Historical Inquiry into Educational Policy Development in the Central and Western Arctic, and related Theoretical Considerations

by

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Abstract

The following dissertation describes the historical development of education in the Western and Central Arctic regions of Canada from 1950-1999. This is followed by an analysis of ongoing educational conflicts over the implementation of the Nunavut Act and the Nunavut Land Claims Settlement. The theoretical basis for this investigation rejects liberal progressive and idealistic notions of school in contemporary Canada and applies a historical materialist analysis of educational policy. In the earlier historical analysis this primarily involved considering how education related to issues of land and work, and how these relationships continue to inform the pernicious colonialist reforms contributing to contemporary issues in educational policy in the Western and Central regions of the Canadian Arctic. The persistence of colonialism as a theoretical understanding after a period of ostensible decolonization is similarly informed by a rejection of the idealistic form of anticolonial theory often employed when analysing contemporary Nunavut.

Colonialism in this dissertation describes a specific set of social relations naturalizing existing capitalist forms of exploitation by reifying a hierarchy based on presumed racial and cultural supremacy. This materialist approach understands the racialized form of oppression as primarily superstructural and considers the underlying social dynamics to be informed by various crises within capitalism. Throughout the dissertation, anticolonial theory is employed that attempts to describe a double negation of capitalism and racism simultaneously. I argue this might be a necessary precondition of a socialist, redistributive form of reconciliatory politics in Canada. This is based on an understanding of the position of Canadian settler populations as having been naturalized themselves as part of the socioeconomic landscape of North America due a process of historical decolonization from Britain. Accordingly, with nowhere to go, both

aggrieved parties must establish a kind of internationalism that fosters commonalities between two commensurate but ideologically fractured populations with a common set of enemies and exploiters.

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Preface: Background for the Style of Dissertation

Written as a grouped manuscript dissertation, each of the subject chapters below was written as one of five discrete manuscripts. In this preface are statements related to each manuscript, its publication history, and editorial constraints it was originally written under. The remaining chapters were under review by academic journals at some point but have since been removed from consideration owing to shifts in my own priorities during the process of researching and writing this dissertation. I intend to return to the K-12 classroom and resume my career as a teacher. Whether the contents of the dissertation, as a whole or in parts, will be exhumed and rehabilitated further for submission to academic or non-academic publishing is an unresolved problem at this point. To be consistent with the style conventions common in the discipline of education, chapters have been edited to conform to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (American Psychological Association, 2020).

This choice of dissertation style was originally made deliberately to allow me to simultaneously complete my dissertation and work towards publishing original single-authored works as a graduate student. Now commonplace, open access electronic dissertation databases have limited the potential for students to publish materials from their dissertations (Hawkins et al., 2013). It is an injustice to deny students the ability to opt-out of these consequences by making publishing on these databases a condition of graduation. Even where researchers in library studies have written positively of this change on the grounds that it makes dissertations more accessible and credible as a source of scholarly research, their own data demonstrated that there were implications with a significant minority of journals (~20% of those surveyed) and almost half of university presses outright refused to publish materials from students' dissertations

(Ramirez et al., 2015). The multiple manuscript dissertation then serves as a viable alternative to the standard dissertation to try and mitigate these concerns.

With the benefit of hindsight as well, beyond these technical advantages, the mixed manuscript dissertation model functions well for the style and scope of this dissertation. The manuscripts assembled were written at distinct points in the process of researching, writing, and self-reflection. This allowed for a natural development to take place over time as my analysis and critique became clarified through iterations of the same manuscript being tinkered with, stored in reserve, and returned to with new and greater insight.

The remainder of this preface includes summaries of the publication history for each manuscript chapter in order from Chapter Four-Eight. Chapter Four was originally written in accordance with the formatting and submission guidelines for *History of Education*. These guidelines included a word count limit of 10,000 words, including references. The final version of this chapter was not resubmitted to the journal's editors and was removed from the journal's consideration. It has been edited for the sake of consistency with the rest of the chapters to exclude the abstract and make use of the style guidelines of the APA. This serves as a standard disclaimer at the beginning of each chapter that describes the process of writing and the limitations imposed by intentional editorial constraints.

Chapter Five was originally written in accordance with the formatting and submission guidelines for *History Studies in Education*. These guidelines included a word count limit of 9500 words, including end notes. The final version of this chapter was not resubmitted to the journal's editors. It was removed from the journal's consideration. Chapter Five has been edited for consistency with the rest the of chapters to exclude the abstract and make use of the style

guidelines of the APA. This serves as a standard disclaimer at the beginning of each chapter that describes the process of writing and the limitations imposed by intentional editorial constraints.

Chapter Six was originally written in accordance with the formatting and submission guidelines for *Encounters in Theory and Education*. These guidelines included a word count limit of 8500 words, including end notes. The final version of this chapter was not resubmitted to the journal's editors and was removed from the journal's consideration. It has been edited for the sake of consistency with the rest of the chapters to exclude the abstract and make use of the style guidelines of the APA. This serves as a standard disclaimer at the beginning of each chapter that describes the process of writing and the limitations imposed by intentional editorial constraints.

Chapter Seven was originally written in accordance with the formatting and submission guidelines for *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies (JCEPS)*. These guidelines did not include a word count limit, but its original had a word count of 9579 words, excluding references. A version of this chapter has been published in December 2020 (Vol. 18, Issue, 3). The version of record for this chapter can be found at: http://www.jceps.com/archives/10150. Here it has been edited for the sake of consistency with the rest of chapters to exclude the abstract and make use of the style guidelines of the APA. This serves as a standard disclaimer at the beginning of each chapter that describes the process of writing and the limitations imposed by intentional editorial constraints. The editor of the journal is aware of my intention to publish this article as a chapter in my dissertation. I maintain ownership of the copyright to this text.

Chapter Eight was originally written in accordance with the formatting and submission guidelines for *Rethinking Marxism*. These guidelines included a word count limit of 8,000 words. The final version of this chapter was not resubmitted to the journal's editors. It has been removed from the journal's consideration. It has been edited for the sake of consistency with the rest of

chapters to exclude the abstract and make use of the style guidelines of the APA. In its final form it is closer to 9,000 words. This serves as a standard disclaimer at the beginning of each chapter that describes the process of writing and the limitations imposed by intentional editorial constraints.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Inuit are known as being some of the most heavily studied people on earth (Riches, 1990). Their unique position as people occupying a particular geographic extreme of human settlement in the remote reaches of the Arctic, according to Western anthropologists, made Inuit stand out as a fascinating case to be studied. They have often been treated as so unique that very little generalizable theory about the human condition has been attempted from their example as they are considered an exception to most rules (Balikci, 1989). This dissertation does not offer a resolution to this process, other than to reject this premise on historical grounds. Rather than remaining at the margins of society and as an exception to anthropological study, Inuit have increasingly found themselves functioning within nation-states with European, or European-settler majorities (e.g., Denmark, Canada, and the United States). Of these, Canada is the nation-state of interest to this dissertation.

The Arctic region of Canada is divided into political regions based on historical, political, and economic subdivisions of the broader Inuit Nunangat.[1] The regions of the Western and Central Arctic, or the Inuvialuit and Nunavut settlement regions, are the geographical boundaries for this dissertation. Within Nunavut, the primary region of concern is the Kitikmeot region, but the Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin) region is also used as a point of historical comparison in Chapter Six as well. There are also references made to the Kivalliq (Keewatin) region in Chapter Four where a question arose about Baker Lake's sustainability as a permanent settlement and Rankin Inlet's suitability as a centre for projecting State control in the region is discussed.

[1] Terms like these are defined in a dedicated glossary attached as an appendix to the end of this dissertation.

Initially this research was concerned with language politics in these regions and how they interacted with formal education. This remains a pressing and ongoing concern for the people of Nunavut as every dialect of Inuktitut across the territory is listed in the UNESCO *Atlas of Endangered Languages* (Moseley, 2010). The degree of endangerment varies across the entire Arctic region of Canada, with near complete fluency with the language in the Qikiqtaaluk, Nunavik, and Kivalliq regions to near extinction in the Inuvialuit and Nunatsiavut (Labrador) dialects (Dorais, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2019; StatsCan, 2007). During the archival study informing this dissertation, language was found to be largely taken for granted throughout much of the historical period in question, from 1955 to the 1990s, with education officials assuming that English was the preferred language of instruction in all formal and informal educational settings. This early influence of language as a motivation for initiating the dissertation persists through many of the chapters that were written as discrete manuscripts. For example, an article published from this dissertation (T. Ellis, 2020) and presented here as Chapter Seven considers the ways that language politics still feature in the political economy of teachers' work in Nunavut. In this case a comparison was offered between the necessary labour time of teachers in English-medium, and Inuktitut-medium from dominant dialect and minority dialect communities within Nunavut itself. This is an artefact of an underlying theme that runs through this dissertation, considering the role of competing nationalist and colonialist ideologies motivating educational interventions in the Arctic after contact with Qallunaat.[2]

This evolving question of language transformed then in the face of a dearth of archival references to consider the broader political and economic changes that informed developments in the education system during the late colonial period, through the territorial and local periods of

[2] See glossary.

Inuit education (McGregor, 2010a). The manuscript chapters below are targeted at describing the continuity of colonialism as an impetus that informed these periods of educational change from 1955 until the near present. These are structured thematically and chronologically with some degree of overlap between source material used and period. Chapter Four examines the relationship between education and settlement discourses, or how school featured in policy discussions about the long-term sustainability of communities and Inuit assimilation in the Arctic versus migrating people South. Chapter Five examines the testimonies of Inuit at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) and considers how education featured in restructuring how Inuit related to work in settled communities. Chapter Six examines how decentralization of educational authority should be understood through the framework of unequal development between regions, since not having a high school to act upon often featured in how strongly a region's Inuit population could act politically in their own self-promotion. Chapters Seven and Eight deal with an ongoing debate about the implementation of the *Nunavut Act* and language of instruction in schools. Chapter Seven considers the implication of standardized dialects and associated materials from the perspective of changes in the socially necessary labour time to teach Inuktitut. Chapter Eight examined this same proposed change through the perspective of competing nationalistic tensions between Inuit self-determination and participation within Canadian Confederation. The historical manuscript chapters are informed by archival documents sourced through the NWT Archives, National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Archives, and the Eastern Arctic Social History Archive located at the University of Manitoba Libraries. The contemporary policy analysis was completed using publicly available documents through the Government of Nunavut, the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, or from news sources both local to the Arctic and national (e.g., the CBC).

Providing more detail than the above cursory summary, Chapter Six examines the later period of the old Northwest Territories (NWT)[3], from 1984-1999, that has been described as a period of decolonization of Inuit education (McGregor, 2010a). This claim refers to the fulfillment of a decentralization policy instigated by Inuit activism in the Arctic region. Within these changes, Inuit of the Qikiqtaaluk region especially gained more local autonomy over education within the NWT (McGregor, 2010c, 2015a). The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) decentralized some educational authority to regions in 1984 through the creation of divisional boards of education (McGregor, 2010a). By looking at this political history of education and considering the implications of unequal development across different regions[4], this period of decentralization demonstrated the ways that educational authority was maintained by the Department of Education and regions were granted their autonomy only at the behest of meeting the standards developed centrally. This replicated a common feature of colonialist subjugation that imposes an ideological disposition that the colonized people need to meet the standards of political development laid out by the colonizer before being granted their autonomy (Chakrabarty, 2000). In this period, it was also the case that the GNWT maintained a great deal of control over the decentralized school boards through economic means, for example capital investments in education infrastructure. This persistence of a logic informed by the inability of Inuit to self-determine in the absence of central educational authorities was used to demonstrate a

[3] When referring to new vs. old NWT, I am referring to the division of the NWT. In 1999, the NWT was divided, dissolved, and reconstituted as two distinct territories of NWT and Nunavut. Old NWT refers to the territory before 1999, new NWT refers to after 1999. Throughout the dissertation this distinction is not made explicit often, as contextually, depending on the period in question, the distinction between new vs. old NWT is not important.
[4] For example, the Kitikmeot region did not have any high school programming locally until the 1992-1993 school year. It was not until 1994-1995 that two of the communities in the region had full K-12 schooling, and it was not until 1998 that all communities in the region could offer K-12 educations locally. By contrast, the neighbouring Qikiqtaaluk and Inuvialuit regions had residential high schools in Iqaluit and Inuvik dating back to the 1970s and the 1960s, respectively.

persistent colonial attitude that subordinates Inuit norms, customs, status hierarchies, etc. to the logics of various forms of liberal capitalism (Fordist and later neoliberal ideologies).

The two remaining historical chapters (Four and Five) describe the relationship between school and Inuit settlement, status, and work from 1955 until the 1990s. In both cases, the primary geographical regions of concern were the Kitikmeot and Inuvialuit regions as they present interesting historical examples when compared to each other. The concept of "guided self-determination" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 306) is used as a marker for the way that colonialism manifested itself in Canadian nation-state building in the Arctic during the mid-twentieth century. Guided self-determination is understood to function as a criticism of the kind of missionary zeal that motivated liberal interventions in the lives of Inuit by "helping professionals" employed by the Canadian State. It describes a disposition where the helping professionals projected their understanding of living the good life onto Inuit and limited the means of Inuit intervening on their own behalf by controlling the means of governance and State control. This understanding informs the remaining chapters. These chapters consider how the political economy of settlement and the socialization of Inuit to new relationships involving labour exploitation changed from mercantile capitalism to industrial and post-industrial capitalism. In the Arctic, this did not occur in an unbroken historical chain of events. This change mainly refers to shifts in the mode of production from subsistence hunting and fishing, supplemented with fur trading as a means of acquiring consumer goods in the early-mid twentieth century. Inuit now, only very rarely, engage in fur trapping as a means of economic supplementation. Instead, they participate in a world where digital and transportation technologies have resulted in the deindustrialization of the core countries where capitalism emerged, replacing manufacturing with a predominantly service-based and increasingly gig

economy over the course of the twentieth century. In Chapter Four, the issue of settlement is addressed as it related to issues of education. I argue that throughout the period of the 1950s-1970s there remained a persistent belief in the value of proximity of Inuit to Qallunaat as a humanitarian, assimilative force among policymakers. These beliefs included proposals to engage in mass relocations of Inuit to experimental communities in the South for example. Once the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources had decided on a policy of assimilation in the North, then relocation was understood to take place locally, or was normalized through residential schools for Inuit still living in hunting camps as a coercive means of drawing them into settled lives in what were called "growth centres".

