952 by the provincial government, three years after Confederation, as the Moravian schools were incorporated into the Newfoundland system. Yet as the Moravian Church was not a recognized denomination under the Education Act of 1927[75] they were excluded from Newfoundland's denominational school system; Government sidestepped the issue by classifying them as 'community schools' and placing them under the jurisdiction of Labrador's first district school board, the North Labrador School Board (NLSB), with Rev. Peacock as its superintendent (Jenness 1965: 88; OAPSN 1960: 212).

That meant the NLSB was an anomaly in Newfoundland's school system for several reasons. First, the designation of 'community schools' distanced the Board from its denominational counterparts further as its relationship to Government was reminiscent of school boards in other provinces. For example, the NLSB superintendent dealt "directly" with the Department of Education and was "assisted by local committees" greatly contrasting with the denominational system (OAPSN 1960: 209).[76] While that arrangement might cast Government in a generous light as it presumably assumed more responsibility for the schools

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As the Moravians were primarily interested in candidates demonstrating '"real missionary spirit'" academic training or teaching experience was often secondary (F.W. Peacock 1972: 2; Chapter 2).

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After Confederation the recognized denominations were the United Church, the Church of England, and the Roman Catholic Church (Labrador Conference 1956: 14).

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It was not until 1968 that "Denominational Education Committees" were legislated to assist the denominations in "carrying out its powers, functions and duties" outside the Department of Education (Education Act 1968: 8).

in an already overburdened system (Wall 1960: 18), the reverse was true as the Department of Education's obligation to the Board, and ultimately to the schools, was officially *lightened* as the Moravians became legally bound to administer them.[77]

Secondly, geographic and cultural considerations positioned the NLSB on the periphery in Newfoundland's school system. As the schools were geographically removed from St. John's, government officials rarely visited them, yet even more fundamentally, rarely considered them. For example, in the first edition of *The Newfoundland School Annual* Dr. G. A. Frecker, Newfoundland's Minister of Education from 1959 to 1964, wrote an editorial on the importance of education in the Province yet his comments about Labrador are truly revealing:

> The natural resources of our island and of the great territory of Labrador have been wrested from their hiding places...Labrador is still, in many respects, an untapped and unmapped storehouse of treasures (Frecker 1961: 2).[78]

While the population in northern Labrador was small it also constituted a cultural minority as "Over 95% of the people [in the Province] are of English, Irish or Scottish descent and English-speaking" with "Some 800 Eskimos in Labrador" (OAPSN 1960: 216). Although Government was interested in assimilating the small population, which was evidenced by a

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The Superintendent of the Labrador East Integrated School Board (LEISB) wrote in 1981 "I shudder to think of the size of staff and payroll that would be required should a federal or provincial department be called upon to administer this side [administration] of our operation" (Annual Report of the LEISB 1980-81: 2).

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In contrast, Premier J.R. Smallwood's editorial failed to acknowledge Labrador altogether as schooling was perceived to be required, available and valuable only to Newfoundland students (Smallwood 1961: 2).

report to the Federal Government stating there was a "steady evolution towards absorbing the schools in Labrador into the educational pattern in Newfoundland," it was more of a hopeful outcome than a practised one as the Department of Education did little to ensure that result (Department of Public Welfare 1964: 76). Rather, the only area the Moravian schools were treated "on the same basis as denominational schools" was financial, as equality in northern Labrador's schools during the specified period was only practised by Government in those terms (Rockwood, in the Administration of Northern Labrador, 1964: 76). Thus, "until the year 1955 the Moravian Mission was entirely responsible for the administration of the 'Moravian schools'"(Peacock 1972: 3),[79] as it was easier for Government to retain them as northern Labrador's tutors fulfilling its 'accepted responsibility' while maintaining its distance.

Yet not all members of the Department of Education were blinded by the modernization program. In the summer of 1952 a representative from the Department of Education, Mr. Bragg, visited the Nain school and conducted teaching workshops for three weeks. As Mr. Bragg incorporated his interest in the local people into his discussions, it resulted in a valuable experience as Doris Peacock, the Moravian Schools' co-superintendent, concluded:

> It was clear that his aim, like ours, was to find the best in each child and help him to be a good and useful citizen of *Labrador*...[and his visit encouraged us] to go ahead with the task of building the human foundation of a *new*

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Rev. Peacock also wrote that they were also "financially" responsible for the schools yet the previous paragraph discounts that claim (1972: 3).

Labrador (D. Peacock 1953: 4; 9. My emphasis).

Put differently, the aim of schooling was then understood, by at least two people in authority, in terms of the culture in which the people and schools were embedded.

Nonetheless, Government's endorsement of Moravian authority in the schools was an anomaly in the new Province. It was separate from Government's drive to control schooling in Newfoundland, despite the Brethren's similar scholastic endeavours with their denominational counterparts on the Island, and furthermore, conflicted with Government's overall approach to colonize every other social, political and economic sphere after Confederation. The Moravian schools represented the antithesis to the modernization program as it served a small, isolated and culturally distinct population. Thus, the Moravians benefited the provincial government, as it had for its Colonial predecessor, by continuing to perform a valuable and affordable service. That arrangement was short lived as the Moravians gradually left the schools taking the fundamental purpose of schooling with them, forcing Government to step in and incorporate a new philosophy promoting a future in an entirely different yet dominant society.

3.4.3. 'Modernity' Hits Labrador Schooling: 1955-1969

> The philosophy of education in respect to the Eskimo has undergone a complete change in recent years. As recently as 1948 the purpose was to educate these children to live as far as possible in the traditional manner of Eskimos but today the aim is to equip them to take their places as citizens and to *absorb* them into *our* society without violence to the native culture (F. W. Rowe, Chairman of Labrador Conference 1956: 15. My emphasis).

The 'modernization' campaign reached northern Labrador in the mid-1950's. Shortly

after the NLSB's teachers began receiving $200 bonuses for working in the region, numerous government officials began taking a closer look at the schools (Labrador Conference 1956: 16).[80] For example, F.W. Rowe, G.A. Frecker and several notable Department of Education officials visited the Nain school in their attempt to advise the teachers on the benefits of promoting 'modernization' in the classrooms (Schloss 1964: 23). Although that visit may have been a first for a Newfoundland Minister of Education, Rowe's impressions of the schools reveals the ideas driving the modernization movement. For example, he concluded that local children faced "unique problems" as their families spoke Inuktitut and were taught English in the schools yet failed to consider their unique heritage of literacy (Labrador Conference 1956: 15). Despite Dr. Rowe's propensity for delineating the history of Newfoundland schooling at almost every turn[81] he clearly misunderstood and failed to appreciate the nuances and complexities of Moravian schooling. Most strikingly, however, was Rowe's conclusion that:

> The more backward peoples [sic] of the Nutak and Hebron districts and some of the Nain group should preferably be given the opportunity of further adjustment before they are absorbed in more heterogenous surroundings. This can be achieved by replacing those of the Nain group who move elsewhere by the people from the two Northern districts (Labrador

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The teachers were predominantly European, "English and German," whereas there was one "Labrador girl trained at Memorial University" yet most notably Newfoundland teachers were absent (Labrador Conference 1956: 16).

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Dr. Rowe's book *The History of Education in Newfoundland* (1952) has been mentioned, in addition, he gave a detailed account of the background of the education system dating back to 1874 at the first House of Assembly meeting in 1969 (Vol. 1: No. 1).

Conference 1956: 18).[82]

Government's campaign to modernize the Province via the schools was more about changing people to fit within a prescribed societal model than an effort to help them attain knowledge. Yet for those schools serving students deemed incapable of 'modernizing,' specifically the population of northern coastal Labrador, they were merely required to implement a watered down version of the program and were largely left alone. That left the Moravians to continue administering the schools until 1969,[83] yet as fewer and fewer Moravians went to the region Government was forced to incorporate the schools into the Provincial system. Thus, as Government's goal of centralization was realized it simultaneously ended the Moravians' reign as northern Labrador's tutors.

3.4.4. Northern Labrador's School Board

As the modernization program was focussed on promoting education in the schools serving the Province's larger centres the prospering Goose Bay area was ideally suited. In 1965 numerous schools served the children of a growing population of military personnel. The town grew exponentially in a short period of time as its military airport became Goose Bay's primary employer (Hamilton Amalgamated School Board [Hereafter HASB] 1967: 1). The population continued to expand rapidly and the association acting as the School

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Government attempted to do exactly that as residents of both northern communities were resettled along the coast shortly after that visit.

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In the 1968-69 *List of Schools in Newfoundland By Provincial Electoral District* the schools in Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik were classified as 'community' schools meaning they were still under the NLSB's jurisdiction in that year (1969).

board was under mounting pressure to build and renovate more facilities (HASB 1967: 1). In November 1966 the Government of Newfoundland agreed to assume responsibility for the schools by replacing the Department of National Defence with the Department of Education at the beginning of the 1967 school year (HASB 1967: 2). Thus, on November1966 Labrador's largest school board, the Hamilton Amalgamated School Board, was established serving all the "Protestant Boards existing prior" to that date in the "entire Goose Bay area" (HASB1967: 5).[84]

Its jurisdiction increased shortly thereafter as the Department of Education refined its Education Acts to create an even more centralized system. As the Royal Commission on Education and Youth's (1967) recommendations legitimized the entire system to be overhauled to fit within a more secular model, Government swiftly responded by legislating its 1968 and 1969 Education Acts sanctioning the system's restructuring at the Provincial and School District levels respectively (House of Commons Hon. F.W. Rowe 1969: Vol. 1; No. 1). Those changes spread to Labrador as its schools were to be administered by three school boards with the Labrador East Integrated School Board (LEISB) replacing the Hamilton Amalgamated School Board in 1969.[85]

That meant the LEISB became the largest district in the Province as it spanned 1,200

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The schools' population exceeded the entire coastal population in 1967 as there were "some 1,450 students" with "250 high school students, 220 junior high students, 980 elementary students" (HASB 1967: 5).

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Its headquarters were located in Goose Bay and Rev. F.W. Peacock was named Chairman of the Board (LEISB Brief 1970-71; RCL Vol. 1: 145).

miles across northern Labrador. Its jurisdiction included schools in: Happy Valley/Goose Bay; North West River; Mud Lake; and all the schools along the northern coast with the exceptions of Davis Inlet and Postville (RCL 1974: Vol. 1; 145). The Moravians' reign as northern Labrador's tutors was officially over as the schools became the responsibility of the LEISB. Despite the superficial suitability of the schools to fit within the centralization and modernization program, that approach continued to contradict life in northern Labrador creating numerous problems for the all the schools but most specifically for the three former Moravian schools.

Still, the newly organized LEISB refused to accept Government's traditionally reluctant role in the region. For example, the Board's superintendents were expected to visit each school in its jurisdiction annually, yet that could only be accomplished by air as the District was enormous. Government's disregard for schooling in the region was summarized by their actions:

> ...there is a government aircraft stationed in the area. But our Board has been able to use this only on a space-available basis...In other words we are beholden to all other Government officials stationed here. We feel it is a rather sad comment that education should be relegated to such a lowly position (LEISB Brief 1971: 17).

Furthermore, the lack of Newfoundland teachers in the northern schools, particularly along the coast, was perhaps most revealing as it reflected the Department of Education's neglect to promote Labrador as a potential place of employment. The LEISB was forced to recruit teachers from Great Britain, Europe and the United States as Newfoundland teachers were a "minority" (LEISB Brief 1971:14). The LEISB concluded that:

> We believe, and we know it is the belief of the Government of Newfoundland, that Labrador will never really belong to Newfoundland until it is populated by Newfoundlanders. However, young people in this area will not stay unless they can obtain jobs. For jobs they need skills. For skills they need education. Seen in this light education should have the highest priority of any Government department in Labrador...at the moment it would appear to have the lowest. We are sure that because of the Government's interest in the development of the area, they will see to it that this disparity is rectified. Some of these problems can be solved at little or no extra cost to Government. But all of them must be solved if this district is to be held together as an effective educational unit (ibid.).

Therefore, by 1969 the Moravians' reign in northern coastal schooling ended yet Government's disregard for the schools continued. Once the Moravians' presence diminished Government had little choice than include the schools within the LEISB district consequently intensifying and maintaining its long-standing distance. Remember, it was the idea of modernizing the school system that supported such neglect as it blinded policy makers from perceiving their actions as contributing to the 'Labrador problem.' Yet the strong words used by the LEISB demonstrated a new era had begun as the Board made unprecedented demands on the Department of Education. But it was not until the early 1980's that Government seriously considered schooling in northern Labrador. In 1981 the LEISB hired a qualified curriculum specialist and other competent professionals at the supervisory level to administer the schools properly. That was unprecedented as the superintendent stated "Our district has long been one where we have reinvented the wheel time after time and always with good intention" (Superintendent's Report; Annual Report of the LEISB 1980-1981: 1).

That "good intention" was applied to an Inuktitut/English stream programme offered

to Kindergarten students shortly after the LIA's Education Conference in 1977. It was during that conference that local people voiced their concerns of a unilingual/uni-cultural mandate taught at Jens Haven in Nain and the three other northern schools. By 1981-82 Superintendent Ronald Sparkes had implemented three significant initiatives intended to provide "relevant educational services to another culture " as follows: "Inuktitut instruction in all four schools;" four teachers hired to work "in the area of native language instruction and general teaching, all of whom are local people able to avail of upgrading to the status of certified teachers;" and Life Skills programs for the higher grades (Superintendent's Report, Annual Report of the LEISB 1981-82: 16). Nonetheless, the ideology of centralization and equality guided the Superintendent's approach to schooling as he concluded:

> As a Board, we must recognize cultural differences and the validity of educational needs that may be different from ours. For whatever reasons, the fact remains that the Inuit students are the ones more prone to failure and dropping out in our system. It is an established and proven fact, that the most effective solutions to problems *are born from within*, thus it is imperative that Native Peoples play an active and meaningful role in the educational process (Superintendent's Report, Annual Report of the LEISB 1981-82: 17. My emphasis).

Thus, the purpose of schooling in northern Labrador had been forever changed as the "Labrador Problem" officially seeped into its schools by the 1980's.

Chapter 4

A School and Community At Odds

> ...the split that this [Inuktitut/English] programme has brought about is less than desirable. It seems that if the correction is not made now, there might develop a social distinction or worse still an English/Eskimo split when they reach Grade 1 (Beatrice Watts, Programme Co-ordinator Native Education, Annual Report of the LEISB: 1980-81, p. 33).

Ms. Watts' prediction was a reality nearly two decades later as division was the most prevalent theme of my fieldwork. The problems she referred to were clearly evident and symptomatic of much deeper divisions riddling Nain in 1999. By the conclusion of my fieldwork I understood the huge brown brick Jens Haven Memorial not only as a fortress, but also as a factory reproducing the cleavages wedging through Nain, tearing into and around the school dividing teachers, administrators, and students from one another. While dozens of people offered their perspectives on the divisions within Nain, and their voices fill this chapter, no one discounted its presence and every person I spoke with regardless of their status expressed hope for its reversal.

Initially the theme of this fieldwork centred on schooling. Were Nain's local people[85]

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Identity was, and is, a hotly contested issue in Nain and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. During my fieldwork Nain residents used various terms to identify themselves and others throughout my fieldwork. Labrador Inuit considered themselves Inuit or Inuk (singular) and privately identified community members with European and Inuit ancestry as "Settlers." The latter, however, were publicly referred to as LIA members. Labrador Inuit also identified themselves as "local people" which sometimes included Settlers and therefore is used to signify the majority of Nain's residents.

satisfied with their relationship with the school? How were their concerns communicated to those in authority to institute change? Local parents felt alienated and discriminated against in the school whereas teachers and administrators were frustrated by their presumed indifference; yet the dichotomy between school and community both inside and out was impossible to ignore as every interview, interaction and observation underscored it. The consequences of that divergence were manifested differently depending on social affiliation, that is, local people purposely avoided the school, teachers and administrators demonstrated profound frustration, and children were caught in the middle.

That divergence was reminiscent of the stratification of Nain as power imbalances were sharply defined. As the school was embedded within the social, economic and political context of the community such distinctions were replicated in the classroom. Inuit were the largest and most economically impoverished group, Settlers were more affluent. Moreover, Settlers formed the majority of the LIA and operated more businesses, yet white outsiders constituted the most privileged social group as they occupied the most powerful and lucrative positions such as: the RCMP, Social Services, Medical Services, local merchants and the school. That meant the privileged group dominated the majority of Nain's residents in almost every social, political and economic sphere despite their small numbers.

Nevertheless, the severe social inequities in Nain were not created by the members of the privileged group. After Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949 northern coastal Labrador became the responsibility of the Provincial Government, and swiftly replaced Moravian dominance with an administration that overshadowed almost every social sphere

(see Chapter 3). That web of control and the ideas supporting it have remained intact in Nain as the majority of its weakest residents continue to be dominated by a complicated and at times crippling system.[85] While it is important to recognize that individuals occupying those privileged positions were not responsible for creating inequality in Nain, they enjoyed the benefits of such an arrangement as their roles perpetuated the system that supported it. This research will describe the rupture between the school and community as a microcosm of the more complex and widespread divide between Nain's social classes and the ways that systemic inequality spilled over into the English stream's second grade classroom.

4.1. Perspectives on the Value of Schooling in Nain

> I'm no expert and it's only my opinion but people don't value education here. They don't care about it. A lot of children aren't being taken care of properly and it's a big problem that's all related to education.

This statement was made by an RCMP officer two days after my arrival in Nain. He had worked in the community for two years, originated from Atlantic Canada, and was non-Native. He had "made a point of talking" to me posthaste as I was clearly a newcomer, and provided the rawest assertions of this fieldwork considering we had just met. His candour was primarily due to his assumptions about my identity as a fellow non-Native "outsider," for example he asserted "they're [local people] different from us." He also warned that I

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This is not intended to portray Nain's local people as unsuspecting victims of an overarching system of dominance, nor are they responsible for its progression. Rather the forces of dominance have been a continuous presence in northern coastal Labrador for generations and were responsible for creating an imbalanced system that everyone in Nain lived with as they either suffered or benefited from it.

should expect three of the following reactions by local parents: they would either react negatively to my presence, loudly voice their opinions or avoid me entirely. According to this informant, research on schooling was futile as it was a low priority among local people and he anticipated that I would draw a similar conclusion.

This outlook was common among the first group of people I encountered during my fieldwork. As a conspicuous newcomer I was instantly accessible to fellow "outsiders" that were quick to approach me. Though they were unrelated to the school they all assumed I was a "new teacher." Their eagerness translated into several casual interviews on schooling with the above statement reflecting the consensus.[86] Though they were not directly affiliated with the school they were members of the community rendering their views as important. But what about those operating Jens Haven? What were their views on the value of schooling in Nain? Jens Haven's vice principal[87] was receptive to being interviewed. He avoided sweeping generalizations and thoughtfully answered my questions while explaining much of his time was devoted to organizing a new primary school facility. After several years of "planning and preparation" its doors were "finally opened" during this research. Though he agreed that a new school would not "solve everything," and admitted there were several areas of concern affecting primary students, after some thought he concluded:

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As Nain was a small village news of my presence and details of my research travelled quickly.

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Jens Haven had two vice principals at the time of this fieldwork, they were referred to as the male "vice principal" and the female "Inuktitut vice principal." As local people were not initially receptive to me, by the time I had made inroads in the community my focus had changed and I did not interview the latter.

> A school can only do so much. There are a lot of problems in Nain that need to be addressed and yes, the school has to take responsibility for some of them. But everyone here wants the school to solve everything, we just can't do that.
> The teachers are already overworked, we just can't do everything.

The vice principal explained local people expected the school to provide all programs for students, devise after school recreation programs, contribute to the well-being of the community by promoting and preserving Inuktitut, and ensuring the survival of Inuit culture, he was clearly frustrated by the inaction and passivity of the community in these matters.

Jens Haven's principal was more guarded during our interviews. He had administered the school for three decades, raised his family in Nain and was openly suspicious of my presence. He conveyed great responsibility for the local people and the theme of our two taped interviews centred on the failure of anthropological projects in Labrador, his general mistrust of researchers "from away," and warnings of the numerous politically sensitive areas in Nain. Deciphering his perspective on schooling seemed difficult as he avoided answering many of my questions, however, his endorsement of the Labrador School Board's (LSB)[88] programs provided some insight.

The principal explained the LSB had been unfairly criticised in the past.[89] He

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The Labrador School Board is the contemporary title as Labrador is now divided into two school districts.

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For instance, two Education Conferences in 1977 and 1987 and the Newfoundland and Labrador Native Teacher Training Conference in 1987, highlighted numerous problems facing the northern schools such as: the unavailability of the TEPL program (Teacher Education Program in Labrador) to local people; the burden assumed by local teachers to translate curriculum materials into Inuktitut; administering relevant curricula to Labrador's northern coastal communities; and decades of wide-spread drop-out rates devastating the northern coast.

considered the implementation of the Inuktitut/English stream, the Life Skills and TEPL programs in the late 1970's and early 1980's, as the LSB's accommodation of local peoples' "educational needs." The principal explained the role of Jens Haven's Inuk vice principal as overseeing Inuktitut programs, their policy of hiring local people fluent in Inuit language and culture as teachers, and pointed out the successful production and distribution of Inuktitut materials by the Curriculum Unit in North West River, Labrador. He described Jens Haven's policy of encouraging local and non-Native teachers to invite elders into their classrooms to lead field-trips and demonstrations of cultural pursuits, and could "bring things in" from the natural environment for such purposes. Additionally, students were able to take a week's leave from school to "go off" hunting or fishing with their families without being "marked absent." He proudly explained the school's initiatives to work as partners with the community to create an inclusive educational experience for every child in Nain.

Both administrators were unquestionably loyal to the LSB and the people of Nain. They recognized the value of schooling in the community yet differed in degrees of frankness during our interviews. Interestingly, both administrators referred to local people as sidestepping their responsibility for schooling albeit the principal's admission was subtle. For example, while the intentions underpinning the above programs were likely well-meaning (See Chapter 3), at the time of this fieldwork Jens Haven remained embattled by the same issues that had inspired their implementation twenty years earlier. Given the

principal's commitment to the LSB programs[90] I wondered how he reconciled their lack of success. As the following section argues Jens Haven's administration was deeply perplexed by the problems of schooling, despite the principal's attempts to suggest otherwise, and the onus pointed to a specific direction.

4.1.1. The School's Unravelling Perspective

The Opening Assembly occurred on September 8, 1999 and was the first day of school in Nain. My daughter Sarah and I had arrived in the community the day before and barely knew anyone. During our walk to school we witnessed the town awaken; almost every door opened as we passed houses with people of all ages joining the moving crowd. Their mood was enthusiastic as everyone greeted one another and walked toward the school to congregate at the side entrance.

Once the doors opened the crowd flooded the hallway and entered the gymnasium. We walked along clear plastic sheets covering the length of the hallway and continuing into the gym. The sheets protected the floors from the onslaught of sandy shoes as Nain was, and still is, blanketed in sand. The gym's floor was similarly covered in sheeting as it spanned three-quarters of its length ending twelve feet in front of the stage at the north end. Two groups of metal chairs were lined up in five rows facing the stage with a few feet of extra sheeting in front of the first row. Several long wooden benches bordered the walls of the gym leaving a large space between the groups of chairs at the centre of the room. The

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The Inuktitut/English stream will be discussed in particular.

unprotected portion of the floor sported a podium, a bench placed far up along the west wall beside the gym's other entrance, and a large amount of unused space extending from the edge of the sheeting to the stage and east wall.

The majority of the audience was positioned along the gym's periphery. People of all ages were standing, sitting, and crouching along the walls. As time went on, the benches became increasingly difficult to see as people sat and stood in front of them using up the space between the groups of chairs and benches. The chairs were filling up rapidly with laughing and talking children of various ages. The crowd quickly grew and the periphery of the room became overcrowded. No one sat in the space in front of the chairs whereas only three adults sat in the chairs. The room seemed unbalanced as the uncovered section remained mostly empty. The bench at the west wall was frequented by teachers and administrators walking in and out of that entrance as they anticipated the upcoming presentation.

The first person to make an announcement at the podium was a man dressed in track pants and a gym shirt, I later learned he was the physical education (phys-ed) teacher. The man addressed the audience through the microphone with two statements. The first was directed to the children sitting in the chairs as he said, "Those chairs are for the parents, okay? Students. You gotta get up. If any adults want to sit down - - you gotta get up...You're young." Seconds later he continued, "There are chairs up in the front for parents, right here...if you want." His delivery of both statements contrasted greatly; in the first instance the man used a commanding authoritarian tone, whereas the second statement was

softer, trailing off at the end. It was more of a hopeful suggestion than an order as the students were commanded to leave the chairs while the parents were invited to sit in them.

Several children got up and walked to the side of the gym to either lean against a wall or sit on the plastic sheeting. Other children hesitantly looked around before abandoning their seats and slowly walked to the edge of the room. However, several children did not move and continued talking and shifting in their seats. That resulted in the emptying of the first three rows, which were closest to the teachers, and Sarah and I moved up to sit in them. As we abandoned our middle seats that had strategically placed us in the centre of the action we virtually sat alone as I was the only adult to act on the teacher's request. There were no more suggestions directed to the audience by the teachers or administrators concerning the use of space.

4.1.1.1. The Principal's Message

The principal began with a twenty minute message to the audience. His entire speech was translated into Inuktitut by the vice-principal as he spoke about school success being contingent on parental participation. The principal thanked parents for "showing up with [their] children to show support for their education" and had a:

> quick message to the students that today is the day that you'll have to decide that you're going to attend school on a regular basis and do the best you can on all your work. I'd like to encourage all the students here this morning to make the commitment right now that this year they will be successful at school. And if you make that commitment, we will do our best as teachers, so that you will have the best year, so far.

And to the parents:

> We can only be truly successful when you're a part of this complete effort, so I give the invite to the parents to become involved in your children's education. If you have a question, or a concern, or an issue, that you would like to discuss with a teacher or the administration please feel free to come or phone the school at a moment's notice. And in that way, I feel that we will ensure that your children will have a good year at Jens Haven."

As the Assembly continued I became increasingly aware that I was sitting between two entities: the school and the community. The front of the room symbolized the culture of the school as the principals and teachers walked freely on the uncovered gym floor, speaking at the podium and commanding the audience's attention. The perimeter of the room represented the culture of the community attending to its own needs and agendas. Finally there was the space between the entities, the chairs, as they constituted a physical divide between both. That structure became more evident as it manifested itself in living form following the principal's address as two men were invited to bless the school year. The first was an Inuk elder who spoke extremely softly in Inuktitut into the microphone, and despite his almost inaudible prayer, the entire audience silently and obediently stood up and sat down on cue. This was greatly contrasted by the local Pentecostal minister's prayer that followed as the audience became restless and unresponsive to his commanding voice as it reverberated around the room. Most interesting, however, was at the Assembly's conclusion as the Inuk elder walked into the audience and was embraced by the crowd whereas the Pastor exited through the teacher's entrance. Both men symbolized the spirit of the school and community as institutions with both being quite separate.

4.1.1.2. School as Entity

The most prominent message of the Assembly was the school's attempt to control the local people's time, space and movements. Firstly, the doors were unlocked a little after 8:30 a.m. to allow the crowd to enter the gym directly from the side entrance. Though the crowd anxiously waited for the doors to open, two teachers watched us for several minutes from inside the hallway before unlocking them. Secondly, the sheeting indicated where the crowd should walk as it made a pathway toward the gym, then lead us to into the large room indication where we were allowed to sit or stand. The audience was given almost the entire area with the exception of the uncovered section reserved for teachers, administrators and guests. The use of space was divisive and highly organized as the school was clearly prepared for and familiar with the morning's events. Thirdly, the audience's directions were also verbalized as a teacher, Pastor, and principal gave us orders. We were asked to sit in the chairs, move closer to the podium and the teachers, while we were expected to listen to speeches designed to motivate us to cooperate with the faculty. We were told that if parents showed an interest in their children's studies than the teachers and administrators would match their effort. The local people remained quiet as the principal encouraged their children to go to school, make changes in their lives, and attributed the numerous problems in the school to their lack of interest.

The audience was interested in sitting or standing where they chose and that clearly frustrated at least one teacher. The principal was similarly frustrated by the lack of response by the community as his messages seemed old and tired. Yet the fundamental difference

from what I was used to as a fully acculturated graduate from the dominant society's school system, was the principal's and Pastor's emphasis on the parents' role in the enterprise. They were perceived to be the major impediment to their children's success at school with little mntion of the school's role. As that transpired the audience sat silently in their selected space with the children positioned between both entities.

4.1.1.3.Community as Entity

The entire community of Nain was represented within Jens Haven that day as dozens of people enthusiastically assembled in the room. Yet the principal's message was confusing to me: why was he encouraging parents to become involved in their children's schooling when they were so clearly present that morning? Perhaps their presence was exceptional and considered their noncompliant actions to be an expression of resistance. However, I sensed it went far deeper as they sat quietly through most of the speeches and adopted most of the unspoken rules. The Assembly was a truly unusual event for the parents of Nain as it was the only day they were inside the school as a group. After discussing it with an informant significant elements were uncovered.

As a young graduate of Jens Haven my informant was familiar with the contemporary school system in Nain. He had participated in countless assemblies and confirmed the one I witnessed was typical. He explained that local people considered the school as part of their community and were including it, meaning the teachers and administrators, in their celebrations that morning. Extending that into the school was the local people's attempt to demonstrate their connectedness with the teachers and administrators expressing their

desire to bridge the faltering relationship.

My informant also explained why the local people remained on the periphery of the gym. Labrador Inuit have a high regard for respect and humility and that "just walking in and sitting in the chairs was bold," something to be avoided, yet was appropriate for the children because they were more familiar with the school. Furthermore, many local people had negative memories of schooling, felt discriminated against, and therefore distanced themselves from the symbols of that authority. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that local people were there, regardless of their personal misgivings inviting the school to forge healthier connections. The Assembly was an opportunity for the entire community to unite on equal footing for a moment in time. That moment was fleeting, however, as the crowd that swept in exited just as quickly with few remaining to visit the classrooms as the principal had suggested. The school's response was equally swift as the plastic sheets were immediately removed and the children were ordered to change their outdoor footwear before entering their classrooms. That signalled the beginning of a typical school day within a typical school year that would progress for the next ten months devoid of the community's presence until the next Assembly.

4.2 Inuktitut/English Stream

> I think a lot [of local parents] put them [their children] in, I don't know why they'd put them in [the Inuktitut stream], just to keep the tradition going, but it don't make sense....Gym is English, music and computers are English...If everything was Inuktitut from kindergarten to grade twelve that'd be different, but it's not... It don't make sense.

The initial focus of this fieldwork centred on the choice parents face before enrolling

their children in Jens Haven's kindergarten program. A questionnaire typed in Inuktitut and English was, and still is, sent to parents to complete and return to the school indicating their preferred language stream. That is, their children are either enrolled in the Inuktitut or English programs available from kindergarten to grade three.[91] Inuktitut was implemented for the kindergarten classes in the late 1970's and, by the time of this fieldwork, spanned all three primary grades and were taught by teachers at either end of a continuum. That is, the Inuktitut program's "local teachers" or "native teachers" were taught by local people knowledgeable in Inuit language and culture, with some having earned teaching diplomas from Memorial University of Newfoundland, whereas the English program was taught by university educated "white teachers" or "non-native teachers" with teaching degrees typically from the same university.

Several local people had graduated from and were in the midst of completing the TEPL (Teaching Education Program in Labrador) during this fieldwork[92]. The program began in the 1970s and enabled students to teach in the school while working towards the required twenty courses to earn a diploma in Native and Northern Education qualifying them with teaching certificates (Jack Waye, Assistant Superintendent's Report, Annual Report of the LEISB: 1982-83, p. 30). While the ideal was to hire TEPL graduates the basic

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Both programs overlapped as the Inuktitut stream participated in specialized classes conducted in English such as; Phys-ed and Technology whereas the English stream curriculum had regular "Inuktitut" language classes in the primary grades with "core" Inuktitut classes for older grades.

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Additionally, at the time of this fieldwork, there were no local teachers with baccalaureate degrees in teaching.

requirements for teaching Inuktitut classes were based on three main objectives: the candidate must have the desire to teach; must be a well-respected long-standing member of the community; and be fluent in both Inuit language and culture (Interview with Administrator; September 1999). On the contrary, the non-native or "white" teachers were unfamiliar with Inuit language and culture yet were fully accredited academically,[93] though there were exceptions. The following section describes the viewpoint of a retired academically trained teacher that had raised her family in Nain and continues to make the community her home.

4.2.2. *The Pitfalls of Inuktitut Schooling in Nain: A Seasoned Teacher's Perspective*

Helen's loyalty to the local people was unparalleled. She was suspicious of my presence in Nain but went out of her way to be interviewed. Helen wanted to ensure that my research was immediately headed on the right course as our interview occurred the second day of my arrival in Nain. She was incisive and direct providing me with the full benefit of her decades of teaching in Nain.[94]

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Differences in training and academic backgrounds between the local and "white" teachers was a contentious issue during my fieldwork yet more revealing of the broader division between the groups. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

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In fact I rarely spoke during our interview and for that I was truly grateful. It was my second day in Nain and my first official interview therefore I was still getting my bearings as I recorded her words furiously into my notebook.

Helen pointed out numerous problems with the Inuktitut program[95] yet added another dimension. She understood the gravity of the broader social context in which the children were embedded. Helen described "children from stable homes" typically caught up to their English stream counterparts by the sixth grade whereas children from "troubled homes" were more likely "to fall from the cracks." She pointed out that those children:

> ...don't catch up and they usually drop out and start drinking out of frustration...They can't survive in the white world...The children that do graduate from high school can't string Inuktitut sentences together...Many parents are very young and they only speak English. Things have gotten worse since the Inuktitut program, not better... the School Board doesn't give the local teachers any support. It's a very big problem that's getting worse.

And in Helen's opinion the "white world" had encroached Nain long ago offering Labrador Inuit few places to turn.

As Helen's interview occurred early in the fieldwork her insight had tremendous resonance. Though I was unaware of the change of direction awaiting me once I spoke with local parents, her input underscored the importance of the community context for this research, casting the following section centred on local parents' concerns for the Inuktitut program into an unexpected light.

4.2.3. English or Inuktitut? Local Parents' Perspectives

I was extremely fortunate to befriend a local parent during my fieldwork. He was unusually open and candidly shared his views on schooling. For example, he was one of two

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Helen's concerns mirrored those of the local parents and will be discussed in the upcoming section.

local people that consented to have our conversations recorded. Our relationship was one of trust as he shared some potentially damaging insights with me as his children were school-aged. For that reason his identity must remain hidden as his family would be easily recognized. Jeff was a middle-aged Inuk who had lived in Nain his entire life, understood Inuktitut yet did not speak the language, completed high school and attended a few work-related courses as an adult. It took several weeks of casual conversation for him to invite me into his home and allow me to record one formal interview. Our conversations were reminiscent of numerous casual conversations with several local people that I was not permitted to record.[96] Therefore, Jeff's interview captures many local people's views of schooling.

Initially our interview centred on Jeff's choice to enrol his children in the English stream program. After questioning other local parents Jeff and his partner decided the Inuktitut program would be detrimental to their children. As the Inuktitut stream only went as far as the third grade, offered unilingual Inuktitut instruction,[97] and deviated from the standard Provincial elementary program, Jeff and his partner chose the English stream. He

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I was permitted to write my informants' comments into notebooks during every interview.

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Local teachers often slipped into English in the Inuktitut stream as most local children were socialized in that language. Bilingualism among local children was so uncommon that a students' image was commemorated on a bulletin board in the primary grade hallway simply for being bilingual. According to a local parent, his fluency was due to his family's conscious efforts to speak only Inuktitut at home. This observation is not intended to blame local parents for lacking fluency in Inuktitut but rather to point out the determination required to retain Inuktitut as a heritage language. In Chapter 6 I apply a theoretical framework based on linguistic domination and English hegemony to provide a broader context to understand the topics raised hitherto.

explained that it was well-known among local parents that children who had completed the program experienced tremendous difficulty in the fourth grade, typically lacked a sufficient grasp of English and basic academic skills, and struggled to catch up to their English stream peers for the rest of their school lives.[98] Jeff had little else to say about the program and steered the conversation to topics of more interest to him which I will return to later.

Two Inuit mothers confirmed Jeff's comments about the Inuktitut stream. "Sue's"son was enrolled in the English program since kindergarten and "Jane's" son in the Inuktitut stream since kindergarten. After comparing their children's progress, the mothers noticed a difference in their children's academic skills. Sue's son:

> ...hates to read and wasn't a strong reader by any means but I noticed a difference between them...[My son] would have spelling to do but [Jane's] son wouldn't have any homework...So she pulled him out and they're in the same class now, in the English one, in grade three and he's [Jane's son] reading and spelling much better now.

After a lot of thought and consultation with other parents Jane decided that:

> [My son] was losing out and I got worried...He wasn't reading and I knew that if I didn't pull him out for grade three he'd fall really far behind in grade four.

Both women agreed that learning Inuktitut was valuable and the problems with the program rested in its lack of academic content and its abrupt ending after the third grade. Every parent I spoke with reiterated those complaints, for example, a young Inuk woman with three children asserted it was "no good" and "senseless" enrolling a child in a program

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This was fully supported by several experienced and well-respected teachers at Jens Haven.

that ended so abruptly. She also questioned the logic of Inuktitut being optional for older grades equating it with "taking gym or something." She thought the Inuktitut program should be "mandatory" for all grades and continue throughout high school adding that until that changed she would enrol her children in the English stream.[99]

All local parents interviewed agreed their children should learn Inuktitut and considered it worthwhile to include it in the curriculum. They valued the idea of the program yet knew where it had failed their children. Local parents disagreed with the haphazard way it was organized and pointed out that children enrolled in it paid a high price for it. That is, they were not integrated into the fourth grade properly and quickly fell behind their counterparts in the English stream.[100] Local parents considered schooling to be a preparation for jobs in the area, as they were well aware that English was the language of power, and were unwilling to put their children at a disadvantage by not learning it and its related skills available in the English stream. The fact that Inuktitut schooling was failing Labrador Inuit as they formed the majority of the community and were most likely to be Inuktitut-speakers or in favour of learning it, was not lost on my informants. In retrospect

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Teachers expressed similar concerns with the Inuktitut program and their comments will be discussed later, however, it is important to point out that this local parent, as well as the others I spoke with, actively avoided the school keeping their convictions within their social network and away from the English stream teachers and administration.

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My daughter befriended a young girl that was repeating the fourth grade as she had been in the Inuktitut stream from kindergarten. She clearly struggled with her studies and was often teased for being "stupid" both on and off school property, however, the fourth grade was commonly problematic for students who had completed the Inuktitut stream as all instruction and the curriculum followed the provincial mandate in English.

their interviews revealed a subtle attempt to illustrate a far more pervasive issue that they believed underpinned the root of the Inuktitut program's failure: the disjunction between the school and community.

As was explained in the first chapter, this research initially focussed on the English/Inuktitut issue under the assumption it was pertinent to local parents. That meant interviews opened with the informants answering questions about the program yet once they were answered our discussions turned to more pressing matters. Local parents typically focussed on communal strategies used for determining the problems facing their children at school and the ways they were communicated within the community. For example, rather than discussing her concerns with teachers or the administration Jane consulted her friend and community members to arrive at a decision best suited to her son's needs. The same was true for Jeff and his partner as they consulted local people to determine the most appropriate program for their children. The community of Nain was aware of the problems with schooling as every parent I spoke with had intelligent and well thought out answers yet had arrived at conclusions independent of the school.