In Chapter Five, this process of using education as a means of socializing Inuit into a universal working-class subjectivity was further examined by considering the experiences of Inuit themselves, as described during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) hearings in the North. Here I applied the concept of credentialization to describe the ways that teachers and other welfare professionals rationalized Inuit inferiority based on a lack of education as a marker of status. Supported by documentation created by education administrators during the period, that indicated that this status hierarchy was an intentional consequence of educational policy through 1955-1968 (Thorsteinsson, 1965b). In their own words, Inuit experienced education as a set of obstructions to fulfilling the promise they were made regarding their forfeiture of freedom that could be derived on the land.

This dissertation employs a decolonial model of analysis by adopting Marxist anti-imperialist and critical theory. These are used to consider both an intellectual history of the purpose of school in capitalist reproduction and its association with colonialism ideologically and are informed by archival data collected from the NWT, Eastern Arctic Social History, and

National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation Archives. During COVID, these sources were available to me entirely digitized through the diligent work of archivists either upon request, or prior to the pandemic. I have been unable to access the National Archives of Canada during COVID as requests for access to materials went unanswered for too long to be incorporated here. Many of the documents cited from the archives I was able to access are copies of originals sourced from the National Archives. The purpose of this archival analysis was to examine how policy actors understood the material circumstances of the Arctic and rationalized the subordination of Inuit based on perceptions about their relationship to capitalist labour exploitation and hierarchies of status through the education system. Additionally, some of the chapters examine Inuit responses to these policy actors' actions through consent or through resistance. The material base that informed the educational policy actors was motivated by the primitive accumulation of Inuit lands and nation-state consolidation. The application of primitive accumulation as part of the totalization undertaken by the Canadian State has already been demonstrated to have informed political and economic intervention in the Arctic by Canadian officials throughout the early-mid twentieth century (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

Education serves as a necessary site for political action that was understood as a central means to enact the transformation of Inuit into universal working-class subjects over time. The role of education in establishing and naturalizing differences between people also demonstrated the persistence of colonialist attitudes that positioned the dominant cultural norms as superior and needing to be accommodated by the colonized subject to fulfill their individual and collective self-determination. The historical period of this dissertation accordingly is quite extensive, covering a period from 1955-2020. The later period, from roughly 2008 onwards, is not considered in historical terms as a disciplinary matter and employs the tools of critical policy

studies and Marxist theory (T. Ellis, 2020). Instead, this period is considered in political terms, as a fulfillment of the underlying transformational project that the Canadian nation-state has undertaken from 1955 onwards in securing a passive revolution that normalized a liberal hegemonic State within its national boundaries (Mckay, 2010).

Brief Historical Summary of the Colonization of Inuit by the Canadian State

To begin providing a summary of the historical background of this dissertation I will first provide a geographical description of the region and people in question. The Arctic region of Canada is subdivided between four distinct regions, known collectively in Inuktitut as the Inuit Nunangat. These regions are known based on their political names in Inuktitut as Inuvialuit (Arctic NWT and some of Arctic Yukon), Nunavut, Nunavik (Arctic Québec), and Nunatsiavut (Arctic Labrador). Nunavut, the primary subject of this dissertation, is the most central of these four regions, being previously arranged in order from west-to-east, and shares boundaries with Manitoba to its south as it stretches into the subarctic region of mainland North America along the western coast of Hudson's Bay. In terms of national waters, Nunavut also claims the waters in the Hudson's and James Bays, the Hudson Strait, and splits the Davis Strait with neighbouring Greenland. To the west, Nunavut shares a land and sea border with NWT which extends all the way to the North Pole. This includes most of the High Arctic islands (Devon, Ellesmere, and Melville islands are the largest of these). The entire Arctic Archipelago includes the islands north of the North American mainland and is split, with the lion's share being included as part of Nunavut. Nunavut and NWT also share a land border among these, as Victoria Island is split between the two territories. Any of the islands west of this division belongs to NWT, east belongs to Nunavut until one reaches the North Atlantic or the Arctic Ocean and the international

boundary with Greenland. Nunavut is also further subdivided politically between three regions. From west to east these are: Kitikmeot, Kivalliq, and Qikiqtaaluk.

The Kitikmeot region is of primary importance here and constitutes much of the mainland area of Nunavut separated from the Hudson's Bay by the Melville Peninsula and many of the low Western Arctic islands in Nunavut. It does not extend geographically north into the High Arctic; those islands are included as part of the Qikiqtaaluk region. The two primary Inuit groups who inhabit this region are the Copper and Netsilik Inuit. These are names given to these groups of Inuit in classical anthropological literature and replicated here for purposes of continuity with that body of literature. They are split into five primary communities (Kugluktuk, Cambridge Bay, Gjoa Haven, Taloyoak (Talurjuaq), and Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay)) and two smaller settlements on the mainland (Umingmaktok and Bathurst Inlet). They are also split linguistically, with the Copper Inuit speaking a dialect of Inuktitut known by government officials as a distinct language called Inuinnaqtun (written in roman orthography), and the Netsilik speaking what is recognized as a distinct dialect of Inuktitut called Natsilingmiutut (written in syllabics) (Dorais, 2010). There are further subdivisions between these groups or smaller distinct groups living in these larger communities, but these are the two primary distinctions which are relevant here.[5]

Additionally, as a brief note of historical background to the entire dissertation, the Canadian Arctic underwent a period of colonization and decolonization (in liberal terms) rather recently, and there exists a great deal of local variation in these admittedly rough timelines. For example, it was not until the 1820s that whalers routinely interacted with Inuit in the Hudson's

[5] This map refers to these many geographical distinctions within Nunavut, lists the communities spread across the three regions, and highlights certain geographic subdivisions I referred to (e.g., the High Arctic): https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Nunavut-depicting-the-different-Inuit-communities-Communities-within-an-oval-were_fig1_233668619.

Bay and Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) regions, catching their haul, and sailing back to Europe to avoid being frozen in during the long Arctic winters. There were encounters that predate this in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries but the scale and regularity of these encounters was very limited by comparison with later periods (Damas, 2002). Damas (2002) refers to descriptions of the period from 1853 onwards as being the first substantial foreign intervention in the affairs of Inuit because from this point onwards year-round whaling stations were setup. These descriptions serve as a prelude to the naturalizing way that he refers to economic contact with Europeans affecting Inuit settlement habits based on their immediate congregation near whaling stations to engage in trade, to work as ice guides, or help in hunting efforts. These examples of Inuit settlement were "characterized by nucleation" (p. 8) according to one description. Nucleation here referred to how the permanent whaling stations encouraged Inuit settlements to arise organically nearby the whalers like bubbles on the inside of a glass of soda. In the western part of the Central Arctic, encounters with the Copper Inuit, a group that dominates the communities of Kugluktuk and Cambridge Bay in contemporary Nunavut, did not start with any regularity until the 1900s.

By the turn of the twentieth century, fur trading had replaced whaling as the primary economic activity engaged in by Euro-Americans in the Arctic. During this period the first reliable Euro-American accounts of settlement patterns of Inuit in the Western Arctic region became available. It was not until 1910 that a coherent description of the Copper Inuit settlement patterns is offered. This is because these Inuit tended to hunt inland during the summers and did not routinely encounter whalers coming east along sea lanes from Alaska during the previous century (Damas, 2002, p. 13). By the middle of the 1920s, all Inuit had some means to routinely trade with Euro-Americans and had protracted contact with Qallunaat. The last group of Inuit to

be routinely contacted were the Netsilik when the HBC setup a fur trading post on King William Island in 1923 (Damas, 2002, p. 20). During this period of early contact, the primary Euro-American influence on Inuit settlement patterns was their contact with these traders, but this period also saw various missionaries and RCMP officers enter the Central and Western Arctic as well. These other groups usually established themselves alongside HBC trading posts where Inuit were likely to gather (p. 17).

It is common in the historiography of education (McGregor, 2010a) and other public institutions (Tester & Kulckyski, 1994; Damas, 2002) in the Arctic to refer to 1939 as a very significant marker of change in Canadian public policy towards Inuit. During that year the federal government was formally made responsible for Inuit under the Constitution according to a ruling by the Supreme Court (*Re: Eskimos*, 1939). This change did not immediately affect the welfare of Inuit, as it is also the year that World War II broke out and Canada became involved militarily overseas. It was after the war, when welfare reforms like the *Family Allowance Act* in 1944 started to be enforced in the Arctic, the implementation of an Eskimo Loan Fund in 1953 as part of a community development scheme (Tester & Kulchyski, 1993), and during the early Cold War period of paranoia about Soviet incursions into North America through the Arctic (i.e., the creation of the Distant Early Warning Line of radar stations) that federal control began to take hold in earnest (Damas, 2002). By the 1960s, the Hudson's Bay Company had largely transformed from fur trading operations in the North and became primarily a retailer of consumer goods as the process of centralizing Inuit into settled communities and declining fur prices because of waning consumer interest from European markets (Damas, 2002) had completed a process whereby the Canadian government intentionally embarked to create suburbs in the far North (Tester & Kulchyski, 1993). Inuit are also distinct from other Indigenous people in Canada

in another important regard. They were only briefly, from 1924-1928 (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007, pp.49-50), under the direct jurisdiction of the Department of Indian Affairs and were instead under the jurisdiction of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for much of this period. Consequently, Inuit were never forced to live on reserves, nor were they subject to the authoritarian rule of the Indian Agent. Instead, a distinct Northern totalization scheme was devised that included a parallel apparatus of Northern Service Officers (NSOs) and other means of surveilling and assimilating Inuit (Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2015a).

This history of federal involvement in the Arctic was followed by a process of decentralization that has been used to justify the periodization of the history of Inuit education during this era, from ~1940-1999, into three parts. These are the colonial, territorial, and local periods (McGregor, 2010a) and are marked by substantial political shifts affecting the administration of public services and the political agitation among some Inuit. The end of the colonial period came because of the devolution of direct federal control over the NWT in 1970. This was not followed immediately by representative institutions that the citizens resident in this region could act upon, but the first elected NWT Council established itself in 1975 (J. D. King, 1998). The newly elected NWT Council enacted an *Ordinance Respecting Education* (1977) as one of its first priorities was to replace the previous one enacted in 1974 (J. D. King, 1998). Dissatisfaction with this ordinance led many Inuit activists from the Qikiqtaaluk region specifically to agitate for further reforms that led to another *Ordinance Respecting Education* (1983) amending the previous and coming into force in 1984. This legislative reform marks the beginning of the local period according to McGregor (2010a) because the 1983 ordinance involved the creation of divisional boards of education. Within these institutions Inuit activists developed a set of local policies that intended to create and enforce Inuit education in the

Qikiqtaaluk region. This period ends in 1999 specifically due to the division of the NWT and the creation of Nunavut. From then forward, the ongoing decolonization of the Arctic was undertaken within multiple political apparatuses that, for example, abolished the school boards and has engaged in a policy of centralizing authority over education within Government of Nunavut institutions. The Inuvialuit from the region west of Kitikmeot (i.e., outside of Nunavut) were excluded from these final changes because they had previously negotiated a separate land claims agreement with the federal government. This agreement persisted past the division of the NWT and separated them formally from the Nunavut settlement region, opting to stay as part of the new NWT. These are the major events that define the historical period of interest to this dissertation and should serve as a point of reference as the later manuscripts sometimes take for granted some familiarity with the subject matter.

Position Statement

My suitability to conduct this dissertation warrants discussion as a distinct part of the background. In terms of my selection of context, I have come to be interested in the intersection of education, politics, colonialism, settlement, and language policy based on my experiences in Nunavut on a one-year term teaching contract working as a high school teacher in Gjoa Haven, NU. The dialect of Inuktitut spoken here is the Natsilingmiutut (or Netsilik) dialect which is spoken in four communities (Gjoa Haven, Talurjuaq, Kugaaruk, and Naujaat by virtue of a historical relocation) (Dorais, 2010). The Netsilik dialect shares many phonemic tendencies with neighbouring dialects to its west (Inuinnaqtun and Siglitun) but also has some unique pronunciations distinct from all other Canadian dialects (Dorais, 2010). This uniqueness and its salience as a political issue for Natsilingmmiut informs the discussion about the unique character and local nature of Inuit politics later in this dissertation.

I arrived in the territory with no real impression about what I should expect. Working with my colleagues on a mixed Inuit-Qallunaat school staff I developed my interest in the position of minority dialects in nationalist politics, the efficacy of coopting a system in service of anticolonial goals that relies on a professionalized labour force imported from elsewhere, the lack of adequate professional training of teachers coming to the North to deal with specific needs of these communities (e.g., teachers would probably benefit from ESL/EAL instruction techniques as a baseline to teaching courses in the humanities at the high school level), and the persistence among colleagues of a belief about the education system that its content and form did not matter because students were unable to act in a disciplined way due to cultural differences in their affinity towards school. In the school environment these trends colluded to create expressions of apathy among my colleagues, both Inuit and Qallunaat, in certain instances, as the conditions of the educational attainment were fixed to measures beyond their reasonable control. These included many courses relying on a curriculum from Alberta including submission to the standardized testing regime there, a general lack of relevant educational materials that both engaged students and accommodated the existing low formal language abilities of the students in both Inuktitut and English, and a sense among Inuit colleagues that despite how well-meaning Qallunaat teachers might be, they would inevitably abandon the community. This meant that they and their children would be left starting over with a new group of incoming teachers the following year. It was this collection of problems and their associated causes that largely inspire this dissertation.