It would seem that although parents were physically avoiding the school their preference for the English stream program was their way of voting with their feet. Perhaps the Inuktitut program was the crux of the problems with schooling in Nain and local children would be far more successful in the elementary and later grades if it were dismantled or radically changed. The following section explores these considerations from the viewpoint of a non-Native teacher and administrator as they revealed their experiences with the

deepening wedge between school and community.

4.2.4. A non-Native Teachers' Perspective

My introduction to the school and the English stream's second grade teacher occurred on the first day of school.[101] Carol welcomed me in her classroom immediately and was eager to discuss the dual stream programs, local teachers[102] and the problems facing students in her classroom. But as the months passed Carol's interest in casual conversation subsided as her enthusiasm and energy waned. I realized over time while routinely dropping off and picking up my daughter before and after school that she was understandably frustrated and overworked as she explained:

> Absenteeism is a big problem. There's a full time position in the school just for looking for kids who don't show up. I mean he goes from house to house to see if they're there or not. And then when they do come they stroll in at any time. I mean I'm just glad when they do show up, but then they want breakfast[103] and that takes time away from the other students.

I asked Carol for her thoughts on parental involvement in her students' studies:

> I'm always here. I keep telling the kids that I'm here to help and anytime

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Although I was unable to observe the interactions in the second grade Inuktitut and English classrooms as I had initially intended, my daughter's second grade classroom was open to me as a parent. Carol had recently returned to Nain after several years of teaching in northern Labrador.

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Carol stated local teachers were not "educated" and focussed on their lack of academic training. As this thesis is concerned with division within the community, the relevance of her statement hinges on her distinction between herself and non-Native counterparts as "teachers" with "Inuktitut teachers" as grossly unqualified.

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Jens Haven operated a Breakfast Program for primary students. That entitled a child to a cereal bar, glass of milk or juice or other available snacks. The program emphasized its availability to everyone in an attempt to avoid stigmatizing its users (Interview with Administrator: Fieldnotes September 1999).

> their parents need to talk to me. But they don't come, I don't know why, they just don't. So I send these notes[104] home outlining ways to help [their children] with their homework but it's a big problem.

Carol was clearly a dedicated teacher overloaded by responsibilities that exceeded standard educational concerns. As extreme poverty was a factor among the majority of Nain residents during this fieldwork, many children went to school without having slept or eaten properly, clearly affecting their performance and attitude toward schooling. The economic disparity between the children was also a factor as I witnessed several children arrive for class on the coldest days wearing summer clothes and torn sneakers.[105] Carol was sensitive to the children's needs and worked extremely hard to remedy the disparity:

> I know there's a lot going on at home and sometimes I wonder why I bother. But I have a class to run and if I reach just one student then it's all worth it. There's a girl that started in September, she couldn't read or even recognize the numbers from one to ten...and this is grade two. But now, she knows the alphabet and her numbers. If I can make a difference in her life then it'll all be worth it. But there are so many [children] that won't have that degree of success. It's heartbreaking but I have to do my job.

One of the most crucial aspects of my fieldwork was revealed to me in Jens Haven's second grade English classroom. Early in the school year Carol had painstakingly tested each student to determine their "abilities." The classroom was then altered to reflect those

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Notes to parents/guardians were commonly sent home with students. See Appendix I for an example.

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Many children wore their older siblings' worn clothes and though this contrasted greatly with some of their counterparts, during the countless walks to and from school amid large groups of local children I never witnessed teasing regarding inappropriate dress. Generally, the children from the economically and socially privileged families were typically dropped off and picked up at the school in vehicles while local children remained together as a group before school, during lunch dismissal and after school.

results by organizing similarly skilled students into easily recognizable and accessible groups; the twenty-four student desks were arranged into three rows, Carol explained their significance:

> The rows reflect three grade levels. The children in the first row are working at a kindergarten level; they're learning the alphabet and their numbers. The second row functions at the first grade level and the third row is at the second grade, our most advanced students. The first row requires most of my attention so they're closest to me [opposite her desk and blackboard] and the third row participates in peer teaching so they move up to help the children in the first and second rows. I just can't do it all myself.

Though Carol had identified and tried to resolve the scholastic problems affecting her young students she had unwittingly exposed something far deeper. Carol had physically recreated the social divisions symbolic of the larger community in her classroom simply by re-arranging the desks. Those divisions were underscored at the end of each school day as students requiring help remained in the classroom until 2:45pm, whereas those operating at the second grade level were dismissed at 2:15pm. That children in the second grade were working at a kindergarten level was alarming, yet what was profoundly instructive was the identity of those students.[106] Roughly, Inuit children filled the desks in the front row, with Settler children in the second, followed by children of the most privileged group in Nain, filling the third. Thus, Inuit children were working at a kindergarten level in the second grade, Settler children at the first grade, and children whose parents were in the most powerful positions in Nain in the second. Remember, these children were products of the

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Though this is a generalization as two local children sat in the third row, the majority of students constituting each row were representative of the three social divisions in Nain.

English stream not the Inuktitut stream. Though the Inuktitut program was readily and continuously criticized by parents and non-Native teachers, the English stream program remained mostly unchallenged during this fieldwork raising a number of questions for this researcher. Were the academic difficulties faced by local children isolated to their lack of abilities? Was parental involvement to blame? Were local people generally disinterested in schooling? And finally why were children advancing to the second grade when they were functionally illiterate? These questions led me to a deeper exploration of the state of schooling in Nain.

4.3 The Divide

> We're hanging onto our culture - we're trying to be strong about hanging onto our culture but it wasn't always like that.

These were the words of Sophie[107] an elder Inuk who had taught both with the Moravians and under the present day administration. As a primary grade local teacher she was well-versed in the issues facing Inuktitut students such as, declining enrollments and the widening gap between English and Inuktitut students' success. Nonetheless, Sophie was uninterested in discussing the Inuktitut or English programs in detail and swiftly changed the direction of our interviews. Though I paid close attention to her words I felt a growing sense of confusion, Why wasn't she answering my questions? Thankfully Sophie's wisdom

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Our conversations spanned three visits in Sophie's home. We sat in her living room while she directed the discussions for one hour intervals then welcomed me into her kitchen to share a meal. Though Sophie did not agree to have our conversations taped she was in favour of my notetaking. Therefore, the following were Sophie's words yet much was lost due to my inability to capture them on paper.

prevailed as my social network expanded to include more local people. Gradually I discovered that although Nain's social groups were no longer physically separated in the school and community, my informants were indirectly telling me something far more important: all things Inuit were and continued to be devalued both inside and outside the school. Arriving at that insight was pivotal to this research as it enabled me to recognize the painful divisions spiralling between the school and community in 1999.

4.3.1. A Local Teachers' Perspective

Sophie was Nain's first kindergarten teacher in 1962 and had taught actively for four consecutive years by 1999. In addition to her Inuktitut first grade class, Sophie was responsible for Inuktitut instruction in the English first grade and both fourth grade classes. She was tireless in her commitment to the church and community and our discussions typically diverged from the topic of contemporary schooling.[108] Though Sophie was well acquainted with the difficulties of the Inuktitut/English stream as a local teacher, she understood them as resulting from more pervasive issues. That ultimately shaped my future interviews as Sophie's perspective on the declining importance of Inuktitut language in the school system and broader community was far more revealing, she explained:

> After Confederation the whole school changed to English...Everything used to be in Inuktitut up to boarding school...Everything [taught in school] was in different buildings, Inuit and Settler children were in separate buildings...we [Inuit] used to get punished if we spoke English...

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The majority of Sophie's interviews centred on "living on the land" and will be examined in the subsequent chapter.

For Sophie, community life had always carried over into the school as the divisions between Inuit and Settler children were clearly defined. She explained that Inuit wanted to eliminate the long-standing separateness created by the Moravians and had looked forward to "living as one" after Confederation, instead she recalled a poignant example of that divide:

> On the first day of Advent, Father Christmas Day, we celebrated almost behind the scenes...'Why do you have so many Christmases?'[people would ask], no one could explain it back then...we would be hurt, people were very shy in those days...[Inuit] weren't supposed to talk to white people in those days...Because of the Moravians, Settlers didn't celebrate Advent. It was an Inuit thing....Here in this part of town Advent trees would come out on Advent Eve, but they went away the next day...Not all Settlers would laugh but some would laugh and say, 'It's not Christmas yet.' Not all Inuit were afraid [to be criticised]... Today some Settlers do [celebrate Advent] and some don't... Things have changed... Just recently [anyone] can build houses anywhere in town...Before everyone lived apart.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Nain became heavily administered by the provincial government sharpening and redefining the ruptures between Inuit and Settlers while simultaneously adding another dimension, the group of 'outsiders' operating Nain's administrative machine. Sophie clearly understood schooling as one of many elements swept up in that process, rendering her divergence from the topic of schooling as understandable. My initial reluctance to stretch my views of schooling to include the broader context Sophie conveyed was reminiscent of the grip the dominant schooling model had on my outlook. As the following sections attest, that mind-set clearly grounded the fundamental approach to schooling at Jens Haven in 1999 and had direct implications on the local people of Nain.

4.3.2. *The Reality of Discrimination: A Local Parent's Perspective*

Returning to Jeff's interview provides more insight into local people's schooling experience. He clearly valued schooling and fluency in Inuktitut as he saw it mostly in economic terms. Jeff predicted his children's future to be "a lot better for them"if they had high- school diplomas and would therefore have access to well-paying jobs in the region. He believed that would enable his children to compete with Newfoundlanders and Labradorians for jobs and added that "if they learn Inuktitut it would be even better." Bilingualism meant even more opportunities for Labrador Inuit as translators for the proposed large-scale mining project in the region. Although Jeff was considered well-educated and expected to be hired once the project was under way, he deeply regretted his lack of fluency in Inuktitut as it would have increased his chances for a lucrative position as a translator. Thus, Jeff chose the English stream for his children despite the economic incentives that fluency in Inuktitut promised for their future.

As the interview progressed Jeff revealed that his limited use of Inuktitut was intentional. He explained that his father was a unilingual Inuktitut speaker and had wanted to teach Jeff the language by living off the Land but he refused to participate. Jeff's reasons were painful and extremely personal:

> You know, I was ashamed. Being Inuk twenty or thirty years ago was something that was, it was, dirty. I didn't want to be Inuk. I didn't want to speak my language and I didn't want to go off [hunting or fishing on the Land] with my father. Uh, he wanted me to go but I wouldn't. I'd stay in town. It's different now though, now it's good to be Inuk and I wish I could speak my language now. But it was hard back then, it was hard. I was

ashamed.

Jeff's feelings of shame continued to shape his life and unquestionably influenced our interview and friendship. Although he was more educated than the majority of his peers he was unemployed rendering his emphasis on economics understandable. Jeff was representative of too many local people in Nain as he lived in extreme poverty; that meant his life was dictated and plagued by its symptoms and effects. While Jeff tried to hide the harsh reality of his situation from me during the interview, I later witnessed the extreme daily measures he took to make his life tolerable. Jeff's openness underscored that school offered great promise to Labrador Inuit while simultaneously presenting greater obstacles and was one of many contradictions of life in Nain. The rest of the interview centred on the discrimination that Jeff and his children felt in the school and the painful ways it stigmatized local people.

According to Jeff prejudice was the main cause of the wedge between school and community. As a long term resident of Nain he grew up feeling discriminated against by the school and teachers from the "South." His experience of discrimination was powerful enough for him to turn his back on his family and heritage. In his opinion little had changed for his children:

> It was always like that. There was always - - - people making fun of the local kids and their parents. And I even heard as far as uh, in the lower grades that uh, they [non-Native teachers] look at the non-Native children more, they pay more attention to the non-Native children than the Native children. I know that for a fact. There's a lot of prejudice. Sigh. I think some parents spoke up about it, I don't know what's going on now but uh, I still feel the same, I still feel the same, there's a lot of prejudice from the non-Native teachers.

I asked Jeff how he knew the non-Native teachers were discriminating against local people. He explained that the way teachers behaved in public was carried into the school; that they rarely participated within the community, kept to themselves and liked it that way. This was not lost on the community as Jeff stated:

> They [non-Native teachers] stay in their own little group, they stay away from the local people and only talk to other non-Native teachers. It happens in the school too, especially in the staff room. Like uh I've talked to some local teachers, they [non-Native teachers] won't mix, they won't talk to them, they think they're uncomfortable [to be around local teachers]. I even heard that when a new teacher comes to Nain [the principal tells them] not to mix with the local people. There's a lot of prejudice. Not all the teachers are like that, but most of them are.

Remember, the local parents, and Jeff was no exception, actively avoided entering the school and particularly the classrooms. Local people were clearly interested in what went on in the school and had strong opinions about the treatment of the local teachers by their non-Native counterparts. The non-Native teachers' interactions with local people and their movements within the community were also of interest. I asked Jeff to describe his experience of discrimination:

> Yeah, I felt prejudice. They're segregated from the community. Some of them were segregated from the local teachers. Yeah, yeah. I could see it, I could feel it.

I asked him to explain his reasons for avoiding the school as he had school-aged children:

> No. I don't go, I don't like going eh...I just feel uncomfortable. Yeah, I go up and talk to them if there's something going on with my children - or if I gotta go up and talk to the teachers I go up but I don't feel accepted, especially around certain teachers. (Pause). Yeah, (sigh) I just feel uncomfortable. (Pause). A lot of people feel like that. Some of them just come here right out of school and they teach here eh, this doesn't seem right.

Jeff expressed extreme frustration toward non-Native teachers and administration during every interview, it was also a common complaint among several local parents. Jeff was quick to point out that there were a few teachers that had settled in Nain, married into the community and raised their families there, their dedication to local people was obvious as they were well respected and admired. Thus, Jeff understood schooling as a gateway to a better life yet considered the problems of discrimination, with the non-Native teachers and administrators at its source, the primary impediments to realizing it.

4.3.3. School as Fortress

> I can remember when it was stormy, us children clinging to each other, I don't know what anyone else was thinking but I was thinking that we should wait in the porch.

Though this informant's experience occurred more than a decade before, little had changed for the children of Jens Haven by 1999. During this fieldwork the school was closed to students and the community at specific times of the day, everyday, cementing its symbolic place in Nain as a fortress. Clearly Jens Haven's administration and non-Native faculty were in a position to criticize the failures of schooling in Nain, and their positions have been detailed in this chapter, but this section explores an area often overlooked by educators and researchers. The following provides insight into the ways local children reconciled the split between school and community during fieldwork.

Jens Haven's doors were scheduled to open at 8:30 each morning. Most children arrived before then and gathered on the doorstep or on a nearby gravel lot to wait for the first bell to ring. They used that time to play games of tag and socialize, but their wait was

always outside regardless of the weather. Because Nain is a subarctic community and the most northerly coastal community in Labrador, temperatures often reached as low as forty below with the wind chill in the winter. Sometimes the doors would not open until 8:35 or later, forcing children to squeeze into the small doorway on the coldest days. On such days I watched as they looked through the school's windows, watching teachers walk back and forth inside. The bolder children joked how "warm and dry" they looked and added, "they like making us wait." Some children returned their smiles while others remained silent as they waited to enter the warm school.[109]

Once inside students then had five minutes to prepare for classes. They were told to remove their outdoor footwear, store them in their lockers, and put on their indoor shoes; those without extra footwear wore socks to class. Adding to the activity were loud games of tag in the hallway amid playful tugs on shirts and book bags. Several children often picked up and misplaced fellow students' shoes, boots, mitts, and coats adding to the confusion and the teachers' irritation. These rituals were repeated twice a day everyday at Jens Haven as the school doors were then locked at lunchtime.

At noon Jens Haven was emptied as teachers escorted students out of the premises. The doors were then bolted until 1:10pm, or more typically at 1:15 or 1:20. Still, students were expected to be in their classrooms five minutes later or they would be marked absent. One day I questioned a teacher during the lunch dismissal on the logic of closing the school

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Several of the children wearing flimsy outerwear were typically either the quietest or the loudest during our wait.

at noon. She was initially surprised by my question then said, "You're the first parent to ask," then after some thought gave several reasons for the practice, she explained:

> They're hearty and they live close by. Most of them [students] are picked up on snowmobiles. And we don't have a cafeteria or the staff to facilitate students at lunchtime.

I was quickly led to the door following that discussion and the doors were locked behind me. Crowds of children congregated on the school grounds as I weighed her points against the reality of life in Nain. Though it is a relatively small community, Nain is spread out and walking from one of town to the other took a surprisingly long time. As many families lived on the other side of the harbour children's routes to and from school involved crossing a bridge and climbing several hills, making the logistics of walking home unattractive and impractical.

Still, there was another reason children might avoid going home at lunch time. For example, on another day I watched a teacher patiently plead with a child who was stalling to leave the school. She offered the child several reasons to leave such as, "You'll be late for school if you don't leave now," and "You won't have enough time to eat your lunch." The child looked up and softly said, "But I don't have any food miss." The teacher promised to provide a "breakfast" later while ushering the child out the door. Apparently there were no exceptions to the rule.[110]

Rules were strongly enforced at Jens Haven. As in most formal schools they were

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I later learned the child lived with eight siblings in a small rundown house without running water.

designed to promote discipline and respect among the student population. However, at Jens Haven it seemed to have the opposite effect. As a casual observer in the primary school I witnessed countless examples of local children, who constituted the majority of students, finding ways to counter strict rules of conduct in the hallways in particular. They were constantly laughing and joking, finding excuses to meet at the water fountain or in the washrooms, regardless of inevitable reprimands. One day I counted fifteen children walking up and down the hall in as many minutes, laughing as their teacher chased them into their classrooms in annoyance. Local children's playing and socializing in groups during school hours clearly exasperated their teachers yet it continued, everyday, and that behaviour was never more apparent than during the lunch hour.

4.3.4. Nain's Lunch Time Reality

On school days at noon Nain's streets came alive as Jens Haven's students spilled out of the school. Children could be found almost everywhere as they took over the streets and backyards. They gathered in the large, mostly empty parking lot, in the grassy areas in front and beside the school; teenagers leaned against trees sharing cigarettes while younger children played in large groups. They clustered at the post office, in front of confectionary and grocery stores, or at the "Take-Out" Restaurant. They converged on the roads reluctantly yielding to passing All Terrain Vehicles, snow-mobiles, and trucks. It was an entirely social event organized and understood by local children and ultimately separate from the school.

Yet that separateness from Jens Haven was more pronounced in the evenings. At 3:30 each day the doors were again secured but now with metal bars tied through the handles,

effectively sealing every entrance except the main doors. That meant that after 3:30 there was only one way in or out of the school. Though there were a few after school activities, such as basketball practice and other special events, the school sat mostly empty in the evenings, forcing children to find alternative spaces to congregate and play. That was when local children completely took over the streets of Nain, playing games late into the night, moving together as a separate entity far removed from the huge, brown, brick fortress of rules.

Chapter 5

The Open Classroom

> Nature's everywhere, even here in Nain. But you've got to look closer...Out there, in the Country it's easier to feel and see...the Land gives you peace, it heals.[111]

Nain is surrounded by hills, forests, lakes, rivers, and the ocean, or in other words the Land.[112] Its presence was felt by local people both inside and outside the community in 1999, as the natural environment was understood to encompass life. As the above informant conveyed, local people's experience and understanding of Nature profoundly resonated within their lives. As Chapter 4 examined the stifling social problems plaguing Nain and the ways it had affected schooling during fieldwork, another ideological dichotomy was present in 1999: by the end of fieldwork I understood that local people had ascribed Nain to be the centre of their problems whereas the Land was its opposite. Consequently, *schooling* was relegated to the 'white' world and confined to Nain, whereas *education* was viewed broadly and symbolic of "going off" to live on the Land, no matter how briefly.