I am a Qallunaaq born and educated in the province of Ontario who went to Nunavut seeking an opportunity to work as a teacher in a community that was unfamiliar to me. This experience allowed me to participate in building relationships with people in this community that

I maintain to this day. These include former students and coworkers who allowed me to gain insight into the ways that education related to their community and culture. Some of my more experienced colleagues graciously spoke often about how things had changed in their community over time and shared their concerns about the future. It was during these conversations regarding the specificity of Inuit identity in this region that I became motivated in this dissertation to consider regionality as an important feature of Indigenous language, politics, and culture, especially in the context of coercive State pressure to conform to standardizing discourses.

This proximity to a central Arctic community has also strongly influenced my interest in this subject matter. Many of my Inuit colleagues shared their concern that their specific cultural norms were being underrepresented in the changes within Nunavut. Commonly it was asserted that the focus was primarily on the concerns of Iqalummiut in the political advocacy and representation of issues facing Nunavut by southern Canadian media. This did not, usually, represent the concerns of the people of Gjoa Haven adequately in their estimation. Limited by their lack of accessibility to a broader Canadian media, the specificity of local concerns within smaller hamlets like Gjoa Haven were largely unknown to outsiders as expressed by my Inuit colleagues. For example, Gjoa Haven exists on the border between Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun, a regional dialect of Inuktitut spoken only in the communities of Kugluktuk and Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay) within Nunavut. This often was referenced when concerns about the writing system were discussed and especially when Inuit teachers were presented with new materials from the Government of Nunavut (GN). They would say openly, expressing consternation, that these centrally produced materials did not represent their local dialects and would need to be covered over and retranslated to suit their use in classrooms in Gjoa Haven. The distinction between Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut writing systems was salient. I would hear repeatedly that

writing in roman orthography was Inuinnaqtun and not Inuktitut, and especially not Netsilik which is the regional dialect group that is most prominent in Gjoa Haven.

Also, during my time there I was able to work closely with Louie Kammookak, O.C., O.NU., an important local historian who worked for years to piece together Inuit oral histories that eventually led Parks Canada to the discovery of the wrecks of the expedition by John Franklin. This is not an important consideration in and of itself, but by working closely with Louie I was given a great deal of local knowledge about the history of the settlement of Gjoa Haven and some of the local legends and things of that nature. It is because of this relationship, unfortunately cut short by Louie's passing, that I was privy to many fascinating conversations about Gjoa Haven and the people that lived there before it was regularly settled and since. Before teaching in the Arctic, I completed a M.A. in history at the University of Toronto and it was this shared appreciation for narratives and storytelling that likely helped foster the development of my relationship with Louie and the people of Gjoa Haven. It is also that work that continues to inform a general disposition towards history as an approach to understanding education that is central to this dissertation.

Research Questions

As stated above in the position statement section of this introduction, the research questions which inform this dissertation emerged from experience with the local concerns of people in Gjoa Haven, NU. These questions were conceived originally in the process of preparing the proposal for this dissertation in such a way that the questions provided a great deal of flexibility. I expected while embarking upon the archival study that informs the remainder of the dissertation, I would not find exactly what I was looking for initially and would need room to maneuver and find interesting angles to proceed given what I found. I mentioned above that the

question of language and educational policy continues as a central theme throughout the dissertation but was not specifically addressed in all the subsequent manuscript chapters. This is also reflected in the research questions. The relationship between history, leftist theory, education, and Inuit self-determination persisted and was the core avenue that I was unwilling to compromise over, but the specifics of what types of battles were underway in the past I could not anticipate fully before engaging more seriously with the material.

This relationship between leftist theory and Inuit educational self-determination is perhaps the most important thread that I carried throughout and is present in all three questions below. It is also the key disciplinary attachment that I feel contributes to situating the dissertation in the study of education rather than history. Although historical methods are used, and I consider this a work in the subfield of history of education mostly, there exist continued political concerns about the degree of Inuit autonomy in the development and implementation of education policy in Nunavut. I feel that this is in part due to a kind of idealistic focus on culture in the political arena as a signifier of decolonization without any critique of the materiality of school and education policy. These theories are encouraged among some self-described critical scholars as a fulfillment of a kind of emancipatory neoliberalism that does not fundamentally address the roots of the problems, leading to the misrecognition they are concerned by in the first place and creating structural barriers for peoples' full participation in society. It is a contention throughout this dissertation that this lack of materiality in leftist critique contributes to the same class hierarchies that exist as a yoke on the fulfillment of human potential but legitimize themselves because their efforts are directed at promoting the right kind of boss. This program will be referred to as "Inuitization" below and refers to a kind of technocratic reasoning that if all the bosses look like me, they will be less likely to treat me poorly or maybe young people will

see this and aspire to be bosses themselves as opposed to questioning the legitimacy of bosses to begin with.

The alternative form of idealist, cultural critique is a kind of rejection of school as a place to be rehabilitated altogether in pursuit of accomplishing decolonization and an end to capitalist exploitation. This tends to accomplish a rhetorical affect in which scholars find themselves demanding radical rejection of all formal educational institutions by Inuit in, again, an idealistic negation from nowhere. This dissertation dabbles with and is sympathetic to these forms of, largely, academic discourses about this topic, but holds that this is a false choice ultimately. The socialization of education in the form of public schools should be understood as serving the same progressive function as the socialization of labour has done in the factories. Understanding school in this way suggests that the materiality of public education has created the potential for people to engage in the social reproduction of a more just and humane society. Nunavut and its associated interest to this dissertation then emerge from me trying to understand the application of political theories relevant to education, but not from education theorists exclusively, in a context that I had become intimately aware of through my own work as a teacher. I maintain throughout the dissertation that education ought to be understood primarily as functioning in the domain of the political. This is a consequence of education's profound role in telling people where they ought to live, how they ought to work, and how their children ought to be cared for. These discussions are inherently political and so I maintain this disposition throughout the later dissertation.

I do not claim that my research questions arose on behalf of my Inuit colleagues, nor did they ask me to engage in this research in this way. I attempt to offer an alternative vision where Inuit and Qallunaat may combine efforts and try to form a basis for a common emancipation.

This was undertaken within an optimistic vision of a future where people across apparent cultural divides can engage in a reclamation of school and its associated apparatuses for the liberation of all people. The questions posed that provide the flexibility to engage in this kind of specific critique while incorporating a broader set of concerns were as follows:

1. What is the relationship that has been forged between schools and communities in the Western and Central Arctic since the 1950s?
2. How have regional and local concerns shaped these historical discourses involving educational self-determination, and what is their effect on education and language policy in Nunavut today?
3. Why has the cultural turn in leftist critique of colonialism resulted in the limiting of Indigenous resistance and self-determination in the Canadian Arctic?

Manuscripts and Chapter Outline

This section outlines the structure of the remaining chapters in order. This includes brief summaries of the arguments, types of evidence, and structure of each manuscript in the relevant section. Chapter Two involved an extensive literature review of available historical and contemporary accounts of Inuit education. The first subsection looks at relevant literature (referred to frequently throughout the remaining chapters) that described settlement as an extension of the coercive Canadian State, or as a fulfillment of humanitarian aims within the domain of a welfare state. These studies are grouped according to their ideological affiliation and their methodological approach to questions relevant to the dissertation. Additionally, the suitability of the contents from each section and whether they inform substantially the remainder of the dissertation is discussed. Chapter Three discusses methodological questions relevant to

this dissertation and describes in detail the data gathering and ideological commitments that inform the remaining chapters.

The first manuscript that composes the unique content of the dissertation is found in Chapter Four. This manuscript examined the persistence of relocation and resettlement as a rationale for Inuit educational policy from the 1950s until the 1970s. Addressed at critically examining a disagreement in the scholarly literature regarding the timeline of interventions and whether the Canadian officials in this period reacted to circumstances outside of their control in the best interests of Inuit (Damas, 2002) or were continuing the perpetration of colonialism through the rationale that Inuit needed to be taught to help themselves (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994; Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). This manuscript sets aside the primary rebuttal of Tester and Kulchyski (1994) by Damas (2002) by demonstrating that the trends observed in the 1930s and 1940s persisted under new management by government employees until the 1970s. Regarding the question of settlement, education was complicit in normalizing Inuit living far away from their mercantile and subsistence hunting camps and was seen as a means of creating for Inuit an obvious pathway where they could leave the Arctic consensually, as opposed to through overt use of force. The data that informs this manuscript largely comes from the Eastern Arctic Social History Archive located in the University of Manitoba Libraries. This archive provided an incomplete set of meeting minutes for the Community Planning and Development Committees of the Department of National Resources and Northern Affairs who were involved in questions of physical and social/political planning of Inuit settlements during the 1950s-1970s.

Chapter Five is the broadest historical manuscript in terms of scope. The period referred to here stretches from the 1950s through the 1980s and considered the enactment of a universal education policy in the Arctic from 1955-1968 and the consequences described in RCAP

testimony in 1992. This period encompasses many of the overall changes to the Arctic that were informed by the politics of the Cold War but mainly looks at the role of education in naturalizing hierarchies based on intercultural differences through credentialization. The use of credentialization in this way was understood through the descriptions of Inuit, Gwich'in, and non-Indigenous speakers during the RCAP hearings in the Arctic communities of Inuvik and Cambridge Bay in the NWT at this time. Transcripts of these hearings were retrieved from the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Archives. They described how Indigenous people of the Arctic had been denied access to the prosperity being derived from their lands through an educational system that routinely moved the common expectations for training and preparation and limited their advancement. Although not an explicit aim of policymakers during the 1950s and 1960s, federal government officials did understand that an implication of educational intervention could be a prolonged intergenerational disparity where Inuit caught in the process of transition would likely struggle to meet ever increasing expectations on-the-job. Accordingly, it is argued that, this being a known consequence of their model of universal education, policymakers acted negligently towards the welfare of Inuit, and in a manner that privileged Qallunaat who could be more reliably educated and trained in the South.

The final contribution to the historical account provided by this dissertation comes in a manuscript contained in Chapter Six. This manuscript analyses the period known as the Local Period (McGregor, 2010c) that has been described in decolonizing terms within the history of Inuit education. The argument in favour of this period demonstrating substantial local autonomy and decolonization is supported by the degree that Inuit themselves agitated for and were successful in procuring some degree of decentralization of educational authority to regional boards of education in the Eastern Arctic. This chapter combined RCAP hearings in the

Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin), Kitikmeot, and Inuvialuit regions with correspondence between the Department of Education and the Kitikmeot Divisional School Board during the 1990s as the primary source material. This correspondence was sourced from the NWT Archives. This manuscript argued that the degree of freedom attributed to the Baffin Divisional School Board was unusual by comparison with the Kitikmeot and Inuvialuit regions. This is both in terms of the multiculturalism and history of political agitation being different in the Inuvialuit region and the degree of under development and the persistence of centralizing authority in key domains related to capital expenditures from the Kitikmeot. By also looking at the RCAP hearing testimony from Iqaluit in 1992, it was clear that Inuit in this region were not universally satisfied with the degree of local autonomy they derived from the school boards either. This justification was used to articulate how a liberal decentralization model for understanding decolonization neuters the radical potential that can be derived from demands for the recognition of one's own political autonomy. As will be discussed further in many later chapters, it was not the case that leaders among Nunavut Inuit understood themselves as proposing anything radical by the time the final settlement of the land claim. In fact, by then they had undergone a process more akin to what Coulthard (2014) described as the process the Dene land claims settlement underwent where more radical emancipatory claims are removed as a deliberate part of the negotiations with a colonialist State. These settlements succumb to the most milquetoast, gentrified interpretation of government planners and the communities' representatives. Then Indigenous and non-Indigenous lawyers, academics, and others work to legitimize them as important and exemplary outcomes in negotiations with a known, hostile enemy.

The remaining two original contributions to the understanding of the historical development of Inuit education considers contemporary Nunavut by critiquing changes proposed

to language and education legislation in 2019. The first of these, Chapter Seven, considered the implications that the demand to standardize Inuktitut in the territory was justified according to discrepancies in the socially necessary labour time required to teach in English-medium versus Inuktitut-medium classroom settings. This apparent distinction is challenged by considering the role for non-standard dialects and how the standardizing discourse functions to perpetuate a similar imposition onto the time of teachers in those contexts. This understanding relied on primarily a Marxist theory of time that mobilized the labour theory of value but modified a normative social category of time with a category of magic time (Kouritzin et al., 2021). Magic time is distinct from natural and labour time in that it is largely erased from the field of view of payroll clerks and union leaders and is understood to operate at times in contradiction to norms of labour time in capitalist settings. The example of Inuit teachers in non-standard dialect communities translating standard Inuktitut texts and teaching materials into their local dialect constituted an operationalization of magic time. This chapter relied on texts from the GN (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a, 2019b) as its primary source materials.

Finally, Chapter Eight considered the implications of these same proposed changes and as they relate to national politics and the relationship between Inuit and Canada. This chapter begins by considering a passage from Alfred (2005) that responded to a statement from John Amagoalik contrasting the outcome of Inuit self-determination in the Eastern Arctic based on the lack of violent tactics taken in aggressive resistance to the Canadian State. The chapter then interrogates the development of Nunavut as a nation-state building enterprise looking at the linguistic turn towards normalizing a collective national identity through the adoption of Nunavummiut[6] as the State's collective noun for its citizenry. The example of *Bill 25*

[6] Nunavummiut is an Inuktitut which translates to "people from Nunavut".

(Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) is then revisited as a case in the limits of this assertion of semi-autonomy within a nation-state where the norms of social reproduction are established beyond the direct control of the national community in question. Failures in the domain of education and language policy then conform to a persistent misrecognition by the Canadian State refusing the full legitimacy of Indigenous peoples as self-determining and thereby replicating similar injustices through reformatory change, as opposed to more radical demands for revolutionary self-determination.

The overall argumentation of the chapters combined interrogates the problem of the degree that capitalism forecloses upon the opportunity for Inuit self-determination. Within the norms of the postwar nation-state development, education plays a central role in normalizing hierarchies which exclude people from the proceeds derived from their lands and labour based on the creation and legitimization of education systems (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). Accordingly, then the degree of educational control corresponds to self-determination of minority populations and limits the potential for radical dissent simultaneously.

It is acknowledged that many Indigenous people do not advocate such a radical break as being necessary, nor often desirable, although complaints are frequently made regarding the central authorities in Ottawa, Yellowknife, Iqaluit, etc. who are not perceived adequately responsible to the people in these settings. Unfortunately, this radicality, I argue, is necessary to break from the normative exploitation of lands and labour often not in service of the worker who makes society. This understanding is informed by radical thinkers like Alfred (2009) who underwent a shift in his own thinking about contemporary Indigenous politics in Canada needing to deal more fulsomely with structural challenges facing Indigenous people and their communities from a place where the people are perhaps weak, scared, victimized, or otherwise

ill prepared to challenge the Canadian State directly. I came to the position, after exploring these issues theoretically, that structural change necessitates a kind of coalitional politics because the chains of the State apparatus as it exists cannot be abolished by one people standing alone in a vast, multicultural country like Canada.

So, although I accept the critique that my vision has certain inherent dangers and is not a commonly held opinion among most, I reject the premise that we have a choice. It seems obvious that the path we are on has produced unimaginable hardship and torment for most of humanity. This will continue to get worse. Therefore, this dissertation rejects the normative principles of liberal educational reformers and scholars and argues for more radical and revolutionary educational changes to promote educational self-determination of communities in Canada (McLaren, 2015). Figure 1 shows the historical relationship between the chapters in a flow chart. Table 1 shows the list of manuscript titles associated with the chapters as they were originally conceived.

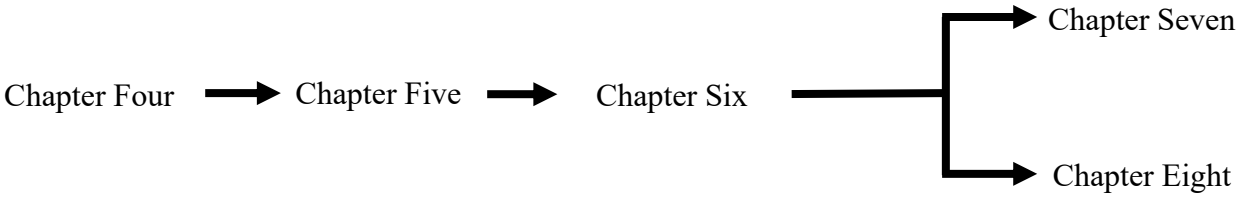

Figure 1: Chapter Flow Chart

Table 1: Manuscript Numbers and Topic/Theme

Chapter Number	Manuscript Title
Chapter Four	Educational Escape Hatches: Education and resettlement as a function of colonialism in the Canadian Arctic, 1955-1970
Chapter Five	Credentialization and the illusion of meritocracy: Education, class stratification, and primitive accumulation in the Western and Central Arctic: 1955-1992

Chapter Six	Guided Self-Determination and the Continuity of the Colonial Period in Inuit Education: Exploring regional inequities in the development of autonomous school boards in the Arctic, 1977-1999
Chapter Seven	Education Policy Studies in Troubling Times: Imagining education beyond the neoliberal epoch
Chapter Eight	Indigenous Nationalism and the Canadian State: Education and liberation of Inuit as ethnically distinct civic actors

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This second chapter attempts to describe the scope of the literature immediately relevant to the remaining dissertation. Accordingly, this section is divided into two parts. The first part of the literature review takes a multidisciplinary approach to understanding the existing historical, anthropological, and political commentary on the pre-Nunavut history of the Canadian Arctic relating to questions of school, settlement, and broader social, political, and economic trends. This body of literature was remarkably informative to the manuscripts in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. The second part of the literature review was more relevant to the contemporary policy studies manuscript chapters, Seven and Eight. The literature examined for this part includes a more extensive, education-based, corpus of academic commentary that emerged in the aftermath of Nunavut's establishment in 1999. The literature concerns issues related to the formation of Nunavut as a subnational government and the ways that concerns of nationhood and standardization have come to be understood within the context of developing a modern education system that promotes Inuit self-interest within Nunavut. These questions that are commonly engaged in through scholarly debates in the literature described below have profound political and social implications for many Nunavummiut and are inextricable to the broader Canadian political economy. The literature then informs my critiques regarding matters internal to the politics of education within Nunavut itself. The critiques levelled in those chapters are informed by these readings, but are also theoretically grounded in understanding Nunavut's colonial, decolonial, and/or postcolonial character and broader Marxist and left-wing theories. These theoretical tools are not considered here, and instead are left aside to be included in Chapter 3 as they inform how I found and examined documents that constituted the material of analysis.

Guided Self-Determination, Settlement, and the History of Education in Mid-late Twentieth Century Arctic

The first part of this section examines a historical dispute over the extent that coercive force, through ideologically violent means rather than physically violent ones, contributed to the settlement of Inuit into centralized communities. The historical period of concern to this section spans from the 1940s to the 1990s over the two sub-sections contained here. The main purpose of this section is to consider the origins of colonialist political economies that are embedded into the early history of education in the Canadian Arctic. The section also demonstrates how the scope of the history of education in the Arctic, primarily concerning itself with efforts following the widespread settlement of Inuit in the 1950s and 1960s, demonstrates a challenge to understanding how school was intimately connected with rhetoric and policy discourse concerning Inuit settlement.

History of settlement and the role of a coercive State in the Arctic

In the field of the history of education in the Canadian Arctic, settlement has largely been taken for granted. Engagement with the role that school played as a central infrastructural project whose role was seen to be to fix communities in place is largely absent. Due to this lack of engagement with these issues, this dissertation relies on a broader body of literature that considered education as an example of government policy within a more coherent whole, following certain broad trends in government interventionism and Inuit settlement patterns. The larger work that informs this section, and provides inspiration for its title, is *Tammarniit (Mistakes)* by Tester and Kulchyski (1994). This book considered the historical development of conscious government intervention in the Canadian Arctic from 1939 and into the early 1960s. This historical period overlaps with the timeline of interest to this dissertation and extends

further back in time when the question of responsibility for the welfare of Inuit was settled by the Supreme Court of Canada in *Reference as to whether "Indians" includes in s. 91 (24) of the B.N.A. Act includes Eskimo inhabitants of the Province of Quebec* (or, *Re: Eskimos*) (1939). The historical questions of primary concern to the text were the extent that wartime, post-war, and Cold War geopolitical, national, and other questions influenced the actions of the Canadian State, and the consequences this had on Inuit socially, politically, and economically, and thereby relates to research question 1.

The common thread throughout Tester and Kulchyski (1994) was that the interests of Inuit were often secondary to government planners and policymakers. The Federal Government's planners saw the transition, through coercive means, from subsistence hunting and fishing as largely inevitable, and relied on partners to administer the Arctic and provide aid to Inuit through much of the earlier period. Once the Arctic became a concern for Canadian sovereignty and nation-statehood, this period saw a slow, yet dramatic transformation in government policy from largely passive and disinterested to fully involved through the expansion of the welfare state by the early 1960s. Part of this transformation in government policy was a deliberate colonialist policy to transform Inuit politically, socially, and economically in such ways as suited the governments and policy actors of the day.

This transition was advocated for on the grounds that it would serve as a positive force in minimizing calls for aid and reliance of Inuit on social welfare. Government officials also often ignored the role that transitioning to mercantile hunting and trapping had in already destabilizing Inuit welfare as decisions were made at arm's length from firsthand experience in the North and through the testimony of partners in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). These decisions would often be influenced by the profit-seeking motives of the HBC traders and were intentionally

modified according to the desire to suppress Inuit economically and maintain their dependence as cheap labour in the fur trade. The shift towards direct intervention by the Canadian State led to the expansion of the offices of the Northern Service Officers (NSO), who came to function in a manner resembling the Indian Agent of Southern Canada. This meant that the NSO became responsible for controlling the receipt of necessary aid by Inuit, in certain cases enacting decisions to relocate Inuit based on subjective assumptions about their welfare, or in service of populating remote islands in the High Arctic. The NSOs were given a great deal of latitude by central authorities in enacting policies because they were seen as capable due to their experience of the North to make decisions regarding the welfare of Inuit often based on their values and perhaps with loose interpretations of official policy.

This is not to excuse policymakers centrally located in the federal government. Their decisions led directly to many famines and other hardships for Inuit, and they used these events to justify further intrusions in the lives of Inuit. This interventionism took the form in a later chapter of the book referred to as “guided self-determination” that described the colonial attitude towards Inuit self-determination adopted by Northern officials starting in the late-1950s and into the 1960s. Guided self-determination was not explicitly defined, but Tester and Kulchyski (1994) referred to two tendencies: “direct intervention, with guidance provided by non-Inuit experts, and a second form that was less heavy-handed. Both attempted to move Inuit from one culture to another using a step-by-step incremental approach” (p. 306). The overall aim of this policy initiative was to include Inuit as part of a democratic culture building process, in the liberal tradition, and support their aims through community development, welfare, and professional personnel imported from the South. Of these, teachers are named among a list including nurses, social workers, and the NSOs who collectively promoted Inuit transition to Western cultural,

social, political, and economic norms (p. 307). This trend in expanding the northern service and promoting Inuit to become independent political actors through guided self-determination included continuity in the government's policy of relocation. This time the question emerged whether expanding the scale of relocations including wholesale relocations to the South and expanding the program of repopulating the High Arctic islands with more centrally planned communities (pp. 308-325).

This historical account of how welfare and coercive means of the State were combined through the overdetermination of capitalism as a totalizing force in the Canadian Arctic was greatly influential in the rest of this dissertation. It is also an interpretation of events that remains somewhat controversial and an unsettled question in the history of education during this period. An attempt to counter this narrative was offered by Damas (2002) who argued that Tester and Kulchyski's (1994) argument was inaccurate, that totalizing changes they described did not begin in the North until the later 1960s (Damas, 2002, pp. 3-4). Another important disagreement relevant to this dissertation, was the extent that the changes in Inuit settlement patterns were attributable to direct intervention by outsiders (e.g., government, church, and/or HBC officials) or were directed by Inuit themselves. Damas (2002) countered the prevalence of examples in the existing scholarship in which Inuit were forcibly relocated and minimized the actions of government officials; in doing so, he referenced a distinction in anthropology between migration and relocation.

Quoting Lieber (1977, as cited in Damas, 2002) the distinction between these concepts was that relocation was "planned movement of a group of people, whose destination is determined by some outside agency" whereas migration was "movement undertaken by individuals without the intervention of an outside agency" (p. 3). Damas (2002) then proceeds to

naturalize the process of Inuit settlement in the twentieth century when he wrote "In Arctic Canada *migrations* [sic.] have had a long history. This process can be detected from archaeological periods through aboriginal [sic.] and early contact times into the second half of the twentieth century" (pp. 3-4). Damas (2002) next suggested that the history of relocation preceded the interests of the Canadian State in the 1950s and 1960s. The section referred to whalers and fur traders moving Inuit onto grounds where their labour could be exploited for commercial purposes. Arguing for a historical account that considers these trends in continuous terms, and that counters the "analysis and criticism of the 1990s" (p. 4, see Tester & Kulchyski, 1994), the book considered both processes, suggesting that the relocation of Inuit was exceedingly rare and that Northern administrators preferred a policy of dispersal. The argument follows that because Northern policymakers resisted centralization actively, their culpability was considered minimal in the subsequent harms that came about. Damas (2002) argued that it was not until it became clear that this situation was no longer tenable that Northern officials finally relented and began to act in the best interests of Inuit (see p. 89 for example in one region).

Ultimately, the influence of the welfare state for Damas (2002) emerged as a reaction to changes in Inuit interest in accessing government services that were becoming more widely available in the 1960s. He described how in this period health care, education, housing, and financial provisioning through the Eskimo Loan Fund became more readily available in various forms. Damas' (2002) historical accounting describes this as the primary period of political change for the Canadian State that corresponded to larger changes in the post-war political economy of Canada. With the ready availability of funds and a humanitarian aim to provide for Inuit as citizens of the Canadian State, government policy shifted from dispersal to centralization according to Damas (pp. 127-131). This policy of centralization was treated with an air of

neutrality, even though he acknowledges and treats the government as the primary agentive subject in his account. This naturalization specifically referred to how changes in the Arctic corresponded to broader changes in Canada from austere, laissez-faire government policy to a more interventionist State due to deficit financing becoming a popular form of fiscal policy allowing larger State expenditure absent a sense of a limited public purse (p. 114). Absent from Damas' (2002) analysis though was the way that these changes corresponded to a broader transformational project, colonial in form, as it related to Inuit. The broader social, political, and economic changes that were thrust upon Inuit through successive changes in Qallunaat interest in the North (e.g., first as resource extraction by whalers and fur traders, then by missionaries, and finally by the welfare state) are largely treated as being understood to be in Inuit best interests according to government officials' own correspondence.

Kulchyski and Tester (2007) return to this question later and provide an account of political and economic developments that engaged with the voices of Inuit more deliberately in *Kiumajut (talking back)*. Their 2007 work provides further insight into the emergence of guided self-determination as a framework through the experimentation of certain NSOs and by Inuit writing back (Ashcroft, et al., 2002) at the federal government to demand that their rights be recognized. Guided self-determination is not returned to and elaborated upon explicitly, but the dynamic of limiting Inuit input into their own affairs by providing representation on councils and through petitions to unaccountable central bureaucrats is the main theme of the second part of the book. An important regional consideration relevant to this dissertation and speaking to the materiality of Inuit concern related to their homelands comes in a chapter titled "Inuit Petition for Their Rights". The chapter describes how Inuit came to position themselves as participants in Western statecraft early on in their opposition to the totalizing instinct of the State. The chapter

sets itself up to investigate various letters of protest or petitions from Inuit to the federal government buried in the National Archives of Canada. These documents include one of the, if not the earliest petitions made by a group of Inuit directly to the central authorities of the Canadian State based in Ottawa. The petition concerned itself with copper deposits uncovered by Inuit in the region near Kugluktuk (Coppermine) in 1953. The Inuit were writing back at the government demanding that their sovereignty over the lands be respected and refusing any notion that they had surrendered any rights to the Canadian State (pp. 240-241). Further, regarding guided self-determination, *Kiumajut* provides a thorough description of how Inuit resisted government intervention by participating on councils and other activities established by NSOs. The chapter, "Baker Lake, 1957: The Eskimo Council", describes an experiment during which Inuit were encouraged to participate on a local council that would exclusively consider their concerns and make appeals to State apparatuses setup in opposition to Inuit interests.