5.1. The Importance of the Land

> ...going off to the Country means lots of things...if you go outside Nain for a mile or more then you're out on the Land...Going off means getting out of Nain, going hunting or fishing for overnight, going for hikes or berry

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This statement was made during a casual conversation with an Inuk elder.

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The "Land" and "Country" will be used interchangeably to refer to areas beyond the community of Nain including its shores and "Waters."

> picking, boil ups or getting wood...it used to be for whole seasons like the summer and fall, families would go off and come back for Christmas...but a lot of people don't...do that much anymore...when people go to the Country now...it's only for a brief moment...but we still do it, we have to...it's part of us.

Jim was middle-aged, one of two local people that had consented to a taped interview, and was my guide during dozens of short trips to the Country. [113] The meaning of the Land and "going off" was multi-layered for Jim as it enabled him to shed the problems of Nain; revisit his heritage; and transmit the wisdom of a "real education" to the clumsy researcher trailing behind. Yet over time I realized that was true for every trip I undertook regardless of the outing's length, guide or distance from the community. Local people's moods and expressions routinely lightened once we were outside Nain whether we were steaming along the ocean, fishing in rivers and frozen lakes, hiking mountains, shooting partridge, cleaning seals, gutting caribou or sitting in a living room. Once outside Nain, whether in mind or body, my informants instantly transformed into wizened teachers delightedly returning to what they loved.

5.1.1. Land as Refuge

> I'd like to see hunting and fishing and trapping for older boys that have nothing to do on the weekends. They wouldn't get in trouble if they went to the Country. Kids are happy when they go off on foot or skidoo - they do their own thing.

This Inuk elder and his wife had opened their home to me for three informal

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"Jim" was my guide on the Land whereas "Frank," who will be discussed later, was my guide on the Water. Both informants generously shared their knowledge and experience which was crucial not only for this project but also for my survival.

interviews. They readily offered their views on the source of Nain's troubles as they had lived in the community their entire lives. After we poured over their grandchildren's pictures they shook their heads as they told stories of "others" that had "lost their way." Then they described the myriad of changes implemented in Nain over the years signifying the "high price" Inuit were paying for the weakened role of elders and the decline of Inuktitut. "The children are hurting..." he said, "but if they went to the Country they'd get it back. It would all come back."

Several Inuk elders candidly repeated this theme throughout numerous conversations. They expressed feelings of powerlessness as they could not converse in Inuktitut with the younger generations, or "pass down" traditional knowledge despite their certainty that it "would help fix things." Another informant was convinced that "children that go off don't get in trouble but those that stay here [in Nain] do...there's nothing for them to do...so they get in trouble." I soon discovered the gravity of those words as the following event removed all ambiguity for me, marking the moment Nain's social dysfunction stepped out of the abstract and into the foreground.

Weeks into fieldwork a group of elementary school children visited our home to play with my daughter.[114] What began as a game of 'store' quickly escalated into the 'drunk game.' After several minutes the store's 'counter' was transformed into a 'bar' and the 'store

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After a great deal of thought I have decided to include this incident in my thesis. Though I am wary of further stigmatizing the people of Nain, sidestepping the issue of alcoholism would defeat the purpose of this project. Severe, longstanding social inequities are the fundamental cause of Nain's widespread social problems referred to throughout this thesis and result directly from such an arrangement.

keeper' became the 'bartender.' Water was poured into tiny cups as the children drank their 'beer' then quickly and anxiously pounded on the counter for more. The 'customers' screamed and laughed saying, "I'm drunk from the beer," and "I don't get drunk on two beers, give me more," then they ran around the house playfully but uncontrollably. Finally they stumbled and crawled across the floor landing on the couch to "pass out." One child disappeared and returned minutes later with purple eyeshadow circled around each eye saying, "I've got black eyes, now I'm sober."

As Nain's social problems were rampant in 1999 they undoubtedly shaped fieldwork. While every strata in Nain was affected by material poverty personal experiences of its symptoms and effects were contingent on social positionality. Still, of the dozens of informants I encountered no one disputed its tragic reality and everyone struggled for answers. Several fingers pointed to the dramatic rise in alcohol accessibility in the early 1990's as I heard repeatedly, "everything changed since the beer came." But store owners were trying to be "good about it" by restricting the amount of alcohol sold daily and enforcing those limits through an informally sanctioned network. Still, rampant alcoholism and communal apathy continued to climb in 1999. While RCMP officers, nurses, teachers, administrators and countless others agreed that "something had to be done," many local people already knew what that "something" should be. By disassociating themselves from the problems in the community, local people looked to the Land for relief.

5.1.1.1. The Lure of the Land

> If you don't belong here in Nain then you're out of luck. But out in the Country we belong to each other...

Belonging was important to 'Jim' as his status in Nain was precarious. After an eleven year absence he had acquired the dubious designation of 'outcast' as a number of prominent people distrusted him. Though several local people had encouraged him to "give it time," offering "prayers to see him through,"[115] life in Nain was trying for Jim since his return.[116] Consequently, he understood the Land and community in opposition as Jim believed the Country offered "his" people unity whereas the community brought intense pain.

The importance of the Land highlighted our interviews. Though it was often a metaphorical sanctuary, which Jim enjoyed visiting regularly, his accounts of "going off" offered great insight into his perspective as the following attested:

> I went off with two guys...one guy was [Al] the other guy that was with us, he had all kinds of beer...we [Al and Jim] got out on the harbour and we dumped it. We said, 'We don't need that.' Buddy was about to pass out when we did it...we didn't say nothing to him, all we did was dump his beer. He got mad at us for that but...we're in the Country and we don't want that.

Jim's depiction of the incident mattered more than whether it had literally occurred. That

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This was a formal message given to Jim after a lengthy meeting with Nain's Council of Elders; their conclusions were translated to me during the proceedings.

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Jim admitted to "not knowing how the system works in Nain" due to his outsider status and eleven year absence. However, Jim's contribution was integral as he provided invaluable insight into the "open classroom" and fostered numerous interactions with local people that I would not have met otherwise.

is, its validity was immaterial as Jim's preference to situate alcohol in the town and not out on the Land had tremendous import. His 'story' revealed a conceptual division between the symbols of the encroaching 'white world,' alcohol and dependency, and its perceived incompatibility with the Land that many local people supported, regardless of their status. Yet for those aspiring to leave Nain, and there were many, accessing the Country was frustratingly difficult especially for those who needed it most.

5.1.1.2. Nain's Hidden Borders

Nain was more demanding on its residents in warmer months due to its peculiar physical makeup. All roads, walkways, front yards, back yards, and parking lots were covered in sand. In warm seasons Nain's surface was continually exposed, lifted and re-distributed around town by strong winds and vehicles. Sand made its way everywhere as footwear carried it into houses, businesses, government offices, schools, the hotel: no space or person was immune. Broken cardboard boxes were strewn in front of doors, in entrances and hallways, shoes and brooms were left on doorsteps, all in an attempt to keep the sand at bay. But nothing worked: dust and sand found their way into carpets, floors, sheets, clothing, hair, dishes and food. Wet weather churned everything into a muddy soup with endless ruts and potholes making driving impossible and walking tiresome. Then a huge truck would add more layers of sand to the roads replenishing the unending onslaught.

Snow brought the only lasting relief as it instantly cleansed the community. Houses were suddenly surrounded by layers of whiteness instead of silt and dirt and the countless weeds found all over town were squashed by its weight. Now flattened cardboard was used

to keep floors dry instead of vainly protecting living and working spaces from sand. Local people's moods were equally enlivened by the idea of snow as everyone I encountered anticipated its arrival. Store clerks would say, "It'll all be better when the snow comes," and neighbours would tell me, "Don't worry, the snow'll soon be here." I asked a group of excited school children to explain the sudden change in the community, they said, "The snow's here! You can go everywhere now and it'll be even better when the ice comes!" Most importantly, snow marked the opening of the Land and sea as people were no longer landlocked.

Though Nain was surrounded by the Country travelling there was difficult during mild seasons. In late spring, summer and early fall, All Terrain Vehicles, trucks and cars were used respectively in town. ATV's were Nain's most reliable and inexpensive vehicle as they were built with strong motors and deeply grooved tires. Though they withstood Nain's pot-holed roads and surfaces outside the town's boundaries,[117] they were not designed to penetrate thick forests. Consequently, hiking and berry picking were easily accomplished on foot in the mild seasons but for the most part, people waited for the snow.

Once the cold weather came "ski-doos[118]"were the fastest and most popular transportation in Nain. The town was enlivened with the sound of engines and the glare of

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Though only a few local people owned boats they were typically reserved for charter services up north. They were commissioned by professionals frequenting such locations as the abandoned communities of Okak and Hebron. Owing to the tremendous expense of such excursions local people were essentially cut off from that entire region in warmer months.

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"Ski-doos" and "snow-mobiles" were the common term used in Nain to describe snow-machines.

head lights. "Snow-mobiles" maneuvered between trees, glided across frozen lakes closing the gap between the community and the surrounding islands by driving across sea ice. Tracks wound between houses, cutting along steep hills, reshaping the roads, carving pathways out to the Land; within days Nain was transformed by thousands of narrow grooves. The winter meant local people could do things and go places unimaginable in milder seasons.

Though "going off" was valued for its rich psychological payoff economic imperatives were equally compelling. In the fall and early winter, hunters would return from the Country with partridge, Arctic hare, foxes, lynx, bears, seals, fish and caribou to distribute amongst family and friends.[119] Similarly loads of wood were transported into town as "a lot of people in Nain" relied on "wood stoves." But "cutting wood" for fuel and "hunting for food" such as seal and caribou required "going in at least 15 or 20 miles from Nain," and could only be accomplished by "snow-mobile."

But "ski-doos" were expensive to own and operate. Prices ranged from a few hundred dollars for used models to a few thousand for new ones with some as costly as a small car. Though "snow-mobile" dealers offered customers interest-free incentives and monthly payment plans, a large number of local people were in receipt of Social Assistance

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Hunters often walked through town, fresh from the hunt, with a gun under one arm and a caribou leg in the other. My elderly neighbours were often the recipients of such catches.

and therefore unqualified to obtain credit.[120] Without a "ski-doo" many local people were forced to buy wood from local suppliers and food from privately owned stores.[121] That meant "snow-mobiles" and "country food" were often shared but that only went "so far" as trips into the Country were contingent on the financial resources of the drivers. But maintaining "ski-doos" were as daunting as buying one, Jim explained:

> With the ski-doo you always have to have extra parts, extra spark plugs...and before you go you have to check your ski-doo...big ski-doos here are like vehicles in the city...you have to get them tuned all the time...and here...if you know a skidoo you can be a mechanic yourself but...parts are hard to come by...and the oil and diesel [albeit not for ski-doos] fuel, they're all really expensive...

The Land held many economic and ideological rewards for local people. Though many were often prevented from "going off" they continued to value and pursue it whenever possible. For example, the prospect of owning a "snow-mobile" had remained strong for Jim despite his unemployability rendering ownership impossible, he explained:

> If I bought a ski-doo I'd be out everyday, hunting. I'd only come back for supplies then head out again. But people don't do that much anymore. Now ski-doos are for around here, they're for getting around and cutting wood. It's sort of like out in the city...you have to have a vehicle to get to places,

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Social Assistance payments from the provincial Department of Human Resources and Employment were not considered "income" and therefore disqualified recipients from applying for credit without an eligible co-signor.

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The quality and prices of "store food" were grossly mismatched. For example, cheese was routinely overpriced though the packaging had been tampered with as expiry dates were blackened by markers. Frozen meats were not labelled rendering the cuts and expiry dates a mystery. Though shipping costs were extremely costly for local merchants, milk and boxed cereals were exorbitantly and arbitrarily priced from one store to the other and from week to week. Clearly "junk food" such as chips, soda and chocolate bars were the least expensive and most accessible indulgence for people on fixed incomes.

> here it's the same thing but it's more or less used for hunting and going out on the Land, but it's not like it was.

Although use of the Land may be diminishing (as Jim pointed out above), it still provided meaning for local people that was outside Nain's social dysfunction. Lines had been drawn between the community and the Land as elders condoned its healing properties and individuals yearned for its freedom. Yet paradoxically, access to the Country was often impeded by the same forces that made life in Nain so difficult, compounding local people's need to "go off." That community problems had penetrated the socialization of their children was not lost on anyone and local people's most tangible solution was to shift their focus away from Nain and onto the Land. Though social issues were often the subject of private discussions few believed "speaking out" publicly or working quietly within "the system" would effect change. Instead, the lure of the Land promised local people refuge as they could "always pack up and head off when it gets too rough in Nain," or could they?

5.1.1.3. The Seduction of Giving Up

> ...there were a lot of times where I drank and gave up, but not completely, I'd rather give up the drinking than life.

The difference between the two often blurred for Jim. As he was an outcast in Nain his inability to change that reality caused him to occasionally surrender his "fight" and slip into behaviours that justified his reputation. Still, Jim's hope for "better times," which he felt could only occur by "going off" and getting "in touch with the Land and his people," prevailed enabling him to resume his "fight to make things right." Though the specific causes differed individually, that destructive cycle was reminiscent of many local people's

experience. Periodically surrendering to the problems of the community was understandable and expected as community life was wrought with hardship, but as one informant explained, "hardship makes us stronger. Helps us grow...and the Land brings us back." Still, many local people had stopped looking to the Country for comfort and were simply too exhausted to "fight."

Crossing the line between powerlessness and hopelessness was at times irresistible but always dangerous. Local people understood *hope* to be inextricably tied to the Land, enabling the most impoverished people to withstand tremendous difficulties, yet once that thread was broken their troubles quickly became overpowering. Nain's social structure worked hard to destroy that tie as local people's strength was continuously tested, Jim explained:

> ...a friend of mine lost his guns just for two cases of beer...80 bucks for four guns....these guns, one was at least $2000, and the other was $1100 to $1200. And he sold four. The .22 was $800 [sic]. Buddy wanted four [guns] for two cases of beer. That's how easy it is to get alcohol, how easy it is to say, 'fuck it I'm giving up'...he's got his own cabin, his own boat, takes his kids out to the Land, out on the Shore. See how much alcohol is really influencing nothing?

I met "Jack" the morning after he had sold his hunting gear. Though he was a skilled and revered hunter, he no longer sought reminders of the Land or his past. "I just want to forget, that's all..." he said as I watched him return to the party in his living room. He sat amongst others that had similarly given up and their celebration showed no sign of waning. Once outside Jack's house images of colourful Christmas decorations and hand-made cards placed around the room stayed with me knowing his children would soon return from school

hungry for lunch.

Clearly the gravity of Nain's problems weighed heavily on local people. For those cut off from the Land either literally or figuratively, and there were many, recovery from Nain's turmoil seemed impossible once the Land ceased to be an attainable refuge. But for those still able to hold onto that ideal, "going off" was not merely understood as an escape route of out Nain; rather, the Land was an entity unto itself believed formidable enough to rejuvenate local people spiritually, psychologically, and communally simply by being in its presence.

5.1.2. Land as Historical and Cultural Link

> The school is so white. It's too big for us, too high, but the Country is different...It's us, it's who we are.

Two central ideas shaped local people's notion of the Land. Firstly, to "really know who you are," my informant explained, "you have to go off. You have to be there...and really feel it." Secondly, "you have to know where you're going and how to get there. You have to know what to bring and what not to bring" because "the simplest mistake can be the end of you." In other words, local people's identity and knowledge were revived and reinforced in the Country. By surviving, "having fun" and simply "being there" to "feel" the Land, local people could reunite with their ancestors, reconnect with their past, revitalize their histories and ground their lives to an unspoken force that united them.

5.1.2.1. Full Steam to Okak

> Going off is what I love. I've been up and down the coast so many times... over the years...I know every bay, cape, and inlet but there's always something new to see...I'm one of the lucky ones, I get to do this and get paid for it. But I'd do it for free.

Two weeks into fieldwork I met Frank, a Settler in his fifties with several grown children. His family had lived "out on a bay nearby" since the middle of the nineteenth century and his parents had remained there until the previous decade. Though most of Frank's life was spent "out on the Land," he had gone to school "for a bit" in Nain and was a well-respected business owner with several financial stakes in the community. One of those ventures entailed "steaming" his long-liner up and down the Labrador coast "weather permitting" taking "mostly tourists and scientists up north" whenever possible.[122]

The divide between the community and Land was easily reconciled by Frank. As a child he had lived off the Land with his family and went "into town" infrequently. Frank remembered going to Nain in early autumn to replenish supplies and attend school "but," he said, "I'd leave with my parents after Easter and we'd be gone til fall." As an adult Frank's life was more grounded in the community but "going off" remained his greatest pleasure and shaped his career. Still, the troubles plaguing Nain disturbed him and during a few casual conversations he spoke of the "old days" when "elders took care of things like that." "Now," Frank explained, "all I can do is load my boat and take off when it gets too

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Though Frank understood the necessity of taking local people "up north" and would have "dearly loved to do it often," he was prevented from doing it as the cost was prohibitive.

close."

That happened soon after as Frank organized a trip to Okak Bay for a week. A team of scientists camping near the abandoned community had hired him to deliver fuel and Frank invited my daughter Sarah and I along. Okak Bay is approximately seventy miles north of Nain and was certain to provide us with a breathtaking landscape. Moreover, the troubles in town had escalated and I was eager for a break and gladly accepted. Sarah was granted a leave of absence from school and we left Nain's harbour at noon on a bright cool day. We were part of a five person crew on Frank's long-liner and we stopped at various sheltered inlets along the way to rest and avoid rough weather. Though initially I thought leaving Nain would stall research, I was deeply mistaken as "steaming" up to Okak greatly enriched my perspective as it added an unexpected dimension.

5.1.2.1.1. Land as Paradox

The Land's phenomenal rewards exacted a great price from local people. Though famine and survival had historically been a painful mark of local people's tenacity, the ordeals of the previous century fuelled their most recent memory. As the Land was clearly an embodiment of home the consequences arising from that sanctity were similarly expected. In other words, "the Land can be like an angry child that bites you when you least expect it."

Though Frank was well established in Nain his allegiance was clearly rooted in the Country. He explained, "it's all home to me...it doesn't matter where I am...as long as I'm on the Land." Frank's association of the Country as "home" was deeply meaningful to many local people as it provided them with a historical and cultural link to their identity. For

example, before arriving in Okak Frank opened a guest book filled with entries written by numerous people that had chartered his boat over the years. Though each signature had a story behind it Frank was most proud of a recent trip of elders he had taken to Hebron. It was in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the relocation of Hebronimiut[123] and many of the entries said, "It's great to get home," and "Haven't been on a boat in ten years." Frank explained the significance of the trip:

> It was emotional for everyone...A lot of them hadn't been back [to Hebron] in forty years...That was their home and they were taken away from it... Nothing can bring back what they lost but they can go there and feel it again, even just for a little while...It's still so fresh for people...it still hurts.

The pull of Hebron on local people's consciousness was extreme and unrelenting.[124] Though revisiting the abandoned site reinforced a bitterly nostalgic past, an incident on the trip underscored the effect it continued to wield: A local man, 'Joe', had been possessed by ancestral spirits on the journey. After straying from the group to visit his grandfather's grave Joe returned with "wild eyes." Later everyone boarded the boat but the man's bizarre behaviour frightened them. "He was fiddling with equipment" and "everyone was glad when we dropped him off at the next site." Frank later learned Joe had lifted huge boulders while

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Hebronimiut were Inuit from the northern community of Hebron. That settlement, and another in the Nutak-Okak area, were closed and the approximately 500 residents were relocated to Makkovik, Hopedale and Nain between 1956 and 1963 (Kennedy 1977: 287). Though the settlement at Okak closed in 1919 many families remained in the nearby Nutak area until the time of relocation.

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The relocation of Hebronimiut is multifaceted and the focus of several scholarly publications. My intention here is to discuss one dimension of local people's understanding of Hebron and the way they negotiated it in 1999.

singing in a loud incomprehensible voice. The elders later told Frank the man's "grandfather wanted to go to Hebron so he took over 'Joe's' body."

Local people similarly felt a strong connection to Okak but for different reasons. In 1918 the tiny community was ravaged by the Spanish influenza and the majority of its residents perished. The few survivors were relocated to Labrador's coastal communities but the violence of the tragedy was extensive:

> My mother's mother was just three when it happened. She saw things no person should ever live to see...No one can even imagine how horrible it was to see and hear what happened to their families...Even though she was little she still remembers it today.

As this quote suggests the memory of "Okak" was alive and present in 1999. "It was hard for everyone," Frank told me. Its legacy affected every family on the coast and its effects were lasting as the circumstances surrounding the ordeal was present seventy years later.[125] Frank explained, "many people think it's haunted" and "it brings back a lot of bad memories today."

Nonetheless, "Okak" played a meaningful role for local people as it represented contradictory and overlapping ideals. It symbolized both their frailty and strength in the face of adversity. Though it was one of the most horrific events in Labrador's history, "Okak" pointed to local people's tenacity and enduring connection to the Land. For example, Frank's "mother's mother" recently shared another element of the tragedy with him:

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It was also the subject of a documentary entitled "The Last Days of Okak" and the youngest crew member onboard the long-liner had seen the film in her sixth grade Social Studies class at Jens Haven.

> ...it happened in the winter so the bodies couldn't be buried...Holes were cut in the ice and the bodies were dropped in the ocean...In the spring some of the bodies surfaced but the amazing thing was...there were no bites or marks...No animal had gone near them...not even the hungriest ones...I only heard that two months ago.

The Land offered local people tools to reconcile collective and personal tragedies from the past and present. The epidemic at Okak and more recently the Hebron and Nutak relocations, remained profoundly painful yet meaningful for local people in 1999.[126] Still, the reality of such suffering served an important role for local people: if they could withstand the horrors of Okak and the torture of relocation from Hebron and Nutak, they could endure their contemporary plight in Nain. During our trip to Okak I caught a glimpse of that strength while listening to Frank's stories. He spoke of the Land's supernatural forces demonstrating its healing properties and local people's uninterrupted ties to it. As we approached Okak's silent harbour Frank mentioned Nain less frequently; he had shed the memory of his troubled community and was re-visiting the place he truly loved. Hours later, during a caribou hunt, I discovered Frank's stories and wisdom had strengthened our small crew's connection to the Land, while simultaneously laying the foundation of my halting experience of a real education.

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See *Dispossessed: The Eviction of Inuit from Hebron, Labrador* (Brice-Bennett 1994) for a detailed discussion of the deep turmoil the relocations continue to wreak on local people's lives, their families and subjectivities.

5.1.2.2. The Open Classroom

> If you don't know how to use your body in the Country, it's easy to lose it. You've got to be absolutely clear-headed, no drinks or nothing like that...you can't get yourself tired. If you exhaust yourself you're finished.

The truth of that statement was often a frightening reality for me. As an inexperienced neophyte "going off" was deceptively unimposing but always beautiful. Though my guides Jim and Frank were amazingly patient and capable teachers their awareness of the dangers of my ineptitude was ever present. Over time my ease and knowledge of my surroundings gradually increased in concert with the content of their instructions. Through several discussions with both informants, which typically occurred in my living room or in the hold of a long liner, I began to realize not only was I in the midst of the open classroom but my role had necessarily changed during every excursion. That is, relinquishing my identity to that of a child enabled me to accompany my informants into the Country.

That occurred naturally and silently between myself and my guides. Though Jim and Frank were Inuit and Settler respectively they both relied on similar styles of teaching. By using actions rather than words Jim and Frank seamlessly continued my "lessons" though I was initially oblivious. This account of my first hike from my fieldnotes provides an example of my "training:"

> Jim and I climbed Mt. Sophie today, that's the hill overlooking Nain...it's two miles out but seems much closer because of its size...I was really clumsy and awkward but 'Jim' would slide down rocks effortlessly...then he would turn around and watch me try it...I was scared to do it and I'd hesitate at the edge...with my hands at my sides and my legs buckling under...then I'd

> slowly slip down its side trying not to fall face down in the bushes...'Jim' rarely tried to help me instead he stood at the bottom...and waited for me to follow. I was so slow and clumsy..he never teased me or complained but he often asked questions like, 'are you cold?' or 'are you tired?'

Though I simply followed him up and down Mt. Sophie Jim was gauging my abilities and limitations. His questions were intended to spark an awareness and appreciation within me for the environment and my body. Upon our return to Nain Jim continuously remained in the teaching mode that consistently stressed survival. That is, because my tiredness was obvious on our first excursion, Jim detailed the importance of remaining alert and "not wearing yourself out" shortly later:

> ...you can't let yourself go, get tired...when you're in the Country...anxiety fills you right away and then you have panic attacks...and even though we were two miles from here, two miles is a long ways for a person in trouble...

Once I demonstrated competency in "reading" my body our hikes increased in distance from the community. Conserving my energy eventually came naturally to me and I was able to overcome greater challenges. Still, every excursion was followed by Jim's subtle emphasis on the areas needing improvement while praising the gains I had made that day:

> Even just walking is the simplest thing to do but...you can't forget about your body and your feet especially...like the other day when we went off, you're not getting tired anymore but your feet got cold, it's because your boots were too tight...you have to have air in your boots because you gotta let the blood flow and if you don't...your feet are gonna hurt then you'll feel the freeze and then you can't feel your feet anymore. That's when panic comes in, that's when anxiety starts and that's when you're in trouble.

Cultivating more skills meant I had graduated from scaling Mt. Sophie to trekking ten miles

for "boil-ups" and ice-fishing trips. My progress was encouraging and I considered Jim's silence on the outings to be high praise, however, the following excerpt from my fieldnotes underlines the importance of Jim's instructions outside the open classroom:

> We went snow-mobiling[127] on Saturday and I figured out how to distribute my weight so we wouldn't tip over...when we got back in town I was so proud of myself...I counterbalanced my weight without a word from 'Jim.' But then he told me that I didn't sit back when he stood up, I should've leaned forward when he did, and the list goes on. He didn't mention these things while we were out, instead he waited until we came back...but it wasn't patronizing..it was instructive and humbling, like so many things up to this point...He was trying to teach me through example but I missed a lot...if he didn't tell me where I'd gone wrong it could mean the difference between wet and dry some day and that's the difference between life and death on the land.

Still, the import of Jim's instructions and my education materialized during our taped interviews. His grandfather had been an enduring force in Jim's life though he had died more than a decade before. As a child Jim "went off" with his grandfather and attempted to mimic his every move which in turn had fuelled his education:

> My grandfather would be out of my sight and I'd be crying and shouting but he knew where I was because I made a lot of noise...He was always out of my sight...if I'd see something like a partridge I'd shout to him and the partridge would be gone by the time he got there anyway...then when he knew that I was old enough to hold the bow or something like that...he'd make me a little bow...he would make me practice on a piece of rock or a sod or something like that...shooting it with an arrow. In the winter time he'd make a partridge or a fox out of snow. Then he'd tell me to practice til I got sick of it and wanted to use it on a real animal. And he knew the time I'd get bored I'd go off by myself. All that time I was walking with him he knew where all the animals were, the partridge, the arctic hare, the fox...wolves, the bigger game was for bigger bows...then he would make a bigger bow...for himself for

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Jim had borrowed a friend's 'ski-doo.'

caribou...then I got into the wolves, bear and caribou...

That story cemented my understanding of my ascribed role of a child while I was out on the Land but it left a number of gaps. Though I believed my education was unfolding quickly in retrospect it moved slowly as I was an adult learning what my informants were taught as children. As my experience only provided the briefest acquaintance of the intricacies and nuances of a lifetime of learning in the Country my informants had tremendous knowledge bases to draw from. Grace, an elder informant whose words were introduced at the beginning of this chapter, offered her insight:

> I never went to school until I was eight...I lived on the Land with my parents and they never went to school...But they knew a lot of things...they knew how to live in the Country, how to take care of us...we were never hungry, we were never cold or sick...They taught us everything out there...My mother was born in George River and my father in Hebron...we used dog sleds...we only went to Hebron for supplies...but my mother could read...I don't know how she learned...now I take my children and grandchildren off to get them used to being out there...they're learning and some of them care more than others like my son...he'll take his kids off too and teach them how live out there...I still miss it...I go off whenever I can, I've never forgotten what my parents taught me...how to live off the Land.

Grace was known to "go off" on month long "ski-doo" trips with her children and return grudgingly to Nain full of plans for the next trip. And she was not alone. Sophie, an elder Inuk informant mentioned in Chapter 4, had a similar experience in her childhood:

> My grandparents would go off in the fall...and build a shack made of rough wood...it was covered with sod...it had two little windows...it was cold at first...but you'd have to build it as fast as you can...my uncle's children lived with us, they lost both parents...I lived with my grandparents and we'd come back to Nain for Christmas and New Years on a dog team...we'd go back in the spring...we wouldn't go hungry...we lived off the Land.

Sophie's first childhood memories were of her families' summer place and the "fish that was our summer food." She recalled being "only four" and living "way too far up north" to "eat a lot of caribou." They "ate what they caught" surviving on dried fish, seal and deer meat. Upon return to Nain Sophie's family replenished their supplies at the store such as: "sugar, tea, flour, maybe dried prunes and dried apple, salt beef and pork," but "all that we ate we ate off the Land" including arctic hare, partridge and porcupine. That reverence for the Land was transmitted to her children and grandchildren as it was still valued by her family as the ultimate source of Inuit knowledge and identity.

Survival was at the heart of the open classroom as every trip, interview and conversation underscored it. Though my informants were relatively unschooled in the formal sense, they were highly educated in the Country. The absence of one did not necessitate the absence of the other as isolating and categorizing the educational imperatives of the Land would undermine it and bring it into sharp contrast with its rigid counterpart. Still, my informants were concerned that future generations would merely have a halting acquaintance with the Country as the former was clearly deemed more valuable in the community and the wider society. That fear touched on a far deeper and more pervasive issue affecting every local person in Nain, the question of whether their true source of strength would be erased or revived.

Chapter 6

Theoretical Groundings

> Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations (Bourdieu and Passerson 1977: 4).

In Nain institutionalized hegemony prioritized English over Inuktitut, white over Inuit, liberal ideologies over traditional culture and history. That meant the community was deeply entrenched within processes of domination and subordination driven by the state and capitalist forces. Though local people's social capital and marginalization were constantly contested within the community their response was to engage in various forms of transcendence. Local people temporarily inverted Nain's entrenched inequities by either "going off," literally or metaphorically, or by adopting a contradictory empowerment. Regardless of the methods, local people collectively understood the urgency of escaping their oppression, as this chapter will demonstrate, Nain's constructed social hierarchy was manifested in the friction between suppressed identity; the disjunction between Community and School; and the saliency of poverty and privilege.

6.1. Hegemony

> The supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership.' A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to 'liquidate' or to subjugate by armed force: it leads kindred and allied groups (Gramsci 1971: 58).

Antonio Gramsci originally popularized this notion of hegemony in the 1930's. Most

significant were his ideas underscoring the importance of power within politicized structures of domination and subordination. Decades later Raymond Williams (1977) reconfigured the concept to fit within the realm of culture as it was not merely understood as an instrument of the dominant group; rather, hegemony was a "process" involving an entire society that continuously strengthened the dominant group's position while simultaneously undermined the subordinate groups' access to power. In this sense, hegemony was embedded:

> to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense (Williams 1977: 110).

An important question for anthropologists then was, who was the "us" Williams referred to? Surely not everyone in society blindly accepted or succumbed to cultural domination designed to further only one group. Williams explained:

> ...any hegemonic process must be especially alert and responsive to the alternatives and opposition which question or threaten its dominance. The reality of cultural process must then always include the efforts and contributions of those who are in one way or another outside or at the edge of the terms of the specific hegemony (1977: 113).

Or in other words, hegemony "has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressure not at all its own" (Williams 1977: 112). Though Williams' reworked notion of hegemony added a dimension that was theoretically useful within anthropology, as it included culture and penetrated the enduring power of the *dominating,* the concept raised more questions about

the role of the *dominated* than it answered.[129]

Ambiguities surrounding the concept sparked debate within anthropology prompting Comaroff and Comaroff (1991) to redefine it.[130] Here, culture, hegemony and ideology are seen as separate yet related entities operating within a triangular relationship. As hegemonies are by definition fluid, vulnerable to opposition and constantly renegotiated, "culture cannot be subsumed within hegemony" (ibid.: 21). That is, it is impossible for hegemonies to claim all signs, symbols and meanings as its own within a culture.

> Typically, however, the making of hegemony involves the assertion of control over various modes of symbolic production: over such things as educational and ritual processes, patterns of socialization, political and legal procedures, canons of style and self-representation, public communication, health and bodily discipline, and so on (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991: 25).

Comaroff and Comaroff similarly differentiate between hegemony and ideology whereby the dominant worldview and subordinate interests are relatively represented. They deduce that

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Extensive anthropological tailoring of Williams' 'hegemony' evidences its currency as, for example, Sider (1986) deepened Williams' generalized notion of culture to include "the connection between culture and social relations" as "the core of culture is the form and manner in which people perceive, define, articulate and express their mutual relations" in order to make more anthropological sense of the concept (120). Similarly, seminal works such as James Scott's (1985), "turned Gramsci on his head" where he argued that "everyday forms of resistance" provided greater insight into domination than hegemony as he asserted the concept had departed too far from what the Marxists, the originators of the concept, had simply intended to mean as "ideological domination." Scott concluded that hegemony could "mislead us seriously in understanding class conflict in most situations (315-317). Further, Derek Sayer (1994) distances himself from Scott's analysis yet still prefers "the twin themes of resistance and rule" as opposed to the "intellectual notion of hegemony" in an attempt to understand the overarching forces of domination and power (371). Still, hegemony when understood as a process rather than a "theory" or "an opiate for the people from Babylon to Bangkok" (Smith 1999: 119-120) "covers dimensions left out by 'culture' and 'ideology...'" (Gordillo 2002: 264).

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According to Gordillo (2002) Comaroff and Comaroff's interpretation of hegemony has become "one of the mainstream definitions" (263).

it is only through the repetition of signs and symbols that hegemonies become custom or convention, yet as ideologies become more pervasive then so do the fractures and weaknesses of the hegemony (ibid.: 25). Most relevant here, and a point that I will return to later, is Comaroff and Comaroff's emphasis on the role of a subordinate "consciousness" that places members of that group with one foot inside and the other foot outside the hegemonic field.[131]

6.1.1. Linguistic Domination

> ...utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed (Bourdieu 1999: 502. Original emphasis).

Communication, then, is a vehicle fueled by hegemonic power relations. In a colonial situation, communication works quickly to establish the hegemonic field as "the dominant culture...determines and formulates the overall societal boundary" (Ben-Rafael 1994: 221). Once the economic and political spheres are saturated with powerfully communicated ideologies, social division soon follows. To cement the arrangement, the dominator's imposed language is then legitimized furnishing its speakers with ever greater social and linguistic capital. According to Bourdieu (1999: 503), those within the dominating culture have unlimited access to the most valuable linguistic and social "competences" and "resources" upholding the hegemonic field. Still, "linguistic forces" are

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Gordillo's (2002) term "hegemonic field" is useful to describe the process of "inform[ing] everyday practices, meanings, and forms of consciousness" within a society (263).

described as residing *within* the political economy rather than solely determining it but Bourdieu contends it is through "linguistic exchange" that "the whole social structure is present in each interaction...(Bourdieu 1999: 502-503).

Linguistic exchange, then, is informed by the *unequal* social structure rendering most forms of communication indicative of social positionality. The effect of such an arrangement can be explained by envisioning a pyramid. Though the elite are clearly outnumbered by the remaining populace, their acquired social and linguistic capital is the most valued placing them at the peak, in direct contact with the power apparatus. The remaining groups occupy positions in descending order, which are dependent on the degree of capital they possess, until we arrive at the base. There sits the largest portion of the populace yet their access to political power is severely thwarted owing to their limited accumulation of social, political, economic and linguistic "resources" and "competences."

The effect of such an arrangement assures the minoritization[132] and marginalization of the largest portion of the populace. Thus, whether members of this group accept the prevailing hegemonies as legitimate is inconsequential, what matters here is when the marginalized/minoritized group submit to the power of the hegemonic field. The question then becomes: at what point does the value of social/linguistic capital change? According to Ben-Rafael (1994), by examining the movement of "linguistic data" the process of

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The term *minoritized* in contrast to *minority* provides a more instructive "analytical space for an exploration of how processes of hegemony and overt state domination define particular languages (and groups) as nonauthoritative, even in cases where speakers (and members) form the majority of the population of a specific region or country" (Roseman 1995: endnote #2; p. 23-24).

dominating the prevailing notions of what is and what is not valued within a society can be tracked: firstly, the dominant culture establishes its boundaries by creating the hegemonic field; secondly, capitalist and political forces establish economic, social and linguistic markets that reconfigure the social structure; and thirdly, linguistic domination ensures the hegemonies are believed to be powerful enough to be followed (221).

For Bourdieu, formal schooling provides fertile ground for establishing social division by legitimating the privileged language (1982: 32)[133]. As the line between the sanctioned and stigmatized languages are clearly drawn in the classroom through all discourse conducted in that frame - including the curriculum - the distinction between 'correct' and 'inappropriate' linguistic codes are formalized (ibid.: 36-37). As each language represents culturally-specific meanings and outlooks, the speakers of the either sanctioned or stigmatized language are the bearers of those perspectives and the corresponding social/linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1982: 43). For children in the privileged group and in possession of the most profitable social/linguistic capital, their comfort and success is fostered by their socialization within the privileged paradigm enforced at school. However, children in the minoritized group learn quickly that their language and worldview are not equally valued in school and therefore, later in society (ibid.).[134]

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All references to Bourdieu (1982) were cited in Ben-Rafael (1994: 41.)

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As Fife (1991) contends, "The existence of schools which objectively help reproduce hierarchies of social class are legitimated through the 'myth' of equal access (opportunity) to certificates for social mobility. The process through which one form of cultural reality is chosen as 'legitimate knowledge' over other forms is hidden and introduced into schools as neutral curriculum. The end result, according to researchers such

Thus, unequal language development maintains social hierarchies cultivated in the educational system. Though the state apparatus, namely the civil service, judicial system, government bureaucracies and related institutions, cohesively work within and towards a uniform consciousness embroiled within the language of power, it is at the sight of schooling that social division is most profoundly led. The following sections will explore the impact of social division both at the school and community levels in Kenya and Argentina. As we shall see, these cross-cultural comparisons provide striking similarities with the case in Nain, despite their geographic locations on three separate continents. In Kenya, a multilingual society, arbitrary language policies were legislated within the school system to further the state's agenda of promoting a uniform nationalism under the guise of populist imperatives. Yet, as the following attests, the state's ultimate goal of promulgating privilege for the few and gross inequities for the many was only thinly cloaked.

6.1.1.1. Language as Passport

> The state promotion of the language of the center soon causes the regions to look up to the language of the center as a passport to socio-economic success and effective political participation (Kembo-Sure 1998: 186).

But first for that to succeed the state must justify its authority over a territory to begin the process of domination. "State rationalization," then, entails persuading a populace to relinquish control of its operations by creating and then maintaining an infrastructure that is believed to be crucial in securing its most pressing societal goals (ibid.: 185). Once political

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as Michael Apple, Paulo Freire, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passerson, is the use of schools to promote and mask actually existing oppressor/oppressed relations in society" (68).

leaders convince the public that their desired "subsystems" are contingent on the standardization of "one language," which is to be "uniformly used and understood throughout the territory," laws are then "typically" enacted to ensure the primacy of that language. The standardized code then becomes the "official language of government administration" and "bureaucratic elite" that is "popularized aggressively through education and the mass media" (186). According to Kembo-Sure, as that dialectical partnership strengthens over time:

> The hope of the rulers is to eventually have linguistic boundaries coterminous with state boundaries and hopefully to make the state a homogenous speech community (ibid.).