Participation on this council was met with early enthusiasm by Inuit as the NSO, Doug Wilkinson, who established it in Baker Lake in 1957 designed the council's mission to provide a venue exclusively for Inuit men to come together and address the State representatives (e.g., the NSO, RCMP Officer, Nurse, Teacher, etc.) directly with their grievances (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007, p. 213). Interestingly, almost immediately in their description of the first few meetings, Kulchyski and Tester (2007) describe how in the margins of the minutes written by Wilkinson and submitted to the administration of the Northern services there were notes made by southern administrators arguing with the Inuit about issues of immediate concern to them. For example, a man named Tagoonak (Armand Tagoona) described how a new government booklet written in Inuktitut syllabics did not use finals. The lack of finals made it read as though it was written as children spoke. In the margins a note was made by a suspected Qallunaaq which read "'Finals

make no difference. Most Eskimos [sic.] don't use them'" (p. 214). This instance of intercultural disrespect for the autonomy of the concerned party is illustrative of the colonial nature of the impetus towards guided self-determination. In this case, as Kulchyski and Tester (2007) wrote, "Apparently, southern administrators knew more than Inuit about the latter's language. The brevity and finality of the statement betray a general attitude much less conducive to consultation than that evidenced by Wilkinson, and illustrate the general defensiveness that characterized the Arctic administration" (p. 214). This attitude of cultural, intellectual, and political superiority felt by Qallunaat who assumed professional roles in the management of Inuit affairs will be a recurring theme throughout this dissertation. It is important to note here as well, that despite this colonialist imposition which dismissed many Inuit grievances, the persistence and enthusiasm of Inuit in participating in organizations like these led them to the recognition that their concerns were shared by others beyond their community. This would become the basis of broader political agitation that would develop later and form the background for much of this dissertation.

Taken for granted: Settlement in the historiography of education in the Canadian Arctic

The implications of this disagreement about the role of coercion in the settlement of Inuit is largely underexamined in the history of education in the Arctic. The particulars of this history are mostly treated as secondary to the overall decolonizing project of K-12 curriculum reform (McGregor, 2010a). In other cases, the activities of adult educators were examined without any discussion of the actual space where they were teaching, and the establishment of planned communities was largely taken for granted (McLean, 2017a). The issue of spatiality is most often resolved by restricting historical accounts to regions as the unit of analysis as these are often the smallest units of educational authority considered. McLean's (2017a, 2017b) analysis of the ideological dispositions of adult educators in the Central Arctic region of the Kitikmeot from the

1950s-1990s is noteworthy in this regard. This article largely overlaps the period and place that was considered closely in many later chapters.

Dealing with adult education was also an important contribution by McLean (2017a). Adult educators were an integral part of the colonization of Inuit because adult-focused "programs were explicitly developed and delivered to mould Inuit in particular ways" through a series of three phases: "resource extraction, territorial sovereignty, and human resources" (p. 27). In another article McLean (2016) described how the practices of adult educators demonstrated continuity of colonial attitudes as the terminology and stated purposes of adult education changed through these phases. In both cases, the role of schooling in informing Inuit settlement patterns was largely absent as an unacknowledged part of the coercive arm of the welfare state's intrusion into the Arctic.

Looking more closely at the historiography of education in K-12 settings in the Arctic is a book, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic*, by McGregor (2010a). In this work, the question of spatiality was again restricted by region, and does not really grapple seriously with the question of Inuit settlement and centralization. McGregor (2015b) does acknowledge this as a common limitation in the historiography of education in the Arctic, but primarily with reference to a lack of diversity of regions considered. McLean's (2016, 2017a) contributions begin an effort to change this longstanding fixation on the Baffin (Qikiqtaaluk) region, and the broad application of its history as an inadequate stand-in for other regions in the Inuit Nunangat. But again, the question of centralization as a necessary pre-condition for widespread educational intervention and colonization was largely unexamined.

In contrast with McLean (2016, 2017a, 2017b) though, McGregor (2010a) did note the disagreement between Tester and Kulchyski (1994) and Damas (2002) in her chapter describing the colonial period of education in the Eastern Arctic. McGregor (2010a) was not partial to either argument but suggested that "Whether the government was acting in a genuinely altruistic manner is debated by academics, but what is certain is that with the welfare state came cultural assumptions that were to be highly destructive" (p. 60). This dismissal was perhaps intertwined with McGregor's (2010a) choice of historical periodization for the chapters in her book. The period referred to as the colonial period described a time between the 1940s and 1970 and focused heavily on the later parts to position the chapter in the broader historical narrative of the book.

The overall narrative account in the book described a period that culminated in the "decolonization" of Eastern Arctic education in 1993. McGregor's (2010a) book considered her model of decolonization through the activism of Inuit in a single region (Baffin). Chapter Six of this dissertation explores how this perspective severely limited the scope of her analysis in prematurely celebrating the decolonization of Arctic Education by the end of her historical account. The complete periodization of McGregor's (2010a) book described in limited detail pre-contact pedagogical practices; it then transitioned to a subsequent period of colonization and the disruption of traditional pedagogical practices in the early twentieth century. Following this period of direct colonization was a process of decentralization of government authority in 1970 that corresponded with coordinated Inuit activism targeted at taking more direct control over education in the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) in the 1980s. McGregor's (2010a) periodization then required a series of breaks from colonial (1940s-1970), through the territorial (1970-1984), and finally to examining the local period (1984-1993) for signs of

progress towards her ultimate aim of describing the tenuous sovereignty Inuit in the Eastern Arctic secured through the passage of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (1993) and the *Nunavut Act* (1999). The final section of the chapter on the colonial period, "Signs of Change", establishes her historical trajectory by describing how Qallunaat commentators had become dissatisfied with the colonial project and began a new process of decentralization that would be the subject of the following chapter.

An earlier example of this history that is greatly influential throughout McGregor's (2010a) book comes from Darnell & Hoëm (1996). The book, *Taken to Extremes*, provides a survey of the entire circumpolar region and educational reforms that took place involving Inuit or related peoples in Russia, Greenland, Alaska, and Canada. As a survey of educational reforms, the work has significant breadth of scope, but lacks significant depth. The historical account, for example, treats education of Inuit largely as an extension of other efforts to educate Indigenous peoples in Canada as the regions blur between subarctic Indigenous groups in the NWT and Yukon, back to the High Arctic islands, with mission schools serving as the main point of continuity between these disparate groups and histories (pp. 78-83). This survey quality to the relevant parts of the text was largely remedied by McGregor's (2010a, 2012b, 2012a, 2013, 2015a, 2015b) more substantial and specific contributions looking at issues faced by Inuit in Nunavut and the Eastern Arctic more precisely, or McLean's (McLean, 2016a, 2017a, 2017b) specificity when examining issues in the Central Arctic.

Additional scholarship has been conducted by students, for Inuit organizations, or by the Canadian government over the intervening years. For example, D. King (1998), in his Master's thesis, describes the creation and operation of large, federally run day schools with associated residential facilities in regional hubs like Inuvik, Yellowknife, and Chesterfield Inlet from 1955-

1970. These schools, and this history was important in understanding how school was implicated in a prolonged effort of normalizing small-scale relocations among Inuit through the annual school flights to these centralized communities from hunting camps and smaller outpost settlements. These larger, centrally run, and administered schools were important in the early phases of the government's direct intervention in Arctic policy through education, but quickly, and by the end of this period, they fell out of favour. King (2006) wrote a report for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation that explored this and described how small hostel (i.e., the term used when referring specifically to the residential facilities associated with the school), standalone day schools, and other itinerant schooling efforts were popular programs. This was especially true in the Kitikmeot region where educational experiments with tent hostels in Coppermine (Kugluktuk) and proposals for a medium-sized hostel in Cambridge Bay were proposed before being abandoned. By 1964, the government was advancing a program of providing primary education to all Inuit in day schools located in centralized communities by 1968, and the necessary progress was understood on humanitarian, colonial terms (Thorsteinsson, 1965b).

Even more recently, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has produced a series of reports on the genocidal form that education took regarding Indigenous people in Canada. The section of the report that pertains to Inuit and Northern Indigenous people in Canada provides a comprehensive historical account of the broad trends across multiple regions (TRC, 2015). This serves as an essential foundational text and familiarizes the reader with many important trends in educational policy shifts and important individuals over a long period of the twentieth century. Again, because the regional scope was so large some of the

specificity that can be derived from closer examination of individual regions, or by comparing regions within snapshots of time was absent from the report.

Another trend in the scholarship regarding the relationship between space and education in the Arctic has been to ignore the historical question altogether and question the legitimacy of school as the preferred site of educational practice in the contemporary Arctic (Rasmussen, 2011a). Described as a “Restaurant Theory of Education”, Rasmussen proposed that a problem in the academic study of education in Indigenous contexts is the assumption that without a school that there would be an analogue for school in some detectable form, or there would be a deficit of educational practices in such communities (p. 23). Education was understood by Rasmussen (2011a) as a process of producing cultural continuity, and for Qallunaat scholars to assume that such practices existed in commodified forms, like school, was to miss the practices that existed in such communities for eons and were likely to persist in parallel to formal education. This transhistorical, or ahistorical, approach was applied when critiquing theoretical assumptions in educational scholarship, a field dominated by Qallunaat, that tried to make universalistic claims about the presence of education as a means of cultural transmission to be identified and promoted as an act of decolonization from outsider, activist, and allied scholars.

In a trend that developed in the historiography of education though, Rasmussen (2011b) uses historical methods when he considers the struggles of Inuit to self-determine within the education system over a period from the 1970s until the 2000s. Rasmussen (2011b) continued a trend that is common in this body of literature to frame the issue of centralization beyond the scope of the historical account by beginning the analysis after the widespread centralization of Inuit into contemporary Arctic communities. Although the scope of this historical account may be limiting, Rasmussen (2011b) did offer a useful framework to understand the persistence of

colonized structures within contemporary Nunavut. He argued that the persistence of colonialism could be observed in the politics around justifications for structuring the education system to promote English and French as the primary languages of instruction despite reform efforts. During the period of interest, Inuit activists transformed their relationship to formal education through curricular and political reforms that have struggled to gain prolonged financial and political backing from partners in the federal government especially.

These are the same reforms that McGregor (2010a) largely described in her book. But, in Rasmussen's (2011b) account there remained a persistent logic where a clearly established constitutional obligation to protect schooling rights of Franco-Nunavoise[7] created the political will to ensure that any reforms to education in Nunavut would protect the minority language status of francophones in the territory. In their advocacy, it was highlighted how the francophones were the predominant Qallunaat supporters of linguistic self-determination in the fledgling territory, including for Inuit. This changed after the francophones secured legislation that guaranteed funding for an independent school and school board in Iqaluit. Once abandoned, and without the same explicit constitutional obligations for the federal government to fund Inuktitut language programs directly, Rasmussen (2011b) described how the school system in Nunavut established itself as a *de facto* English-medium educational environment for Inuit. In this way, and with a majority Qallunaat teaching force, Nunavut's ambitious reform efforts in decolonizing their school system became structurally limited by the ideological and political dispositions of a broader Canadian polity that undervalues Inuit cultural practices. Again, this critique was useful in understanding the continuity of colonialism through the process of

[7] This is a French language term used to refer to Francophone Nunavummiut. Its usage can be found in Cancel (2009) for example.

"decolonization" described by McGregor (2010a). Unfortunately, the article again takes for granted the establishment of centralized communities and the conventions of formal education as the preferred site for educational resistance by Inuit.

By adopting Tester and Kulchyski's (1994) terminology and historical approach to understanding the politics of reform by the Canadian State, Chapters Four, Five, and Six will examine how the colonial attitudes of Qallunaat educational reformers intentionally disadvantaged Inuit. Further, Chapter Four considers explicitly the relationship between education and settlement in Arctic policy. That chapter examines policymakers' objections to establishing Inuit in communities in the North due to fears about the prolonged costs of providing aid to Inuit in the Arctic. Further, there are examples in that chapter where the decision of whether a school would be established in a community was quite central to discourse around its permanence as an outpost for continued Arctic administration. The period of those chapters largely overlaps the historiography provided here with chapters looking at reform throughout the late 1950s to the early 1990s. Some of these chapters challenge the historical account of rupture in the colonial logic informing educational reform by limiting access to resources through centralized authority over infrastructural expenditures. This form of colonial subjugation through a superficial decentralization by the GNWT in the 1980s maps onto a continuation of guided self-determination as a model for Inuit self-determination through to the period of the foundation of Nunavut in 1999.

Educational Reform and Ideological Change post-Nunavut

The final two manuscript chapters, Seven and Eight, attempt to describe the contemporary politics of educational reform as it relates to questions of linguistic norms after the establishment of Nunavut. The historical assumptions in the existing literature of this period

change greatly as McLean (2017a) and McGregor (2010a) both mark this as the beginning of a post-colonial era in Arctic administration in the Eastern and Central Arctic region for Nunavut. It is also the case that this marks both a period of greater Inuit publishing about their own actions, and there has been much greater engagement and excitement with reforms in this period from Qallunaat scholars as well. In keeping with the general theoretical disposition of the overall dissertation, this post-coloniality is called into question by these chapters as the logics of domination persist into neocolonial norms of capitalist exploitation in the Arctic. My use of the concept of neo-coloniality will be discussed in Chapter Three, when describing in greater detail the theoretical influences that inform the methodological approach taken throughout this dissertation.

This final section of the literature review examines the existing educational scholarship in the context of Nunavut's post-colonial ambitions. Namely, these include matters of the standardization of Inuktitut writing systems, provisioning the transformation of the education system in Nunavut to accommodate better demands for Inuit cultural promotion through schools, and efforts to promote Inuit to leadership roles in educational contexts. These texts are structured according to these themes and subdivided further where appropriate according to their perceived ideological commitments.