In Kenya, state rationalization was envisioned and promoted as a gateway to modernity. As Africa was embroiled in political turmoil in the last century promises of widespread equality, individual rights, and greater political freedoms were profoundly appealing to the post-colonial society. With Kenya's "national symbols" and aspirations in their pockets, the political elite pledged to create a centralized legal system, government apparatus, inclusive economy and universalized education system (ibid.: 191-192). Yet such 'benevolence' exacted a toll on Kenyans.

While the ideals underpinning state rule may appear innocuous and understandably alluring they were also hegemonic. According to Brickell(2001), the ideals of liberalism are problematic for members of a minoritized group as the notions of equality and individualism "play an active part in the process of domination and subordination" (211). In other words, promoting a society as just and fair effectively masks systemic hierarchies favouring

privileged groups over minoritized groups as the gaps between them intensify. For example, as the subordinated group inevitably fails to succeed in such a system, their failure affirms their lack of ability, character, and so on, whereas the privileged groups' mastery of their social and economic environments accentuate their success while simultaneously justifying their positions and deepening the societal wedge.

The other component of Kenya's state rationalization plan was more immediate and concrete. Language standardization, Kenyans were told, would foster "intimate interaction" between "the state and the masses" as open communication was integral to the operation of such a system (Kembo-Sure 1998: 192). Thus, "special constitutional provision" that ratified English as Kenya's official language and Kiswahili as the national language effectively erased the nation's remaining languages, and there were many, from the economic and political purview. As Kenya's indigenous languages were suddenly "left mainly to perform interpersonal communication functions in the home and neighborhood" the impact of such a reality was profoundly evident in schooling (ibid.).

In 1983 English subsumed all languages in Kenya's school system.[135] Though Kiswahili,[136] an indigenous language, held a place in the enterprise it was eclipsed by English as it became the dominant code in all schools including regions serving "linguistically

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The educational policies detailing English and Kiswahili as the official dominant languages were not constitutionally sanctioned but were instead mandated by "government ministerial policy statements" (Kembo-Sure 1998: 193).

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The choice of Kiswahili as Kenya's national language had numerous detractors owing to its controversial legacy in Kenya and the nominal percentage of fluent speakers (Kembo-Sure 1998: 194; endnote#27).

homogenous populations" (Kembo-Sure 1998: 193). That meant English was suddenly the language of currency in Kenya as fluency offered speakers rewards in and out of school during their academic careers and throughout their lifetimes.[137] The distribution of English as the imposed school language in regions where local languages were the vehicles of socialization was again, highly skewed, as it heightened social divisions *between* communities. For example, though English instruction was universal in Kenya accessibility to the most power-laden version was not. Schools operating within the "British Standard," mostly serving the urban and middle-class, furnished students with clear social and intellectual advantages over those attending schools promulgating the "non-standard varieties," largely serving the rural and working-class. Consequently, the latter received an 'inferior' and stigmatized *education* that contributed to the widening gap between those 'able' to master English and its ideological products and those who could not (ibid.: 193-194).

According to Michael W. Apple (1982), schooling provides a vital intersection where cultural, economic and ideological imperatives are produced and reproduced daily. That is, schools are not simply monolithic entities mimicking and dispensing societal expectations driven solely by state interests and capitalistic forces (ibid.: 66-67), Apple explains:

In essence, the school becomes a fundamental institution for seeing the

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Kembo-Sure describes university applicants with British accents as having the "'halo' effect" on university officials. That is, panellists were swayed by the candidates' speech patterns and routinely overlooked their "mediocre" credentials whereas applicants with exemplary records and local accents garnered the opposite reaction (ibid.: 203 endnote# 31).

> dialectical relationships and tensions between the economic, political, and cultural spheres. And the school is the arena for working out these relationships and tensions...(ibid.: 97).

In this sense, then, schooling is understood as a hybrid within a society whereby contradictory and competing struggles are commonplace and "countervailing tendencies and oppositional practices [go] on as well." Apple points out that while those "tendencies" and "practices" may be "contradictory," "disorganized" and exercised by a considerably less powerful group than those in authority, he warns:

> To ignore them is to ignore the fact that in any real situation there will be elements of resistance, of struggle and contradiction, all of which will act against the abstract determination of the real life experiences of human actors (ibid.: 93).

In this sense a hegemonized school system provides a specific *education* to those most disadvantaged by it. As linguistic domination clearly penetrates the social, political, and economic fabric of a society those most acutely minoritized by it become increasingly aware of its magnitude. That cognizance works in concert with the force of systemic inequities to foster an acceptance among and within marginalized groups of their 'incompatibility' within those realms. In Kenya's case, members of marginalized groups quickly learned of the diminished profitability of their local languages and related cultural products within the state's alienating spheres, including its schools (Kembo-Sure 1998: 193), and succumbed to that reality. The question then becomes: to what extent does such acquiescence penetrate?

Submitting to linguistic domination can be a rational and conscious move for a

dominated group. Laitin (1992) suggests learning and using a legitimized code as a device "for the fulfillment of economic or social goals" and makes sense on several levels yet cautions the price of such concessions may generate a "sense of loss, of alienation from their roots, of betrayal" that could threaten the communal soul (52).[138] Diglossia[139] then should be viewed as the continual exertion of power by the dominant groups rather than the willingness or weakness of the subordinated groups to acquiesce.[140] Within this frame Scott (1990) argues "The fact of subordination can be read in the use of linguistic forms shaped so as to reflect and anticipate the response of the dominant" affording marginalized peoples few alternatives but to comply, at least publicly. "But," Scott continues, "this does not preclude their active use as a means of resistance and evasion" in instances whereby "the script is rigid and the consequences of a mistake large, subordinate groups may experience their conformity as a species of manipulation" (ibid.: 32-33). In this sense Freire's (1982) perspective is helpful:

> For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. Since everything has its opposite, if those who are invaded consider themselves inferior, they must necessarily recognize the superiority of the invaders. The values of the latter thereby become the pattern for the former. The more the invasion is accentuated and

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As cited in Rahman (2001: 60).

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Diglossia is the process whereby a standardized code is used in formal contexts (i.e. government bureaucracies and related institutions including schools) and is deemed superior to the non-standardized languages or vernaculars spoken in homes and neighbourhoods (Ferguson 1972: 232).

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This is similar to European cases found in the area of Galicia, Spain, see Roseman (1995).

> those invaded are *alienated from the spirit of their own culture and from themselves*, the more the latter want to be like the invaders: to walk like them, dress like them, talk like them (Freire 1982 [1970]: 151. My emphasis).

The trick then becomes whether the "invaded"in any context retains their communal identity to prevent their cultural and spiritual selves from being suffocated by the language of power and its accompanying ideals.

While Kenya's example points to the state's effective use of English hegemony to control the nation's legal system, school system, government and economy, it also shows the state's failure to overtake the hearts and minds of its people. Though English was clearly understood as a "passport" to material prosperity, Kenyans chose to - whether consciously or otherwise - relegate the language and its cultural products to the realm of pragmatics. That is, Kenyans' experience of diglossia necessitated a contracted communal identity that pushed English hegemony and its elaborate trappings outside the realm of everyday experience. English was then understood and spoken only in terms of its relationship with the state, and by definition exterior realms of society, leaving Kenyans' most "complex cultural activities" such as:"traditional worship, funeral rites or marriage negotiations" untouched by English hegemony as it was as meaningless within those contexts as the entities it represented, Kembo-Sure explains:

> If a second language is not learnt to a level where it can serve all the purposes of a community and the individual then it falls short of an effective medium for them. Language is not required as a means of communication alone; it symbolizes and embodies the community's intricate cultural, social and intellectual values that can best be represented by a native language (Kembo-Sure 1998: 194-195).

Linguistic standardization is a liberal idea based on a hegemonic model of equality that caters to the most powerful and privileged groups and its presence in schooling provides fertile ground for societal tensions and struggles. In Kenya linguistic hegemony worked to both establish and preserve the power of a numerically small but powerful elite as it spread across the nation fulfilling political leaders' aims to build a state apparatus to cement their political and economic reign. This was accomplished under the guise of liberal rewards for the populace yet it hinged on the success of linguistic standardization as Kenyans were required to *believe* in the legitimacy of adopting to and complying with the dominance of an abstract language. Conversely, though English was used as a tool to secure state control the rulers failed to factor in the crucial role played by Kenyans' communal identity and culture. Put differently, though Kenyans were powerless against the political and economic machines infiltrating their schools and communities, and were forced to conform to those models in varying ways, their minoritized languages and identities were culturally, spiritually and communally resilient enough to evade the hegemonic yoke.

6.1.2. The Hegemonic Field

> ...the challenge, then, is not only to consider that people struggle over particular places but also to explore how hegemony informs *the type of places* people consider worth fighting for (Gordillo 2002: 264. Emphasis in Original).

Up to this point I have discussed the ways hegemonic fields are established in concert with the formation of state rule and the vital role played by language domination to secure and maintain that hierarchical structure. I have described hegemony as a *field* in keeping

with Gordillo's (2002) analysis that is influenced by Thompson's (1966) conception of "fields of power" and Roseberry's (1994) suggestion:

> ...to understand struggle; the ways in which the words, images, symbols, forms, organization, institutions, and movements used by subordinate populations to talk about, understand, confront, accommodate themselves to, or resist their domination are shaped by the process of domination itself. What hegemony constructs, then, is not a shared ideology but a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by domination (ibid.: 360).

That is, "hegemony means that resistance is never located 'outside' fields of ideological and cultural domination"(Gordillo 2002:264).[141] In this sense, as Paulo Freire (1982) argues, "the oppressed are not 'marginals,'...not men [and women] living 'outside' society. They have always been 'inside' - inside the structure that made them 'beings for others'" (Freire 1982: 61). This line of thought similarly applies to the "production of places" as members of a minoritized group pursue autonomy from the "webs of power" that appear rooted within a specific locality yet, as Donald Moore (1998) contends, such "secure places" *result* from the hegemonic field and are responsively produced in opposition to it (351-352).[142] Further, as Corrigan and Sayer explain it is the state by definition that upholds such an arrangement with its:

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The "resistance" literature includes E.P. Thompson (1966), Paul Willis (1981) and James C. Scott (1985; 1990). Its popularity mushroomed after Scott's *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) and was the focus of a "special issue" of *The Journal of Peasant Studies (1986).* Debate surrounding the 'hegemony' of 'resistance' is well known see Abu-Lughod (1990), Ortner (1995), and Brown (1996).

142

As cited in (Gordillo 2002: 275)

> ...arcane rituals of a court of law, the formulae of royal assent to an Act of Parliament, visits of school inspectors, are all statements. They define, in great detail, acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity; they regulate...much...of social life. In this sense 'the State' never stops talking.
>
> Out of the vast social range of human social capacities...state activities more or less forcibly 'encourage' some whilst suppressing, marginalizing, eroding, undermining others. Schooling for instance comes to stand for education, policing for order, voting for political participation. Fundamental social classification, like age and gender, are enshrined in law, embedded in institution, routinized administrative procedures and symbolized in rituals of state. Certain forms of activity are given the official seal of approval, others are situated beyond the pale. This has cumulative, and enormous, cultural consequences for how people identify...themselves and their 'place' in the world (Corrigan and Sayer 1985: 3-4).[143]

It is precisely here that Gordillo (2002) pulls the concepts of hegemonic fields and the "production of places" together to examine the ways the Toba, an indigenous group living in the northwestern Argentinean Chaco[144], struggle against the "hegemonic values" that have been "inscribed" on their lives and landscape. It is "out of this tension" that "the bush is being reconfigured in a contradictory way" as hegemony situates itself both spatially and subjectively within the formal and informal spaces of a community and beyond (Gordillo 2002:264-265).

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As cited in (Roseberry 1994: 363).

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The Chaco or Gran Chaco is a "lowland plain in central South America, extending from southern Bolivia through Paraguay to northern Argentina;" its meaning in Spanish is "great hunting ground or riches" (Canadian Oxford Dictionary 1998: 609)

6.1.2.1. Locating Hegemony

> And they produced this place not just as 'Toba' but also, and especially, as indigenous *and* poor: as Aborígenes (Gordillo 2002: 275. Original emphasis).

This "place" is the bush, the land surrounding the small "dusty" village of Pozo de Maza in the Formosa province in northwestern Argentina. For the Toba, the nation's largest group of indigenous peoples living in one of its poorest provinces,[145] the meaning of the bush and its role in their lives culturally, economically and politically has significantly changed in a matter of decades. Once a bountiful source of sustenance, later a source of shame, and now a contradictory source of identity, for Toba living in material poverty the bush has evolved into a locality that is partly envisioned in relation to the village but most especially juxtaposed against the politics of poverty.

Pozo de Maza serves as the community base for the western Toba living in hamlets spread over 12 to 25 kilometers to the north.[146] In the early 20th century the Toba subsisted on "fishing, hunting, and gathering wild fruits and honey," which has continued into the present, and because the same degree of "agrarian capitalism" in the east was not manifested

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The Toba and Wichí both indigenous groups, constitute the majority of the province's population - "a unique feature for Argentina" (Gordillo 2002: 262).

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There are 500 residents at Pozo de Maza with 1,500 living in the surrounding hamlets (Gordillo 2002: 262). The Toba constitute the majority of Formosa's populace as there are 30,000 in both the Formosa and Chaco provinces. However, the eastern and western Toba differ linguistically and culturally to the point where "western Toba agree that it is hard to communicate with Toba from the eastern Chaco" (Gordillo 2002: 265; Endnote#2: 276). In the early 20th century the eastern Toba's economic pursuits were channelled into small-scale farming and proletarianism due to "massive land expropriations" (265). All future references will be made to the western Toba.

in the west, "people continued using relatively wide territories" as they did in the early decades of the last century. The Toba continued to subsist along the banks of the Pilcomayo River in a "dozen semi-nomadic bands" and were relatively unscathed by military incursions, attacks from their rivals and the encroaching Criollo settlers for some time. That changed in 1917 as settlers and the army had become a formidable "presence" in the region compelling the Toba to undergo "labor migrations" at the sugar plantations 300 km to the west on the Andes' foothills. Nonetheless, tensions remained high at home and the Toba sought the protection of the newly arrived British Anglican missionaries (Gordillo 2002:265).[147]

Yet their experiences of missionizing and plantation migrations propelled the Toba to seek autonomy in the bush. The missionaries' strict ideological and literal prohibitions against "dancing, singing with gourds and drinking fermented beverages" encouraged the Toba to practice them outside the community rather than abandon them.[148] Additionally, the missionaries' methods of "social control" stretched outward as they depicted the bush as a "sinful place and an obstacle to schooling and evangelization" despite the Toba's continued

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By 1930 a mission post was established and the missionaries provided the Toba with "schooling and primary health care and mediated much of their relationship with the state" (Gordillo 2002: 265).

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Although most of these practices were eventually "abandoned" the notion of the bush as a refuge from the community was not (Gordillo 2002:265).

reliance on it (Gordillo 2002: 265).[149] Meanwhile the plantations offered little hope for the Toba as the administration organized all indigenous workers along "ethnic lines," identifying them as *Aborígenes* or *Indios*, to create a contingent of "unskilled workers."[150] Sandwiched between the lamentations of the missionaries and their minoritized status and extreme exploitation at the plantations, the Toba continued to rely on the bush for both food and "relative autonomy;" yet the bush's refuge became increasingly tainted by the "hegemonic imageries" casting it and those who relied on it as barbarous. That hegemonic field was powerful enough to assume the form of "values" and was gradually incorporated into the Toba's "subjectivity," however, at the same time the bush was also being re-imagined as a deeply meaningful locus of autonomy and Aboriginality (Gordillo 2002:265-266).

By the 1970s decades of labour migrations ended following the mechanization of the plantations. Though seasonal wage labour remained economically important, people's reliance on the bush increased as they spent "most of the year in their own lands" foraging and competing with settlers for the "use of the bush." Concomitantly, a dramatic shift in the

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Most missionaries saw the economic benefits of foraging and did not discourage this activity, their objections rested on spiritual and intellectual grounds (Gordillo 1999; as cited in Gordillo 2002: 265).

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Prior to that period the Toba had "constructed" their identity around "clashes with other indigenous groups" and was most importantly symbolic of their communal identity. At the plantations, however, all indigenous groups of the Chaco were classified as "Aborígenes" or "Indios" and were relegated a status lower than that of "permanent workers (Criollos and Chiriguanos) and cane cutters (Criollos, Bolivians, and Kollas from the Argentinean highlands)."As "unskilled workers" Indios were responsible for the lowest-ranking tasks such as "clearing sections of forest, weeding [and] planting cane" (Gordillo 2002: 265). Their minoritized status at the plantations was lasting as Toba women and men's memories of the period recalled in the mid-1990s centred on "the harsh working conditions, the high death toll among their children, and the fear they experienced in the cane fields epitomized in the threat posed by the 'devils' (evil spirits) that came down from the mountains and spread diseases among them" (Gordillo 2002a: 3).

political landscape was unfolding as 1968 marked the year "most" Toba were officially recognized as citizens and could vote provincially and federally in 1973. A decade later a law recognizing indigenous rights for the Formosa province was enacted and the Toba were mobilized to seek "legal land title" of 35,000 hectares, which they won, and was to be used for "foraging trips." That meant Toba women and men successfully combated hegemonic discourses that devalued the bush and its related practices by promoting it "as a collective place used through fishing, hunting and gathering" (Gordillo 2002: 266-267).

However, in the 1990s 'the bush' was overtly undermined by the new politics of work that took hold of the region and in turn rejuvenated the hegemonic field. As the Toba formed the largest electorate in Formosa, the provincial government advanced an "agenda" that made promises to improve "living conditions for Aborígenes;" in practice that meant securing votes through the uneven distribution of jobs and land titles forging an "incipient class differentiation" that "consolidate[d] the cultural and political values of trabajo"[151] (Gordillo 2002: 267). In other words, by undermining marisca, or foraging, and valorizing trabajo political leaders created a demand for work that was based on a hierarchical model that promoted public sector jobs as the most desirable yet, for the Toba, were the most

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Trabajo, Spanish for *work*, was a term "inculcated by state agencies: as a value and an occupation...(Gordillo 2002: Endnote#9; 276). Over time the Toba's conception of work changed and became incorporated into their subjectivities. For example, though the practices of "horticulture, herding and craftsmanship" predated the missionaries, settlers and plantation migrations, it was after those "new" experiences that the Toba thought of those activities as "work." Later with the proliferation of the hegemonic value of trabajo, wage-labour was prioritized over other economic pursuits namely *marisca* or foraging (Gordillo 2002: 267; Endnote#10; 276).

inaccessible forms of employment.[152] That "mobilization" for work also underpinned the "complex political landscape" - or *la política* as it was locally known - that overtly benefitted the few and disadvantaged the many as "influential leaders" received the highest paying jobs that bore the greatest "political capital" and fostered connections with "white politicians." Consequently, the politics of work became grounded in the villages, hamlets and fields, but most especially in *la comuna* - Pozo de Maza's municipality - as its brown, brick structure located at the center of the village was the physical embodiment of the people's equivocal relationship with "the government" (Gordillo 2002:268).