Language of instruction and language of the State in Nunavut

Progressive approaches to the study of Inuit and their relationship to school often take a historical approach that considers pre-contact as an idyllic state that was interrupted through contact with Euro-Canadians, and that Inuit are slowly clawing back sovereignty, of which Nunavut serves as an example. This topic was explored by McGregor (2012b) more thoroughly by discussing the passage and implementation of the *Education Act* (Legislative Assembly of

Nunavut, 2008a) wherein she argues that this law had largely reversed the decentralization of educational authority that had been underway since the later stages of the old NWT. Within this characterization of the progress being made towards Inuit self-determination, McGregor (2012b) describes the 2008 passage of the *Education Act* as "an overdue merging of the political and educational change movements" and that this "builds on change that was underway well before the NCLA [Nunavut Land Claims Agreement] was signed, […] when Inuit regions of the Northwest Territories began administering education in order to better meet the needs of Inuit students" (p. 28). However, this milestone was two-sided according to McGregor (2012b) because the GN had decided not to continue with school boards, that are described "as a bridging mechanism between community needs and the territorial government" (p. 29). This inadequacy was the result of decisions made by the GN to streamline government services through central departments that would err on the side of greater accountability and efficiency at the expense of eliminating a pathway for government authorities to be accessible to the public. The policy itself was characterized repeatedly as being representative of the desires of an Indigenous population and included symbolic references to Inuit culture and measures to increase credentials for Inuit language and culture specialists. This description of the policy positions the solution to the problems described as a "culture *clash* [sic.]" (McGregor, 2012b, p. 29) experienced by Qallunaat and Inuit students in her high school as simply the need for greater numbers of Inuit teachers and for greater understanding of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ) from incoming and existing Qallunaat teachers.

In another article dealing with the implementation of an important educational reform, the implementation of a made-in-Nunavut Social Studies 10 curriculum, McGregor (2013) summarizes the decolonial potential for the curriculum in that teachers were trained upon its

implementation to defer to community experts who would bear the knowledge of this material for the teacher-learner. Interestingly, this article was written almost with the assumption that the teachers of these senior-level social studies classes will be Qallunaat and will not be expert in the material. This was a reasonable assumption; it remains common for almost all senior level courses to be taught exclusively by Qallunaat, and the Nunavut Teacher Education Program (NTEP) explicitly states that their graduates are primarily educated to function as primary school teachers (NTEP, 2018). This progressive discourse then, while it prioritizes Inuitization, accommodates pragmatic realities and was satisfied that if the rules were clear and explicit enough, then teachers must follow them. This approach, it was argued, would have cured the most egregious symptoms of a cultural (ideological) clash in Nunavut classrooms. This position was further illustrated in the treatment of IQ by McGregor (2012a). IQ was positioned as another pillar in the inevitable cultural shift of Nunavut schools to be more accommodating of Inuit priorities and values, while the ideological foundations of capitalist education remain largely intact.

This position regarding the best path forward for effective cultural preservation for Inuit being through the educational institutions of Nunavut was argued by other authors as well. An example of this argument was to position failures of these efforts as emerging from a lack of resources. Preston (2016) made this case based on interviews with teachers and school administrators in Nunavut. The participants all reported that the GN valued Inuit language bilingualism and that there were obvious efforts to promote this through the schools. The primary concern of many respondents was that the teaching resources were insufficient to provide adequate instruction in Inuktitut. Some respondents pointed to the issue that Inuktitut was falling out of favour in home use, a trend apparent in relevant demographic data (Nunavut

Bureau of Statistics, 2018; Statistics Canada, 2019), and how this negatively effects student bilingualism. The participants suggested that this was beyond the scope of the school team's purview and so they choose not to focus their attention on this more serious sign of an irreversible language shift (Fishman, 1964). An obvious advantage of Inuitization that Preston (2016) highlights, and why it was not dismissed wholesale in this dissertation, are the problems caused by a transient teaching workforce.

Teachers in the territory were predominantly Qallunaat according to Preston (2016) and one of the effects that comes with this are teachers coming into the territory, making high incomes, gaining experience, and then leaving after three or fewer years to teach somewhere else. The effect described by participants was that students, parents, and the community at large became alienated from the educational process because of the lack of consistency and investment from itinerant teachers. The benefit that would emerge from a predominantly Inuit teaching workforce in this context would be that they would be more likely to come from the community where they teach, stay once they begin teaching, build on existing and establish new relationships with their communities over time, and improve relations between the education system and Inuit youth and their parents. This benefit was undeniable, but this argument was still distinct from whether schools themselves, as they currently exist, can be redeemed to adequately promote and preserve Inuit cultural norms and language.

Conforming to this progressive discourse of language revitalization in Nunavut schools is a body of legal scholarship that has considered the position of Nunavummiut as providing a unique rights-based assertion of sovereignty over some of the Inuit Nunangat. Gunn (2015) demonstrated this by referring to Nunavut as an example of Inuit self-determination in the Canadian Confederation. This was positioned as a necessary component of reconciliation and the

settlement of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (2015) and that “much work remains to fulfill the right to self-government for all Indigenous peoples in Canada, and these models can provide guidance” (Gunn, 2015, p. 255). This seems to be a common misconception among legal scholars observing Nunavut at a distance (Wutzke, 1998) that Nunavut represents Indigenous self-government (and was a common enough refrain from Inuit nationalists in Nunavut communities from my experience as well). Gunn (2015) goes so far as to suggest that the constitutional framework of Canada be reconsidered so that Indigenous peoples are free to act as a third (probably fourth if she had considered municipalities) tier of government given distinct obligations separate from provincial and federal jurisdiction through a constitutional convention. Gunn (2015) is aware that Nunavut does not represent this kind of drastic reform of the Canadian constitutional framework but suggests that regarding it as a model of self-government is itself questionable as Nunavut is a public government subject to the many norms of liberal democracy that are cultural and political imports from the Canadian State.

Other applications of this rights-based approach extend beyond Inuit as a distinct ethnic and cultural community and begins to separately analyse distinct groups among Inuit. Particularly relevant to this literature review is Darling's (2013) consideration of gaps in the application of legal documents that were instrumental in the founding of Nunavut, and how these apply to the interests of children in the territory. The claim that Darling (2013) advances is consistent with the statement that Nunavut was largely a recognisable western democracy because it is argued that “these rights frameworks [(e.g., the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child)], despite their origin in western institutions, can improve the lives of Inuit children in culturally relevant way [sic.]” (p. 543). These universal principles are adaptable to the unique cultural and material circumstances of the community where the children exist and should be

considered as aspirational for Inuit leadership as they evoke a certain self-determination for children that was mirrored in the struggle over sovereignty for Inuit in Nunavut more broadly. This position of children as peripheral to the discussions around the topic of Inuit values and self-determination is supported by considering the privileged role of elders and adults in discussions around the establishment of Nunavut and children's absence from specific mention in the ensuing, relevant laws.

By considering many of Nunavut's laws relevant to children Darling (2013) describes a notable absence of children being specifically given voice over their own affairs, while institutions that are not accessible to them are formed to serve functions relevant to their welfare. As an example of this, Darling (2013) considered success rates in capitalist education as a measure of child welfare. Citing so many Nunavummiut failing to complete secondary school and the GN not adequately provisioning their ambitious education goals, the article argued this served as proof that the GN fails to adequately consider children's right to sufficient educational outcomes. Darling (2013) seems satisfied to assign blame primarily with the lack of mention and specific provision of outcomes targeted to the welfare of children in relevant statutes and argues that aggressive reform to adequately adapt international norms be taken to ensure the welfare and rights of children be respected.

This kind of rights-based, demographically determined measure of educational success is common throughout the literature specific to the school system in Nunavut as well. Of primary concern were efforts to train educators and administrators who were supposed to replace the need for Qallunaat imports. Speaking about language rights in schooling Cancel (2009) compared the sociolinguistic situation of Inuit in Nunavut to that of Francophones in Québec who were forced to assert recognition of their distinct linguistic cultures by way of reference to a rights-based

discourse of shared minority status between ethnocultural communities in Canada. This article described the GN as following the Québec model but omitted the lack of legal rights specifically laid out in the Constitution to protect Indigenous languages in Canada besides references to vagueness in Section 35 of *The Constitution Act of 1982* (Government of Canada, 1982) that protects aboriginal rights but remained subject to the determination of reasonability by Canadian legal jurisprudence.

This kind of rights-based, technocratic discourse has penetrated the most recent, and most relevant research into this issue. These last two authors that will finish this section have studied the issue of language revitalization through State structures in Nunavut specifically. The first considers the role of syllabics, a writing system adopted by Inuit of the Eastern Arctic in the nineteenth century modelled after the Cree syllabrium (Harper, 1985). Hot (2009) used interviews and ethnographic observation in two Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) region communities that have different linguistic histories to consider the importance of converting the preferred writing system from syllabics to roman orthography. The two communities were Iqaluit and Igloolik. Iqaluit is Nunavut's capital and had a much greater English influence given the higher concentration of Qallunaat and the functioning of the bureaucracy being easier to conduct in English. Igloolik was described as further removed from these demographic pressures. Due to the GN policy of decentralizing the offices of certain government departments, the influence of English was becoming more prevalent in Igloolik as the jobs became available through the opening of the Department of Sustainable Development's Wildlife Division. These jobs often required technical skills and qualifications that few Inuit possessed, contributing to the same importation of Qallunaat experienced elsewhere.

Hot (2009) argued that Inuktitut literacy was not necessarily negatively affected by syllabics, but that because of historical processes that deliberately undermined widespread knowledge of syllabics through schooling in English, syllabic literacy was only known to a select few, predominantly older members of communities. Additionally, arguments were made at the time that access to readily available syllabic keyboard input codes were limited, but under development and this made production of syllabic reading materials more difficult. Respondents though often attached symbolic importance to syllabic writing, and it seemed as if Hot (2009) underestimated this significance. She noted that in both communities proficiency in Inuktitut was described in relation to the other community. During these discussions, Inuit from Iqaluit were described as speaking only English and Inuit from Igloolik were described as proficient in Inuktitut. One of the markers of difference was that people in Igloolik were perceived as being proficient in syllabics as well. Also, the deficit of syllabic literacy was predominantly a technical problem wherein there were not enough age-appropriate materials produced for adult readers of Inuktitut to inspire widespread literacy and the above-mentioned problems in typing and printing.

One of the proposals made to resolve this technical issue was to change Inuktitut's written script from syllabics to roman orthography. This seems unlikely to address the lack of Inuktitut literacy wholesale though. A participant in Hot's (2009) study was a manager at a GN office in one of the communities and remarked that there were difficulties in terms of having memos translated into Inuktitut, often taking weeks or longer, and that once translated most of the staff cannot read the Inuktitut and would have preferred the original English memo to begin with. Hot's (2009) argument then that although syllabics literacy was not necessarily a problem for language promotion in and of itself, but as a matter of technical ease of translation and

communication using a single writing system, seems to miss this important piece about literacy, regardless of script.

It is not as if documents cannot be produced in syllabics. The keyboard input code is now available; the problem becomes a matter of capacity as Hot (2009) described it. But given the longstanding, and justifiable distrust of formal education that has been documented by other critical scholars that will be discussed below, how can the capacity for literacy be improved and would the symbolic value of syllabics not be an important ally in trying to convince Inuit that schools are trying to promote a more recognizably Inuit literacy? This despite the historical origins of the syllabic writing system coming from European missionaries and not Inuit themselves. This technocratic approach fixates on the capacity to produce more documents and literature in Inuktitut, improve the capacity of translators, and ideally the capacity of workers to communicate primarily in Inuktitut as a written form without considering the ways that decolonization is necessarily in opposition to the institutions of the colonizer (Fanon, 2004). This seems to miss an important consideration as to what end this progress is measured and whether the problem can be solved through these narrow technocratic interventions, and that perhaps this symbolic element is more important than progressive scholars are willing to concede.

Building from this, with reference to this article by Hot (2009) and her later dissertation that was partially informed by the data referenced above (Hot, 2010), Palluq-Cloutier (2014) wrote her M.Ed. thesis on the role that language standardization would have on preserving Inuktitut through the GN. This is the most comprehensive work that is most directly related to the intersection of language and education policy in Nunavut that I am aware of, and it was influenced by the same progressive, technocratic approaches highlighted above. Although not usually relevant, Palluq-Cloutier's research is of particular interest because she is an Inuit

woman who positions this as decolonizing work (in reference to Smith, 2012). She has also, since receiving her M.Ed., been the Executive Director of Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (Inuit Language Authority) in Nunavut. Before this Palluq-Cloutier worked as a teacher, both K-12 and as an instructor for the Inuit post-secondary program Nunavut Sivuniksavut and taught Inuktitut second language courses at Carleton University. She has also worked as a translator and classroom material maker and has been active in language education and promotion for thirty years (Palluq-Cloutier, 2014; Walton & O'Leary, 2015). These combined experiences and important position of Palluq-Cloutier makes this work especially important in understanding what is informing many of the current discussions ongoing about language production and norms at the GN.

Like Hot (2009), Palluq-Cloutier (2014) has referred extensively to Fishman (1991), and Grenoble and Whaley (2006) to promote literacy as central to the project of language revitalization. By Palluq-Cloutier's (2014) assessment, an extension of Nunavummiut self-determination was the expansion of "the use and teaching of our language in our schools" (p. 7). This was an important quote as it spoke to a common conflation that was made between Inuit and Nunavummiut. Technically speaking the GN was not a product of Inuit self-determination, it is a public government whose democratic norms are very similar to practically any jurisdiction in Canada. References to "our language" and "our schools" speaks to a recognition of the uneasy tension that exists between these two conflicting nationalisms, Canadian and Inuit. Standardized Inuktitut is then positioned as a method to achieve this aspirational self-determining role for Inuit language within the constitutional conventions that Inuit are subject to because of the *Nunavut*

Land Claims Agreement (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993) and *The Nunavut Act*[8] (Legislative Services Branch, 1999).