The culmination of cultural, political and historical processes shaped local people's perception of the bush as a center of autonomy and ultimately identity. As the demand for work became "spatially inscribed in the villages," those localities too were thought of as the nucleus of the hegemonic field whereas the bush was considered to be physically removed from it (ibid.). Those hegemonic values supporting that arrangement necessarily relegated all unpaid labour as unworthy, devalued marisca, the bush and most importantly, Aboriginality. Yet as la política fueled the struggle for work and the "uneven ways men and women experience trabajo," the embedded hegemonic values informed the "meanings of autonomy" that were projected onto the bush. That meant many people's perception of

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Though there were practical reasons for people turning to trabajo such as the "lower demand" for seasonal wage labour perpetuated by an "irregular participation" in the harvesting of bean and cotton crops, and the "relative depletion of the local environment" that hindered the "productivity of marisca," the demand for "work" was "also part of the consolidation of trabajo as a cultural and political value strongly embedded in people's subjectivity" (Gordillo 2002:268).

politics and identity was spatially grounded in both the villages and the bush as the sharp social divisions that comprised life in the former and latter were contrasted; hence the bush *and* marisca arose as the antithesis to the politically charged arena of la comuna:[153] where trabajo was deemed orderly, hierarchical and difficult to secure, marisca was open, egalitarian, and abundant, Gordillo explains:

> Mobility, flexibility, and seasonality...are then crucial components of the production of the bush as a meaningful locality. These features of the bush stand in tension with the regular and spatially fixed practices of the places of 'work.' In the experience of men and women, this contrast between trabajo and marisca and between the places they contribute to creating is a crucial source of political meanings...(Gordillo 2002: 268).

Further, as the bush was historically the Toba's refuge from the pressures both at home and at the plantations, a reality that was legislated in the 1970s, women and men were now legally free to pursue their economic imperatives in a locality that provided them with relative sovereignty outside the villages, hamlets and fields. However, with the formation of the political and state apparatus that openly denigrated the viability of such actions through its promotion of the struggle for work as a superior economic and cultural alternative to the bush and marisca, long-standing hegemonic values of work and place - introduced and promoted by the missionaries and plantation administration - were summoned among local people themselves casting it and their use of it in derisive terms. Still, the more political leaders and the system itself worked in concert to favour the minority of "rich" Toba to

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The bush came to include "not only the forest surrounding the hamlets but also all the places men and women used through foraging" (Gordillo 2002:268).

perpetuate la política - which purposely strengthened the state apparatus - the pernicious arrangement also brought the boundaries of identity into view. That is, "ordinary" Toba understood the "crucial connection between aboriginality and *poverty*" and continued to seek refuge and resources within the bush as it remained an "important spatial reference." Yet that process also marked a contradictory re-imagining of the bush as it was now envisioned through the hegemonic field that had penetrated local people's subjectivities (Gordillo 2002: 269-270. Original emphasis). Gordillo explains:

> ...secure places such as this should *not* be understood as the product of spatial separation - that is, as the result of their location 'outside' or 'beyond' webs of power. By contrast the bush is *the result* of its immersion within relations of domination, the outcome of the location of the social relations and practices that this place incarnates within the fields of state hegemony (ibid.: 275. Original emphasis).

Both the Kenyan and Argentinean examples underscore the relevance and magnitude of linguistic domination and hegemonic fields in the establishment and maintenance of state control both inside and outside the realm of schooling. Those processes were also manifest in Nain as hegemonic discourses worked to subsume Inuit values, identity and culture albeit in different ways and at different times. Historically, the Moravians aimed to fashion Inuit identity and culture into a Europeanized, christianized form. Though numerous obstacles arose and the Mission responded in ways that were often flexible for nearly two centuries, in the end they succeeded in cementing specific hegemonic values into Inuit consciousness and culture. Later, following Confederation in 1949, those notions were revived and strengthened by the provincial government as the value of work and the reality of social

division intensified. Those processes generated a host of new problems and experiences that local people endured and resisted through contradictory forms of empowerment that reconfigured the community and landscape.

6.1.3. Nain's Silenced Majority

> Being Inuk twenty or thirty years ago was something that was...dirty. I didn't want to be Inuk. I didn't want to speak my language and I didn't want to go off with my father...I'd stay in town. It's different now though, now it's good to be Inuk and I wish I could speak my language...(Informant Interview: Chapter 4; 27).

Jeff articulates the trajectory of the changed meanings of place and identity that developed over time and resided within processes of domination and subordination. While Confederation with Canada (1949) generated powerful incentives to dissuade Labrador Inuit from *being* Labrador Inuit, as we shall see, such challenges to Inuit identity and cultural practices were rooted in the Moravian era. As the Mission set out to create an enclave of 'Moravian Inuit' by rewarding certain behaviours and discouraging others to glorify or eradicate what was or was not deemed worthy, in time a "new ethnicity emerged" representing the culmination of Moravian tutelage (Paine 1977: 252).[154] Still, to the missionaries' dismay, Inuit retained important elements of their traditional culture and the persistence of one value in particular, sharing, demonstrates the difficulty and implications

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For detailed discussions of the process see (Kleivan 1966; and Hiller 1971). Though the Moravians had clear intentions of establishing sedentarized communities at the outset in northern Labrador, those notions were often challenged and necessarily altered to reflect a more complementary arrangement. For example, the Moravians learned early that theirs and Inuit survival at the mission stations rested on the latter leaving the settlements in the spring, summer and fall to hunt and fish. This compromise encouraged Inuit to winter at the stations through Christmas and Easter (Kennedy 1977: 267-268), however, as will become apparent, the Moravians' fundamental ideological imperatives were far less malleable.

of contesting the hegemonic field.

As the Moravians were economically dependent on the extraction and trade of Labrador resources, the Mission's success hinged on the transformation of Inuit economic principles. Inuit based their hunting and fishing economy on the value of sharing well before the Moravians' arrival as it not only satisfied nutritional and material needs, sharing was a culturally sanctioned "avenue to prestige."[155] However, that "system" was not only detrimental to the survival of the Mission in practical terms, it was also an affront to the Moravians' "rational" economic perspective that championed "individual accumulation of goods, sometimes at the expense of one's neighbours." Thus the Inuit "logic" of sharing was interpreted as "wasteful" yet also moralized to the extent that "the missionaries viewed the Inuit as simple children, inherently incapable of 'rational' economic behaviour"(Kennedy 1977: 269-271). Ultimately the Moravians transformed Inuit hunting and fishing cycles and economy to cater to the demands of the European market[156] and Labrador Inuit continued to practice and revere sharing as a culturally meaningful pursuit. However, from that point on Inuit cultural values that survived Moravian condemnation were severely reduced in stature

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See (T. Brantenberg 1977:a) for a detailed discussion on the social, cultural, economical and spiritual significance of the value of sharing among Labrador Inuit.

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That meant "codfish, seal skins, furs and others" were harvested and specifically targeted for trade with the European market. That system remained relatively intact from 1771 to 1926 when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) assumed trading rights in the region. There was no exchange of cash as supplies were shipped into the settlements importing "basic staples" and the missionaries discouraged Inuit from acquiring "luxury" items such as tobacco "by not stocking or overpricing" them. This trading system was the Moravians' most lucrative arrangement as it helped "sponsor" similar missions around the world for over a century (Kennedy 1977: 269).

as the hegemonic field that legitimized Moravian philosophies necessarily discredited Inuit beliefs and practices that over time penetrated the Inuit subjectivity.

Social division was another ideological construct used by the Moravians to further their purpose in northern Labrador. As one of the Moravians' main tools to christianize Labrador Inuit involved separating "converted" Inuit from their unconverted neighbours, the Moravians tried to "insulate" the former from "external contacts while selectively transforming elements of culture and economy." Sedentarization helped the Moravians achieve those goals and hundreds of Inuit wintered at the stations by the 1850s; such changes necessitated the implementation of new "methods of social control" that were previously unknown within hunting and fishing camps, for example, "the status of elder...became the important political office" (Kennedy 271-272). Though there were many "challenges" to this new arrangement, as it included the arrival of "permanent" European Settlers and Newfoundland fishermen, the Moravians imposed further distinctions among and between all residents and by the 1870s "recognized two groups in northern Labrador: Settlers and Inuit"(Kennedy 1977: 272; 274).[157] However, by the 20th century the clearest

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Language use in the schools played an important role in the advancement of Inuit and Settlers as distinct social groups (see Chapter 2; A. Brantenberg 1977). Labrador Inuit likely viewed the offspring of Settlers, the result of "European -Inuit unions," as "*kablunangojok*," or "literally half-white or almost like white men" and as they were neither seen as white or Inuit were "consequently inferior to both" (Kennedy 1977: 275). Further, the history between Settlers and Moravians was an antagonistic one as the former were viewed by the latter as an economic, spiritual, and cultural threat to Moravian Inuit. Early in the last century more Settlers were included in Moravian festivities, however, at the time of writing T. Brantenberg (1977b) contends "At present, the importance of the Moravian Church seems less pronounced for the Settlers because of increasing contact with the outside and the presence of alternative representatives of white society in Nain" (377).

social distinctions were drawn between the Moravians and the local people. As Moravian dominance intensified in that period so too did the value of their status and worldview as it rested in opposition to that of the local people's; consequently a template for the future minoritization of Inuit and Settler cultural spheres had emerged.

In the early 1940s American military base construction (1941) in Goose Bay significantly changed the economy of northern Labrador. That marked the introduction of wage labour to the region prompting Inuit and Settlers to travel to Goose Bay; though it was to be in a limited way as "civilian personnel" were no longer hired after 1945. Yet in the 1950s radar bases were built along the northern coast attracting more Inuit and Settlers to fill positions as "unskilled labourers." Meanwhile Confederation (1949) brought about an increased, albeit reluctant, role by the provincial government in northern Labrador (see Chapter 3).[158] The depth and consequences of its ignorance of the region and residents was manifested in policies that were conveniently[159] centered around the hegemonic value of "work" that "rested on the hypothesis that Labrador men would rather 'work' than hunt or fish" (Kennedy 1977:285). That meant the government prioritized construction 'work,' which was then available at the military bases but expected to end in the 1960s, and uranium exploration at Makkovik to that of harvesting natural resources (286).

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Federal funding for Labrador's native communities began in the 1950s, however, "Eskimo" communities received less than their Innu counterparts as non-native residents constituted a minority of the former's population in contrast to the latter (Tanner et al 1994: 30).

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The radar bases provided accessible wage-employment for northern residents requiring little government intervention to promote their mandate (Kennedy 1977: 285).

That marked a shift in economic perspective by the powerful elite that administered northern coastal Labrador. The most relevant difference for this research between the views of the Moravians and the provincial government rested on their appreciation or cynicism of the importance of the land and the cultural values that gave it meaning. That is, the Moravians were dependent on Labrador's natural resources and valued it whereas the provincial government, which was based in faraway St. John's, viewed hunting and fishing as antithetical to its centralizing agenda of modernization (see Chapter 3; Kennedy 1977:287).[160] That meant Labrador's economy was suddenly transformed to reflect the hegemonic values of a wage based economy, where the accumulation of cash outstripped all other pursuits and distant state agencies assumed control.[161] That fed on the existing template that minoritized Inuit cultural practices to that of European pursuits, however, now it went far deeper as the 'acceptable' avenues for earning a living in the region were distinguished from subsistence imperatives. As the practices and philosophies associated with the former and latter represented mutually exclusive spheres, for the majority of Nain's residents "going off," speaking Inuktitut, and simply *being* Inuk were now representative of the stigmatized 'other.'

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This stance soon changed however as Labrador came to be known as Newfoundland's cache of natural treasures yet the hegemonic value of work continued to cast subsistence pursuits as a backward enterprise.

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Kennedy argues: "Thus, within a period of about ten years, the economy of the north coast moved from one in which wage labour was all but non-existent (excluding base construction), to one of which, in some communities, offered wage employment to everyone. This was especially true in Nain and Makkovik during the late '60s and early '70s, where in addition, the construction, maintenance, and operation of modern fish plants created new kinds of employment opportunities, most significantly for women (288).

6.1.3.1. Suppressed Identity

> In Labrador, systematic contact with white institutions is more recent than in the western Arctic - dating generally from the time Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949. Since then, living off the land has been replaced by welfare, unemployment insurance and make-work projects (White 1986: 26).

Nearly a decade after Confederation the provincial government launched its first "scheme" in northern Labrador. Housing was severely limited in Nain, as elsewhere along the coast, and 71 houses were built in the region between 1956 to 1963. The "small, two bedroom wooden structures"(costing $1500-$2000) were provided to relocated Inuit as long as they would neither sell or renovate the homes for a decade. Then from 1963 to 1973, 313 "slightly larger" and more expensive houses were built that required a monthly rent of $15 to $20 with a similar tenancy arrangement. Major construction along the coast soon followed as an infrastructure was built that "included several school buildings and teacher's residences, two fish plants (at Nain and Makkovik), retail store facilities, and other buildings." Though in many ways those initiatives were necessary to align the region with the rest of the country in terms of housing, education and health care (Kennedy 1977: 287-288), such projects exacted a heavy price from coastal residents as the provincial government not only brought services to the region, it also superseded their value system.

As we have seen, the imposition of a modernizing and centralizing 'scheme' necessarily undermines the value system of the targeted populace. For the residents of Nain, the provincial government's 'well-intentioned' goal of 'improving' the living conditions of northern Labrador's residents by way of "industrialization (which prevailed in

Newfoundland politics)" rested on an approach that was not only impractical in a region supported by a subsistence economy, but also dismissed the "traditional native culture and values" of the people it was intended to serve (Kennedy 1977: 287-288).[162] I contend that it was precisely within that frame that the profound inequities that continue today in Nain were rooted in the Moravian era but strengthened and maintained by the provincial government as English hegemony, and the ideal of modernization, transformed Nain into an administered community.

An administered community simply put is a community embroiled within colonialism. Residents are afforded nominal if any influence to effect change as all aspects of daily life are directed by an "extrinsic bureaucratic administration" (Kushner 1988: 29). Where there is communal participation it is in "insubstantial ways" as individuals are ultimately "co-opted into the agencies that administer them" (ibid.). The definition of an administered community is then:

> ...a human community which does not effectively control its own affairs...(to the maximum extent possible in the modern world where no community is truly autonomous)...and in which a feeling of *powerlessness is pervasive* (Kushner 1973. My emphasis).[163]

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See Chapter 3 for more on the provincial government's perspective on the administration of northern Labrador. As this section is concerned with establishing the roots of the hegemonic field that were manifest during fieldwork 1999, the provincial government's mandate in northern Labrador is relevant. This value-laden perspective cast the transformation of the northern economy - to reflect the values of an unrealistic model i.e. construction rather than hunting and fishing - and relocating the most northerly residents to southern coastal communities as reasonable steps toward modernization (see Kennedy 1977 for a discussion on the relocation of Nutak and Hebron Inuit in the late 1950s).

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As cited in (Kushner 1988: 29).

Combating such powerlessness was necessarily difficult, as we have seen, and as English was suddenly the language of power in Nain (though the bureaucratic form was the most coveted), one group possessed enough social and linguistic capital to elevate themselves above those who did not: the Settlers.

That 'reality' became inescapable a generation following Confederation as Settlers distanced themselves from Inuit despite both groups' similar cultural and economic adaptations. Remember both Inuit and Settlers often intermarried, relied on similar resources from the same areas, regularly participated in language-mixing - particularly among Settlers - and sanctioned casual interactions between groups in "public spaces."[164] Though social divisions were well hidden at least on the surface, they were clearly inscribed in the layout of the community as Nain was divided into two areas: the Settler neighbourhood and the Village.[165] While occasional visiting occurred between members of both groups, "residential segregation" was enforced and Settlers were generally "not seen in the Inuit neighbourhoods," T. Brantenberg explains:

There is evidence that this is a value, at least among the Settlers: because of

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At the time of T. Brantenberg's fieldwork (1969-71) relations between Inuit and Settlers were "relatively unproblematic," however, he argued "ethnic identity is a matter of supreme importance in Nain, and an ethnic boundary *is* maintained between Inuit and Settlers" (1977a: 326-327. Original emphasis). During fieldwork in 1999 that distinction was still evident as Inuktitut-speaking Inuit privately commented on its importance both historically and contemporarily whereas in contrast Settler informants neither broached the subject or used the designation 'Settler.'

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The Settler neighbourhood "includes the school, hospital, R.C.M.P. headquarters, and the homes of the transient Euro-Canadian group" whereas "the Moravian Church is in the centre of the village (along with the stores, fish plant, etc.)"[1977a: Endnote #2; 342].

> land shortage and government housing projects, the segregated pattern has been disturbed a little and Inuit households are now found in the traditional Settler/white part of the village: however, Settlers still appear to wish to remain segregated from the Inuit and there are cases of Settlers refusing government housing as this would mean moving into an Inuit neighbourhood (T. Brantenberg 1977a: Endnote#3; 342-343).

Thus, while Inuit and Settlers shared many cultural and economic practices the distinctions between them were spatially grounded, evidencing the power of the hegemonic field in the community. Consequently, as Nain's infrastructure grew so too did its entanglement within the state apparatus, translating into deeper and more pronounced divisions between Inuit and Settlers. In contrast to the Moravian period whereby Settlers' European ancestry and fluency in English was a hindrance, the reverse was now true as Settlers were strongly encouraged to favour "the European side of their two ancestries" (Kennedy 2002:3).

"...now it's good to be Inuk..."

Yet once the political landscape changed in the 1970s - owing to the federal government's initiative of allocating "core funding" to organizations representing Canada's indigenous peoples (Kennedy 2002: 4)[166] - so too did the currency of Aboriginality. In 1973 the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was formed and it was originally intended to represent northern Labrador's Inuktitut-speaking Inuit.[167] One year later, in an attempt to end the long-standing divisions within their community, Inuit agreed to amend that stipulation and opened

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Financial support was also earmarked for "loan funding to document land use and occupancy, and ultimately, to submit land claims" however, only for groups recognized as "valid" by the federal government (Kennedy 2002: 4).

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For a detailed discussion on the formation of the LIA see (T. Brantenberg 1977b).

its membership to Settlers. Most significantly, it was suddenly "fashionable" to be Inuit as "unlike in the past, there are now tangible benefits available to persons or groups recognized as aboriginal or native Canadians"(Kennedy 2002: 1).

That meant Inuit and Settlers were theoretically political equals as they shared the common marker of LIA membership. However, social distinctions prevailed as Inuit continued to call themselves Inuit yet Settlers were now either "Labradorians" or LIA members (Kennedy 2002: Footnote#1; 1). Further, with their fluency in English in concert with their European ancestry, 'LIA members' were strategically positioned to lead the LIA deeper into the hegemonic field as it came to resemble the provincial government more and more each decade.[168] Thus, by the 1990s Inuktitut was the minoritized language of the LIA whereas the bureaucratic English code had slipped into supremacy. Ironically, that reality pushed Inuit further outside the realm of power as their limited cultural and linguistic capital intensified their incompatibility within the very organization that was intended to benefit them. While such stratifications were clearly evident in various spheres within Nain in the 1970s, one generation later they were less conspicuous in those spaces as housing patterns had relaxed and the Settler/English domination of the LIA was firm. During fieldwork, however, class distinctions were blatantly demarcated in a sphere to which we now turn: schooling in Nain.

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After just one generation of its existence, "The Settler-dominated LIA now has an agreement-in-principle with government for the province's first land claim and a constitution for self-government." In 1999 "the LIA describes itself as representing '4800 Inuit' (Nunatsiavut 1999:4), of which one quarter speak Inuktitut" (Kennedy 2002: 4).

6.1.3.2. School and Community

> The school is so white. It's too big for us, too high, but the Country is different...It's us, it's who we are.

By the time of fieldwork (1999) Nain was overrun by markers of poverty and privilege, yet its most obvious location was in Jens Haven Memorial. For local people, still the majority of the population, its brown brick walls were an impenetrable barrier to what they now valued for their children: economic prosperity. For teachers and administrators the local people's malaise regarding schooling caused frustration as their doors appeared open, their policies conciliatory, and their programs accessible. In contrast to the ignorance of past government administrators and policy makers, Nain's contemporary educators lived in the community and were committed to the people they served. Still, their role in Nain unwittingly and unintentionally perpetuated the hegemonic field whereas local people struggled with its tensions and contradictions daily.