The tension between Canadian and Inuit nationalism was not expressed equally across all the regions within the Inuit Nunangat. Discussing previous efforts to standardize Inuktitut by the Inuit Cultural Institute in the 1970s it was noted that due to a refusal by the Kitikmeot Inuit Association to adopt these reforms, transliteration in this region between roman orthography and syllabics differs compared to the other regions. This refusal was a persistent issue for Palluq-Cloutier (2014) who repeatedly referred to the necessity for compromise in making linguistic changes but simultaneously ignored the obvious association that people may have between their dialect and regional and communal identity. Also, compromise over writing systems was often positioned as choosing between another dialect or language death for a great majority of Inuit because standardized writing was often conflated with a single dialect. With reference to an annual report from Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI), Palluq-Cloutier (2014) argued for the value of a standard writing system and dialect because of the greater ease in publishing school texts and other age-appropriate reading materials of high quality across Nunavut.

As part of her research Palluq-Cloutier (2014) made this association explicit when she surveyed Inuit teachers involved in teaching Inuktitut. The point of departure from simply a discussion of standard orthography was expressed through reference to concerns from businesses in Nunavut. She wrote "that while businesses share the goal to protect and promote the Inuit language in Nunavut," a likely dubious claim, "they do not have the capacity and resources to

[8] To make perfectly clear, *The Nunavut Act* is not constitutionally binding upon Inuit nor the federal government, but it does divest the federal government's authority onto certain territorial functions that approximate provincial responsibilities. The *NLCA* is, by contrast, binding upon the federal government under Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution and is administered by NTI for the welfare of Nunavut land claims beneficiaries.

provide services in many different dialects" (Palluq-Cloutier, 2014, p. 30). I suggest that this claim was likely dubious because the functions of business can be conducted entirely/primarily in English in Nunavut as it stands, and the only reason that private industry must provide service in Inuktitut is due to coercion by the GN through the *Inuit Language Protection Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008b). In fact, this was a reason why the partition of the NWT was a priority, to force companies to conduct business in Inuktitut and to promote the viability of Inuktitut (Dunne, 1970; Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1976; Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993). This close relationship between industry and language preservation was likely a product of protectionist markets that give government subsidies and other preferential treatment to certain commercial enterprises (e.g., Nutrition North). In the absence of a market, and thus the pressures of market liberalization, Inuit language protection policies are proving inadequate to stem the tide of language shift towards English. This concession to business interests created an uneasy alliance when the arguments used by Palluq-Cloutier (2014) from industry were concerned with expediency. If at any point in the future industrialization or other further investment from the south becomes even remotely widespread in the territory, these same arguments would likely be happily levelled against these protections for Inuktitut whose use would be seen as inconvenient when 98% or more of Nunavummiut are at least familiar with English (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Palluq-Cloutier (2014) made her argument for Inuktitut language reform by tweaking a concern raised by Grenoble and Whaley (2006) regarding the effect that a standard form of Inuktitut would have on regional identity. In their book, Grenoble and Whaley (2006) caution that whichever form is chosen as the standard will be given the official sanction of powerful bodies enforcing language use. The concern they express was that in these circumstances, regional dialects can become markers of difference, especially if one dialect was chosen from

others that had the effect of marginalizing users from the dialect communities not chosen. Palluq-Cloutier (2014) then proceeded to ignore these concerns and interpret the passage to mean that choosing a standard dialect will soothe, rather than aggravate existing tensions between dialect communities through a public awareness campaign to show the similarities between dialects. This, despite how in the previous paragraph she noted that some people preferred to speak English to others from a different dialect community, suggesting a far deeper cultural divide that transcends mutual intelligibility and strict linguistic concerns. The recommendations that support the moderate position Palluq-Cloutier (2014) proposes was to allow communities to continue to use their local dialect on community radio or other events, things that are already done in the absence of a standard dialect, while ignoring the class implications that a received pronunciation or standard form would have for those whose dialect was not chosen as the national standard.

This study usefully documented and described attitudes of teachers towards these differences and decided they are reconcilable. She made these determinations primarily quantitatively based on an online survey administered through mass promotion of the research throughout the territory. One interesting observation that was made from the survey was that when participants were asked about their ability to function in other dialects, they reported being able to read and listen easier than speak or write in the other dialects. This phenomenon is known as being a “passive bidialectic” (Palluq-Cloutier, 2014, p. 81). This term is used to describe people who can receive information in other dialects, as opposed to “active bidialectic” communication where the speaker can engage reciprocally with other dialects. This phenomenon was argued to be a positive sign for the prospects of a standard dialect because the conditions were already such that many Inuit teachers in Nunavut were capable of intelligibility between

dialects. Palluq-Cloutier (2014) argued that “This also fits with Joshua Fishman’s [sic.] observations made at the start of this dissertation that the standard complements, and does not replace, speakers’ first dialects” (p. 81). It is perhaps alarming that the inability of Northern Greenlandic Inuit (this is the example that Palluq-Cloutier (2014) is referring to for comparison) to speak and write in the officially sanctioned form that is used by the Greenlandic government was dismissed as a positive sign for reconciliation of dialect differences. That communities continue to practice their traditional forms while being able to read and listen to speakers of the sanctioned form provided an example of the exact problem that Grenoble and Whaley (2006) were cautioning against.

Given the complexities of standardizing a language in the context of sense of loss over community identity, that is tied up in dialect issues, Palluq-Cloutier (2014) points out that the problem was perhaps that too much is being conflated. Above I mentioned how many respondents associated written standardization with a standard dialect. Palluq-Cloutier (2014) acknowledged this and suggested that the two be separated. Unfortunately, from her own data the written form was so intimately tied to these local forms that it seems unlikely that the two would be easily separable. In the context where these discussions are underway, often calls to standardize the written form of Inuktitut are made primarily because roman orthography is used in neighbouring regions and would support interregional communication among the larger circumpolar Inuit community. What is not addressed directly by Palluq-Cloutier (2014) throughout her dissertation though is the question, whose right is it to choose the national standard? It is suggested that through schools and other means of State control, the GN would be able to enforce the standard once adopted. But various efforts at trying to hold congresses and other gatherings to resolve these issues and decide upon a standard dialect and writing system

have failed to agree on anything; there exists a persistent reluctance among Inuit, as will be discussed in many chapters to come, to submit to these kinds of coercive measures, sometimes going as far as to compare them with a return to residential schooling and the associated cultural genocide at least rhetorically (Deuling, 2020a, 2020b; Murray, 2021).

Additionally, an argument was never made by Palluq-Cloutier (2014) that attempted to provide a rationale that would be of much local benefit to Inuktitut speakers. By her own figures, 69% of responding Inuit teachers were not interested in belonging to this circumpolar Inuit community. They would prefer to protect the unique and local writing system that distinguishes their language's writing system from other languages that use roman orthography. Behind this preference for roman orthography as well was a concern about the same technocratic solutions that underpin the above examples of progressive approaches to language politics in Nunavut. The necessity of an alliance between State, business, and national interests was a persistent theme that attempted to impose a certain order on Nunavummiut. It will be a goal of this dissertation to come to describe this development and how this limits decolonizing potential for Indigenous people.

Towards an (Inter)Nationalistic Education System in Nunavut

After summarizing and describing in extensive detail Palluq-Cloutier's (2014) M.Ed. thesis I argued that this kind of literature serves to define a kind of normative State apparatus to justify the standardization of Inuktitut. This analysis was undertaken in such detail due the work's breadth and direct association with key problems in the literature regarding issues of national self-determination and language revitalization for Nunavut Inuit through the GN's education system. Palluq-Cloutier's central claims revolve around a tension between Inuit internationalism and localism (or nationalism) that refers more directly to nativistic concerns

about their specific local identities. This distinction was made primarily with reference to the value in standardizing Inuktitut. Nominally, adopting a universal standard and the roman orthography would provide access to a greater breadth of teaching resources as the GN could pull from a global, circumpolar Inuit community from Greenland to Northern Russia. The responses of the actual teachers assigned to implement these resources though suggest that the specificity of self-determination for all Inuit includes respect for autonomy regarding their local language and cultural practices. The teachers go further and suggest that their specific local values should be respected by centrally controlled State institutions, like formal education. This presented an interesting case to transition into another category of the education literature in this area.

This next set of scholars have been grouped together because they exist in a literature that similarly leave unacknowledged the tension between the statist, internationalist, and nationalistic character of much of the rhetoric around schooling in the Arctic. They tend to treat the Inuitization of educational leadership as an uncontroversial political intervention that essentially must correspond to the interests of Inuit in their communities. This form of decolonial theorizing is generally informed by less explicitly Marxist, or critical theoretical approaches and largely depoliticizes the debates along predominantly ethnocultural justifications for the promotion of an Inuit petty bourgeoisie. Many of these authors describe their research methodologies as emerging from Smith's (2012; 1999) book called *Decolonizing Methodologies* and operate within the simplistic framework that because they are Inuit their research is decolonizing work.

This is an appropriate interpretation of Smith’s (2012) primary concern that Indigenous people be given space to tell their own stories and sanction legitimate knowledge about issues that they face but it exists near an intersection with Critical Theory that poses a challenge for

such essentialist and simplistic readings of Smith (2012). Taken contextually, Smith was writing in a period when Indigenous knowledges and methodologies had not been sanctioned as valid scholarly work. Simply by her own personal success and by acting with culturally sensitive and appropriate practices for her own community she was adopting a counterhegemonic position. It may no longer be the case that there exists the same radical position to be derived by simply existing as an Indigenous person. It often seems that the approach taken with regards to matters of Indigenous politics nowadays demonstrates the concentration of power into the voices of sanctioned Indigenous voices whose interruptions reinforce, rather than challenge the liberal, White, capitalist status quo. This functions because of a cultural turn in Indigenous politics that Smith (2012) is an example of in the academic scholarship. This problem persists as an underlying tension throughout the remainder of the dissertation but is only addressed directly in Chapter Eight where intercultural tensions between Inuit and Southern Indigenous political histories are examined in some detail. These following scholars then will be referred to as acting in a manner demonstrating soft criticality. By this, I mean that they self-present in ways that show superficial trappings of critical approaches, but their actual conclusions often reinforce the status quo because of their deference to certain common sensical (in academic settings) understandings of complicated intersections of class, race, and gender.

This critical, decolonial, while simultaneously technocratic research is often undertaken by teacher educators tasked with producing the required labour surplus to complete the goal of Inuitization in Nunavut schools. Tompkins, McAuley, and Walton (2009) provide an example of how easy it can be to compromise criticality in defence of technocratic responses to linguistic decolonization. These authors were instrumental in encouraging the development of a Nunavut M.Ed. cohort at the University of Prince Edward Island. Their article is informed by a

combination of focus groups conducted with the first cohort of educational leaders that would graduate from this program and autoethnographic commentary by some of the authors. The stated aims of the program were to help the GN fulfill its obligations under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993) to have an ethnically representative public service. Important for their categorization in this dissertation, Tompkins, McAuley, and Walton (2009) identify their article as documenting the important decolonizing work that happened leading up to the establishment of the program and used criticality as a theoretical approach when decisions about the logistical issues were made affecting the program.

It is the contention of the authors that the intent of the program was to foster the critical awareness required for this first cohort of graduates to be transformative education leaders upon returning to work in the GN. The students reflect on this experience and provide insight that they feel as if the program provided these tools, and the authors then reflect on the deliberate efforts that were made to accomplish this aim. Ultimately though the same assumption was underlying this program, that the path to decolonization was to have in Nunavut an educated, professionalized Inuit workforce that can replicate practically identical institutions as those of the rest of Canada's jurisdictions and who will ideally still speak Inuktitut.

Walton and O'Leary (2015) considered this same program with a combination of students from the three successful cohorts that have graduated from the M.Ed. program. Each student chosen by the editors wrote an autoethnographic chapter that described their educational, professional, and life histories. This book references extensively Smith's (2012) project of using research to legitimize Indigenous voices in interpreting, describing, and making recommendations that effect their communities' futures. These autoethnographic accounts are primarily interested in describing the reforms that the chapter writers have experienced over a

great span of time working in various positions within the GN and some with experience within the GNWT. These provide useful oral histories of Inuit educational workers and leaders within various Arctic communities that have already been critically engaged with and translated into a specific academic discourse.

This unacknowledged translation remains a concerning, unaddressed consideration in these kinds of texts though. The reproductive efforts that entail contemporary education necessarily reflect a certain dominant, normative value system. Without addressing what it means to be educated and Inuit, and how education can foreclose on the range of acceptable decisions by making certain controversial matters (e.g., changing the writing system or standardizing the dialects of Inuktitut) seem as necessary or common sense, these texts make certain leaps along essentialist lines. They then reinforce specific normative practices that come from the well-intentioned educators who create such programs on behalf of powerful bodies like universities and governments to serve both stated and unstated goals in their societies.

Postmodern and Critical Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Education in Nunavut

In contrast to these approaches to criticality in Arctic education, there exists another related body of scholarship that critiques the frame of education itself and how it should be reformed to serve the interests of Inuit. This body of literature often complicates the frame of Inuitization by considering structural, political, and cultural realities that many Inuit teachers will inevitably face. Simply reforming the complexion of school by promoting Inuit into professional and leadership positions then becomes inadequate, and education comes to be understood as necessarily responding to local concerns through understanding in greater detail the macro and micro political actors that act within school systems. This literature has the potential to help the reader move beyond explicitly institutional/technocratic work of decolonizing education in the

Arctic by calling into question the suitability of either the Canadian State, or schools themselves to meet the challenges that face Inuit in the twenty-first century. These authors are not strictly aligned to a particular school or set of theories but tend to rely on an eclectic blend of theoretical approaches with varying radical aspirations, but broadly falling into postmodern or critical theoretical camps.