The spread of linguistic domination was key to the success of state formation in both Kenya and northern Labrador. While Kenya's political elite overtly promoted English as a necessary step toward "modernization" - and required the masses' acceptance of the language's legitimacy at least initially - once its supremacy was firmly entrenched in the nation's formal spaces the differentiation between social classes was furthered widening the uneven distribution of power. Though in contrast to Kenya the population of Nain was significantly smaller, a similar result was achieved as language was historically used as a divisive tool in the region. Firstly, the Moravians differentiated between Inuit and Settlers

as the prominence of the former's language was prioritized over that of the latter's.[169] Secondly, following Confederation the split between the groups deepened as the provincial government exclusively and immediately used English as its legitimized code. That not only established the state apparatus in northern Labrador as it quickly became an "administered community," but English hegemony effortlessly usurped local people's value systems with an arbitrary Euro-Canadian variation.[170]

Where that value system is underpinned by the liberal ideals of equality and individuality schooling then becomes an area whereby the ensuing struggles and tensions among and between students are sharpened. In Kenya, 'universal' English instruction was unevenly distributed as the urban and middle classes were immersed within the power-laden British Standard whereas rural and working class communities were exposed to non-standard varieties that offered negligible social and linguistic capital. That meant Kenya's social differentiation was writ large as cities and communities displayed significant class distinctions. However, in the case of Nain with its significantly smaller population such social cleavages were manifested in its one school, Jens Haven Memorial, and most particularly in its second grade English stream classroom. That space provided a sphere

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This section intentionally draws on general assumptions to fit complex social and historical processes within a theoretical framework. As Chapter 2 illustrates, the Moravians were not a monolithic entity bent on destroying Inuit and Settler language and culture. However, their practice of separating local people within the school and community based on ethnic and linguistic criteria is relevant to this research.

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That is not to say local people automatically relinquished their values to that of the dominant system. Rather the status of the former's value system was significantly *undermined* by the latter and was therefore *weakened* not replaced.

whereby Nain's three social classes converged as students from the most privileged backgrounds displayed the greatest scholastic 'abilities' or social and linguistic "competences" in contrast to local children who did not.

As that reality spilled over into the community numerous contradictions arose. While local people avoided the school they simultaneously valued its promise of producing a generation of 'workers' for the wage-labour economy. That meant the acquisition of English and its related capital was now attached to economic prosperity both inside and outside Nain whereas Inuktitut and its cultural markers were not. In that sense, local parents' choice of the English stream over that of the Inuktitut stream was pragmatically driven and greatly influenced by the force of the hegemonic field. Though it was now "good to be Inuk," the political and economic machines in Nain told a different story: it was still far greater to be fluent in English than Inuktitut and by definition, more 'white' than Inuit.

The trick for local people then centers on the struggle between the two spheres as success in one ensures the continued marginalization of the other. That the increased capital of Aboriginality was not translated into formal schooling or other spheres in the community was not lost on local people as that reality compelled them - whether consciously or otherwise - to construct a division of their own. Nain was now representative of the 'white' dominant other whereas the Land along with its related cultural practices became the locus of an 'authentic' Inuit identity. Thus, unlike the case in Kenya where local people distanced their cultural and spiritual selves from English hegemony, the contradictions and divisions that arose from the pressures of living within an "administered community" had penetrated

local people's subjectivities. Still, that submersion within the hegemonic field also underscored its perceived incompleteness as local people's dubious 'education,' which was acquired within the community, now fueled their re-imagining of the Land as a space that not only elevated the status of their 'true' cultural selves but also offered freedom from the forces of domination.

"...the Land gives you peace, it heals."

Let us now examine the most significant parallels between the Toba of the Argentinean Chaco and Nain's local people. Firstly, the land or bush was traditionally and historically a locus of both indigenous groups' cultural, spiritual and economic sustenance despite their geographic disparity. Secondly, both groups were colonized by external agencies that systematically minoritized their identities and value systems that were fundamentally centered around the land. Consequently, though neither the Toba or Nain's local people consciously relinquished their beliefs for that of the dominant model, both groups were susceptible to its pressures as it worked vigorously to alienate them from the webs of power, destroy their autonomy, and by definition construct an Aboriginal identity.

As we have seen such processes generated deep social divisions among and between local people and their communities. Those hierarchies intensified the need for the most impoverished women and men to seek refuge in the land as it enabled them to both contest that reality and create an avenue for a 'true' indigenous identity. In contrast, within both Pozo de Maza and Nain, two buildings (la comuna and Jens Haven Memorial) represented

the entrenched obstacles that prevented local people from acquiring what they now valued: economic prosperity. As those obstacles were clearly tied to local people's relationship with the state, the wedge between the minority of people that benefitted from such a system was deepened and that emphasized the disparity between those who did not. However, in both cases local people had been "co-opted" into the very institutions that were responsible for perpetuating the hegemonic field. That blurred the ultimate line standing between the dominators and the dominated that communicated to *all* local people - regardless of their proximity to the distribution of resources - their subordination to the powerful elite was complete. Still, for the most vulnerable women and men whose experience of material poverty was absolute, "going off," in one form or another, was their only escape from the powerlessness they experienced in the 'white' domain.

Where the assimilating pressures had failed to erase either groups' most meaningful values and practices, they were successfully reduced in stature within the hearts and minds of the Toba and Nain's local people. That is, the hegemonic field had been internalized to such an extent that both groups - despite living on two distinct continents - were fighting identical processes of domination that forced them to re-interpret their refuge through the oppressive reality they were trying to escape. In Nain, that reality was embodied by the school, RCMP headquarters, medical clinic, government offices, retail stores, even the LIA. While most institutions promoted the "preservation" of culture and language, it typically took the form of translation services that were solely reserved for Labrador Inuit. That is, English and its accompanying values and ideals were simply understood as *the* reality in the

community whereas the notions of culture and language were promoted as distinctly Inuit and most significantly, indulgent enterprises 'tolerated' by those in authority. Thus, Labrador Inuit did not openly protest the oppression they lived with daily, rather, they chose to resist it passively, sometimes destructively, or sometimes not at all. As local people fought to suppress the nagging contention that they would always be deficient within Nain, they needed to believe that outside its borders they could still be Labrador Inuit.

Chapter 7

School as Community

Nain is built on a framework of divisive ideas and values that historically and contemporarily subordinated its numerical majority. The school system then is identified as yet another actor in the dominating process. Such a reality was justified in 1999 as schooling was clearly out of local people's reach and control. Still, as we have seen, Jens Haven Memorial's position in Nain was and continues to be unique: its doors are opened to children day after day, year after year. Such an interface is unparalleled as it transcends all sectors of the community. Thus, while the relationship between the school and community continues to be fraught with obstacles, contradictions, and discrimination, people's subsequent frustration, apathy and mis-communication points to only one conclusion: schooling is important to the people of Nain. This means Jens Haven Memorial is the most logical arena to begin the process of change but first, a closer look at the underlying issues.

7.1. The Seeds of Division

In our society *difference* is the antecedent of *division.* As we have seen, that formula has underpinned the provincial government's approach to governing northern Labrador and, ultimately, forms the ideological foundation of its schools. Such a model has unsurprisingly found its way into Jens Haven Memorial and its English/Inuktitut primary grade streams provide a poignant example of its contradictory schooling philosophy. My intent here is to illustrate that the severe problems of schooling in Nain are not the consequence of

administrators,'educators,'parents,' or students,' actions, lack of character or initiative; but rather, this research sets out to reveal the opposite. Everyone in Nain wants to put an end to the widespread acrimony that presently defines schooling, however, it has also been my aim to demonstrate that realizing such a goal requires more than a simple attitude change. The roots of Nain's schooling reality emanates from its structure that is built on the continual re-creation and maintenance of the power of ideas. Thus, before such a system can be dismantled and changed it must first be recognized and understood.

While Jens Haven Memorial's English stream program is designed to prepare students for the Canadian workforce, its Inuktitut counterpart is meant to promote and preserve Inuit language and culture. This distinction is paramount. For example, the English stream represents the power-laden mainstream schooling tradition, which is provincially sanctioned and supported by a range of sophisticatedly produced materials, whereas the Inuktitut stream is a primary grade program, offered only in Nain, and mostly relies on translated and photocopied materials. Such classifications necessarily translate into divergent teaching approaches. That is, educators must either be university educated or fully socialized Inuit fluent in their language and culture (Chapter 4). While that means both groups are severely lacking in one of two fundamental schooling arenas in Nain (as teachers are either undereducated academically, or culturally and linguistically) local teachers' qualifications and competence are overtly criticized, whereas their counterparts' ignorance of Inuit language and culture go largely unnoticed. Thus, the programs represent culture and knowledge as two mutually exclusive spheres that are clearly prioritized.

Nonetheless, those ideas are reminiscent of the community's overall perception of both programs. While the English version is closely tied to what everyone values in Nain, economic prosperity, fewer and fewer parents enrol their children in the Inuktitut stream (Chapter 4). While this 'choice' may at first appear contradictory and even indicative of a general indifference toward promoting and preserving Inuit language and culture, that is clearly not the case upon closer examination. Rather, the increased enrollment in the English stream is pragmatically driven as local parents understand the urgency of schooling their children in the language and culture of power (Chapter 6). While in theory both streams end in the third grade, in practice the English program slips into supremacy in the fourth grade. That means the English curriculum becomes *the* schooling model whereas the Inuktitut program is demoted to the status of a core language subject. Thus, the focus of schooling suddenly and dramatically shifts in favour of English instruction in grade four, rendering students who have completed the Inuktitut stream at an extreme disadvantage (see Chapter 4). However, as we have seen, the English stream program has its own problems as local children, who had never been enrolled in the Inuktitut program, were functioning at a kindergarten level in the second grade in 1999 (Chapter 4).

Most important here is the secondary status continually relegated to all things Inuit. While the Inuktitut stream is available to all Inuit students, the program and its teachers are minoritized by the mainstream hegemonic model. That continues to be true despite local people's aspirations to preserve Inuit language and culture, as Inuktitut books and materials are substandard in contrast to English materials; even the teachers rarely mix inside or

outside the school. Though the Inuktitut stream was implemented to improve the problems of the past, just one generation later it is clearly not working as there are now even fewer Inuktitut speakers in Nain.

While the school is not to blame for this reality, my fieldwork revealed it was an actor in the process as it operated in an exclusionary manner. But what does all of this mean for the students and community? Should the Inuktitut program be dismantled? Why is the English stream failing local students? What are educators supposed to do? Are the causes of these problems too complex to change? All of these questions are legitimate and while the following recommendations may at first seem commonsensical, they are fundamentally offered as an avenue to open communication within the community, and should only be considered as a potential template to begin a long-term process of change.

7.2. The Seeds of Change

> School does more harm than good for the kids here. In my opinion, the school system is designed for socialization more than anything, to prepare a future workforce. Where I come from we go hunting and fishing and learn to live off the land a lot like they do up here. That's where kids really get an education. I'd like to see more of that around here.[171]

Schooling must be relevant and resemble the environment in which it is situated. Presently Jens Haven Memorial operates on a one-sided hegemonic approach that is narrowly defined by the Department of Education. Essentially, the scholastic needs of the community are simple: schooling must be accessible, inclusive and meaningful. However,

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This statement was made by a newly arrived temporary teacher from rural Newfoundland during my fieldwork (1999).

it is vital for educators to envision schooling differently; it must be seen as an organic, holistic system that is made up of numerous parts that are equally important. The school must engender a sense of belonging among every student, parent, teacher, teacher assistant, janitor, volunteer, and administrator. Every person related to the school must feel that their presence and contribution to its overall operation is recognized as important. A simple idea, an old idea, but sometimes the most obvious approaches are the most successful. I propose Jens Haven Memorial could open its doors to the community in order to build a new fabric whereby healthy relationships are fostered. While this may appear unrealistic and impractical, these ideas are based on a schooling model that is part of a growing movement in educational research.

7.2.1. Invitational Education[172]

> Communication is necessary for all social relationships. As social institutions, schools are complex messages systems. They continually inform people of their worth, ability and power to direct themselves. In order to participate more responsibly in this communicative process, educators need a perspective that focuses on the power of these messages (Novak and Purkey 2001: 8).

Invitational education is a schooling process that embraces the importance of

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This concept borrows from the Sociology and Anthropology of education and its theoretically underpinned by Invitational Theory (see Purkey and Novak, 1988; 1984; Purkey and Schmidt, 1990; 1987; Purkey and Stanley, 1991) and supported by *The Journal of Invitational Theory and Practice.* Moreover, the International Alliance for Invitational Education (IAIE) was formed in 1982 and is "chartered by the State of North Carolina as a not-for-profit organization." Invitational Education as "a theory of practice, maintains that every person and everything in and around schools and other organizations adds to, or subtracts from the process of being a beneficial presence in the lives of human beings. Ideally...people, places, policies, programs and processes should be so intentionally inviting [in order] to create a world in which each individual is cordially summoned to develop intellectually, socially, physically, psychologically and spiritually" (http://www.invitationaleducation.net/).

communication. It recognizes the detrimental effects of negating messages, which are instituted primarily to establish control, on the overall health of the schooling environment. Conversely, this model points to the positive impact of "inviting messages" that "tell people they matter, have ability, and can participate in meaningful activities." Invitational education emphasizes the role of educators in the process of transforming schooling into a "more exciting, satisfying, and enriching experience in which people are appreciated and guided in directions that help them grow" (Novak and Purkey 2001: 8-9). This approach is supported by three fundamental theoretical concepts: the democratic ethos; the perceptual tradition and self-concept theory. Essentially these ideas promote mutual respect for all persons, which includes an appreciation for their sense of self worth and worldview. When these elements are combined and schooling is no longer an experience based on coercion or imposition, people are intrinsically motivated to participate in the schooling process (Novak and Purkey 2001: 10).

While this approach may appear simple, it is not. Its success rests on the cooperation of educators to change their perceptions of schooling and that cannot happen overnight. However, the model offers several practical suggestions to begin the process of change that have, most significantly, been implemented in numerous schools from the earliest grades to the post-secondary level. Regardless of the diversity between various educational institutions the commonality required to introduce an inviting schooling model is based on a "commitment to pro-active, cooperative relationships and the attempt to make their school more like an inviting family than an efficient factory." That can be attained by educators

embracing the following principles (Novak and Purkey 2001: 44):

1. Respect for individual uniqueness
2. Cooperative spirit
3. Sense of belonging
4. Pleasing habitat
5. Positive expectations
6. Vital connections to society

This fundamentally points to an inclusive, cohesive schooling atmosphere that is physically, emotionally, spiritually, psychologically and intellectually inviting. This, most significantly, is reminiscent of the Moravian/Inuit model of schooling that encouraged an intrinsic drive for learning and literacy. As that approach was built on reciprocity, flexibility between both educators and students, it prepared future generations for life in *Labrador* (Chapter 2). Thus, the question now turns to the practicality of re-establishing such a model in Nain.

7.2.2. School as Community

Firstly, Jens Haven Memorial must widen its conception of education and tear down the walls between programs, social classes, itself and the community. To do that educators must become aware of the notion of culture.[173] Culture is not simply a concept that applies only to minoritized groups: rather, every human being is a cultural being. This means university educated teachers must realize that they carry culture with them everywhere. It follows them around the community, into the school, shapes their perspective, self-concept, and the way they address a classroom. Similarly, they must become sensitive to the varying perspectives and beliefs held by local parents, their children and the community in which

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This could be accomplished by learning the basic assumptions of Anthropology.

they now live. Educators must realize the potency of their status in Nain and recognize that they are guests in the community and can only engender respect if they summon it. This means university educated teachers must socialize with all of Nain's residents on the streets, in their homes, in the stores and at the post office. They must earn local people's trust by recognizing that they share far more similarities with them than differences.

Secondly, increasing the status of Inuit language and culture must become an important component of schooling. The English and Inuktitut stream must be merged at the kindergarten level, in order to alleviate the arbitrary 'choice' that is now required of local parents. The programs must become a democratically based complementary approach to both English and Inuktitut instruction, with both professionals working together. The strengths of both educators must be unified by removing the boundaries between them. Furthermore, non-Native educators must be present during Inuktitut instruction, to understand its value within the hearts and minds of all students and faculty. This also mean everyone must try to learn the language as local teachers are bilingual and bicultural, and therefore Jens Haven's academically trained teachers, administrators, and students should at least strive for an increased appreciation of such a reality.

Thirdly, the school must be physically welcoming to the community. Programs designed to invite local parents, elders and anyone interested in becoming involved in schooling must be included. This can revolve around a project aimed at cleaning up the litter on school grounds, or initiating an art project that includes hikes and field trips on the land. Administrators can become more accessible to students by announcing birthdays and

celebrating staff anniversaries and so on. Signs on doors should be changed to reflect an inviting atmosphere rather than an adversarial one. Extra-curricular activities must be inclusive and reflect the needs of students, as for example, all children should be welcomed to join the Brownies or Girl Guides[174], whether or not they can afford it. In time, trust will be engendered between Nain's local people and its elite as they would share an appreciation for Inuit culture and language. That would lessen incidences of vandalism, truancy, suspensions and even drop-out rates.[175]

While this approach requires much time, patience and thought, educators were already expending inordinate amounts of their talent and energy in 1999. This model, however, is meant to provide a template to at least initiate an approach to schooling that is, in truth, merely a return to the educational philosophy that was hugely popular in northern Labrador for over a century. Fundamentally, the community of Nain must have a voice in the operation of its school and everyone must play a defined and important role in its form and progress. If accomplished, Jens Haven Memorial's staff, faculty, students, and community would be responsible for dismantling the long-standing barriers between the school and community. Thus, unity could transform the school from a brown brick fortress

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At the time of fieldwork I was unaware of such programs for boys. I accompanied my daughter to a few "Brownie" gatherings held once a week in the school gymnasium. Girls (i.e. local children) who could not afford the $20 registration fee and weekly dues were not invited to participate in the planned activities, despite their obvious interest. Consequently, Nain's Brownies' and Girl Guides' official membership in 1999 was over-represented by the children of Nain's local elite.

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See Purkey (1999) for a discussion on the creation of safe schools by incorporating the Invitational Education model.

to that of a living organic environment that reflects the heart of the community and culture in which it lives.

Appendix I

The following is a replica of the second letter sent home of the school year from the second grade English stream teacher. It exceeds 400 words.

Dear Parents/Guardians, September 13, 1999

This note is to inform you about the following issues: Extra Help Sessions, Reading Logs, Spelling and School Holidays for Grade two's.

On Tuesday, September 14, 1999, I will be starting to keep students in for extra help. The extra time with me will be used to help students who need additional help and/or practice with the concepts being taught during regular class. I will send a note home to parents whose child will be remaining after school. Regular class will be dismissed at 2:15 pm and those remaining will be dismissed at 2:45pm. When a student no longer requires extra help, I will send a note home to advice [sic] you that your child will be returning to regular dismissal.

Today the class will starting [sic] their daily reading logs. Each night your child will be required to read a book orally to you, a sibling, relative or friend. The book should be easy enough so that your child's reading fluency is smooth. If your child is struggling or getting frustrated with the words, than [sic] the book is too difficult. I am in the process of testing each children's reading level and when I'm finished I plan to have an organized home-reading
program using books appropriate for each child's fluency and to help build their confidence so that they will attempt new difficult words without getting discouraged. Please record daily: the date, the book title, and comment on how your child read.

Also today we started Spelling, each Monday the students will be given a new spelling unit for that week. The first page will consist of their words for the week, some students may also have challenge words printed at the bottom. I suggest parents copy the words down in big letters and put them on the fridge so that your child can practice them during the week. Each student will have the first page of the unit to do for homework on Mondays. The remaining pages will be done during class time. A spelling test will be given on Fridays.
Please Note: On September 22nd, Wednesday, the Grade two's will have no school due to an in-service for teachers in Hopedale.

If you have any questions concerning the above, please contact me at the school.
Thank-you for your cooperation with the above issues.

Carol.

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