These are the final group of authors that have considered the contemporary policy developments since the establishment of Nunavut surveyed here. They are being described as the anti-Statist scholars whose skeptical position informs their consideration of contemporary policy discourses that will help inform Chapters Seven and Eight. There was a great deal of critical scholarship in this context around the time that the territory's major legislative milestones were achieved. The first example within this category considered the development of the *Official Languages Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008d) and what this demonstrated about federal policies and how these would continually interact with stated aims of the GN to enforce linguistic revitalization. Timpson (2009) began the article by considering the meandering path that the legislation had to take to be passed. This required, unlike most other legislation passed by the GN, for the federal legislature to approve the *Official Languages Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008d) and certify that it adequately protects the linguistic rights of Anglo and Francophones in Nunavut. This necessity to protect the rights of the officially sanctioned language communities in Canada then was carried over when funding for language programming was provisioned at the time the article was written.

Timpson (2009) described a disparity in that funding for language protections when the federal government was directly involved was markedly higher for the promotion of French. The funding that went to French language programming could also be spent centrally. It was argued

that this allowed the funds to be more efficiently allocated. Instead, for Inuktitut, federal spending for language programming was less than that allocated for French and could only be accessed locally and not be used for central planning of language programs. This demonstrated a double standard and a serious limitation to the promotion of all of Nunavut's official languages (i.e., Inuktitut, English, and French) and a persistent paternalistic and dismissive attitude towards the promotion of Indigenous languages by the federal government.

This kind of critical perspective was prevalent when considering how the above referenced tension between larger government structures interacting with one another was localized to the school. Many of the same power dynamics continued in local settings, where the southern institutions continued to play a disproportionate role in the political decisions made by Nunavut institutions. This becomes apparent by examining the ideas and attitudes of Qallunaat teachers in Nunavut schools. P. Berger (2009) considered this disproportionate role for Qallunaat in planning of community priorities and other issues relevant to education policy locally. His article is the first cited here that references the kinds of technocratic reforms that the progressive scholars (e.g., Hot, 2009; Palluq-Cloutier, 2014; Preston, 2016) often advocated (e.g., the need for reform of education by replacing the Qallunaat petty bourgeoisie within Nunavut). The situation described by P. Berger (2009) suggested that optimism in the replacement of Qallunaat as central to Inuit self-determination did not acknowledge the problems that persist if structurally these systems remain unreformed. Within the paradigm of a democratic system that privileges the willingness to speak loudly, the loudest will often be the only ones heard. For example, P. Berger (2009) referenced a public gathering where bilingual education was discussed. During that meeting a Qallunaaq in the audience rose and complained that school should be taught exclusively in English from K-12. This one Qallunaaq monopolized the conversation and

advocated something that was contrary to the wishes of others in attendance. This presents a problem for Inuitization as a vocal minority of people in a public government, or State bureaucracy can wield unrepresentative power on the policy decisions made by the GN.

Beyond this, P. Berger's (2009) more pertinent example is derived from a completed report reviewing the implementation of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (T. R. Berger, 2006) that recommended a twenty-million-dollar influx of money to fund training programs and other educational initiatives to hire an ethnically proportional bureaucracy more quickly in Nunavut. This money was denied by the federal government following the commissioner's report. P. Berger (2009) puts significant blame for this refusal on the dismal state of educational affairs within the territory at the time of his writing a few years after the report and subsequent refusal of more monies. Unfortunately, this example was further illustrative of many of the problems with the technocratic solution to linguistic revitalization in Nunavut, that as a public government Nunavummiut will always be subject to the preferences of the loudest Qallunaaq in the room, or the demands of Qallunaat in Ottawa when decisions are made regarding the material conditions under which Inuktitut speakers must make decisions regarding language use and preferences.

Confirming the position of P. Berger (2009) that the attitudes of Qallunaat are disproportionately loud in discussions involving language revitalization through government institutions, Aylward (2009, 2010) explored the attitudes of schoolteachers in Nunavut towards reforms made since the territory's founding. Particularly of interest in the article were issues relevant to Inuit cultural promotion in school. In the earlier article (Aylward, 2009), the opinions of predominantly Qallunaat high school teachers were surveyed, and qualitative data derived from comment sections on the survey. From the results of the survey most teachers responded positively to the reforms. They considered the incorporation of an emphasis on Inuit values

important for the social development of their students. Aylward (2009) observed that this goodwill was not extended to the educational value that such an emphasis on cultural practices may provide though. Aylward (2009) referred to the thinking of many Qallunaat teachers as comprizing a negative vision of a common two worlds metaphor. School and culture were understood as conforming to two distinct worlds, and ultimately students must choose one over the other. Teachers seemed to have adopted the common liberal rhetoric that the child was simply left to freely choose one world over another. The article suggests that this is not a free choice as teachers understood that students would need to work in a modern world to support their cultural activities. By treating cultural matters as a zero-sum game, the teachers absolved themselves of responsibility for pursuing efforts where the students' cultural practices could be complementary to the pedagogy in the classrooms, or how the classroom could complement the culture. Aylward (2009) further criticized these teachers' attitudes because this distinction between school culture and community life posed a challenging attitude for the decolonization of school.

The two worlds metaphor was further examined in the later work cited above (Aylward, 2010). The data considered in this article were transcribed interviews conducted with five Inuit and five Qallunaat teachers. Interestingly, this analysis does not demonstrate the kind of strict ethnic divide that may be assumed when considering the circumstances of formal education. Both groups of teachers, again, responded favourably to GN attempts to include bilingual instruction in school. Some of the Inuit respondents spoke about the lack of recognisable opportunities to use Inuktitut literacy in communities where products and other readily available things were labelled in English and French. Additionally, the sentiment of both groups was largely the same, that English was the language that took priority in schools. In this article the

burden shifted away from the teachers' need to reform their attitudes because Aylward (2010) recognized that teachers were responding to curricular expectations that often culminated in provincial exams administered by Alberta and were based on an Albertan curriculum. In this context, Aylward (2010) argued that there was limited decolonizing potential as a capitalist curriculum will always be the normative referent for success in school.

This narrative of emancipatory potential for reforming the cultural milieu of schools has also, more recently, been considered by investigating the positive effects and challenges that arise when having an Inuk as the principal in a school. Tulloch et al. (2016) interviewed people in this position and reported often conflicting and troublesome patterns for the principal and the community in question. The article also highlighted some potential for lessening the tension between school and community by having local people in leadership roles. This study found that community members appreciated having a local representative as their school principal. It often made people feel more welcome working with school initiatives and they also felt that because principals had been raised within an Inuit cultural framework that they could better embody the IQ principles, rather than a Qallunaaq universalizing the principles to understand them. Unfortunately, the position of the Inuk principal would often devolve to that of mediator; there was added disappointment whenever an Inuk principal was unable to reform the school culture or was not seen to be doing their job as well as a Qallunaaq might. A sense was described that if the Inuk in charge could not do their job better than a Qallunaaq then this served to severely undermine the credibility of the principal. Tulloch et al. (2016) describe a cultural divide wherein the Inuit leaders are being made to act as translators, adding significantly to the demands of their jobs and causing widespread burnout.

Tulloch et al. (2016) did not consider that the culture of school could be the problem that must change. Instead, they position pressure from Qallunaat staff and Inuit communities that place principals in the middle as the main source of the problem. This is not a question of the culture at this school, but the culture of school generally, and the kind of cultural transmission that arises from this institution and whether this can be made compatible with Inuit values. This final group of scholars take this final leap and question whether school itself can be rehabilitated in service of Inuit cultural promotion. Laugrand and Oosten (2009) take this next step by suggesting that no, school cannot be reformed to preserve Inuit values, and if Inuit values are reformed to be subject to the demands of school, then they may have already died. These two described the role that community and local interests must play if people are serious about language and cultural revitalization. They recommend getting kids away from school for as long as was tolerable. Their approach attempted to combine leaving time for students to become competent in the mechanical skills that schools are well suited to teach, but away from the confines of a school they could also be subject to the strict social reproduction that would take place under the tutelage of elders and parents, especially on the land. Beyond this, if communities wanted to promote language and cultural revitalization Laugrand and Oosten (2009) described the importance of authentic, land-based instruction beyond the supervision of school authorities and under the care of their elders. In this environment, it was argued that IQ and other cultural practices can have life breathed into them and people will do the kind of explicit or implicit instruction that took place pre-contact.

Returning to an author previously discussed in a previous section of this chapter, Rasmussen (2011a, 2011b) rejects wholesale the category of formal education as a medium of decolonizing change. He advances this argument based on a distinction between cultural

transmission through informal means (e.g., family conversations, religious communities, community practices) and formal education (Rasmussen, 2011b). Rasmussen (2011b) describes the role of school as competing for attention and legitimacy antagonistically towards existing social reproduction mechanisms in communities and subordinating them. School being supported and given its own legitimacy through capitalist forms of commodified knowledge and cultural transmission makes it the primary legitimate route to power and authority in capitalist societies. Those who were successful in school then fight among a divided working class over the legitimacy of this institution, as their own sense of self is tied into the legitimacy of the institution itself. In this role, school serves to promote and reinforce normative assumptions and habits that promote the representatives of the existing class, racial, and cultural hierarchies in society. Applied to the context of contemporary schooling in the Arctic, Rasmussen suggests that placed in competition with the powerful school-based means of cultural transmission, Indigenous patterns will struggle to find their place.

To be clear, Rasmussen (2011b) does not believe that Indigenous people have a choice in any real sense. Becoming credentialled is a necessary component of engaging in the labour market as it stands, and he recognized this. There does then seem to be a longing for an ideal situation when communities could freely decide which cultural transmission method they prefer, and Rasmussen (2011a) advanced that the justification for representative Inuit employment as teachers are intended to facilitate this choice. This ideal form of community self-determination does seem to be theoretically limited, as there will likely never be a choice, and that the school is likely not going to be reformed simply by including more Inuit as teachers.

This body of critical scholarship arrives at the inevitable point of calling into question certain essential assumptions about the role of school in the promotion of the State at the expense

of the promotion of Inuit values. This assumption about the legitimacy of school is an important point of critical departure, but the question about the choices that are possible in our contemporary society leaves the reader without a sensible way to proceed. As Rasmussen (2011b) acknowledges, there is no real choice to remove children from the school entirely and return to living on the land for many Inuit. There is some anthropological research which describes communities who refused to live in centralized communities in the Arctic until the 1980s (Briggs, 1998) or communities that were undergoing the same centralizing pressures described below that would bring Inuit in from the land in the 1960s and 1970s (Briggs, 1970). In both works, the mechanisms of the State continue to find children on the land and bring them to school either though the annual school flight (Briggs, 1970) or by proximity of a day school in a nearby settled community (Pangnirtung in Briggs, 1998). This lack of engagement with the materiality of school and its role in the reproduction of the broader capitalist State apparatus is often missing, or substantially lacking. School is more than a simple factory for the ideological suppression of dissent. It functions to regulate our relationships to one another through hierarchies of prestige (e.g., educated vs. uneducated, skilled vs. unskilled, etc.), it controls our relationship to time by telling us explicitly when we must arrive and leave after a days' work is complete (e.g., 8:30am drop off, 3:30pm closing bell), and it tells the parent with aspirations of upward mobility for their child where they should send their children so they can get an education while having limited exposure to the unwashed masses (e.g., sending your child to competitive entry programs in big cities, or using French immersion as a manner of separating your children from others in rural communities). This is also an importantly limited vision of school as it exists. School as it could exist must incorporate the cultural affinities of the populations it serves but should, ideally, impart into students a discipline towards understanding

the world and aspiring to remake it in service of a broader humanism. In the subsequent chapter, these issues of theoretical significance will be explored as they relate to methodological choices made in substantiating the main topical chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Theory and Method

Including the discussion of theory in this chapter, and excluding it from Chapter 2, was done intentionally to confine the review to theoretical arguments that are immediately relevant to the dissertation. Instead of providing a thorough, and inevitably incomplete review of the theory that informed this dissertation, dismissing some and endorsing others, all while concluding the discussion after navigating along a circuitous pathway seemed contrary to the purpose of discussing and deploying theory in the first place. The theoretical texts included here were combined because they exist at the junction between decolonial, postcolonial, and Marxist theory. They encourage the reader to understand how systems of exploitation, land theft, and coercive forms of physical and symbolic violence conspire to reproduce the racist and imperialist form of capitalism emanating from Europe that began to take shape in the seventeenth century and persists to the present day. This review does not involve a survey of this entire period, because it is not immediately relevant to explore these intricacies to best understand the position of Indigenous people in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries beyond very broad strokes and generalities. The second section of this chapter will explain the methods used in conducting the research that informed later chapters. This will include justification for these approaches, by considering the relevant methodological texts, and a description of what was done and how it was assembled into a coherent whole.

An eclectic, Marxist approach to understanding the class dimension in Canadian decolonial politics

Central to much of the argumentation in subsequent chapters is understanding the ways that the decolonizing reform efforts in Nunavut's education system represent a passive revolution in Canadian political culture. This term was described by Gramsci (2014) "as 'revolution'

without a 'revolution'" (p. 59). By this he meant that throughout history many dramatic changes can seemingly occur in the superstructure, but if they do not penetrate the base of social relations in a society then they are not revolutionary. Gramsci's (2014) theory developed when he was a student of linguistics and a founding member of the Italian Communist Party. He was born into a Sardinia that had recently been included as a province of unified Italy two decades before his birth. Growing up in this environment, he understood the subordination of Sardinians, including their unique dialects, from within a Marxist tradition that divided the ideological structures of society (superstructure) from the productive structures of society (base) and sought to lead a revolution in Italy which would promote a self-conscious Italian working class to dominion over both the superstructure and base of social relations through a process he called a "war of position". In another essay referring to the history of Italian unification he described how Piedmont had already dominated the city States and minor kingdoms of Italy prior to unification (pp. 105-109). That this domination continued after the unification, Gramsci referred to as his preferred example of passive revolution in his own political and cultural milieu.

Canada's history has been described in these terms previously by considering the decolonizing efforts undertaken by Canadian elites and their equivalents in Britain from 1850 to the 1950s (Mckay, 2010). Like the Italian example, Canada underwent a process of unification, industrialization, and political upheaval during this 100-year period. This turmoil took place without fundamentally changing the established hierarchy among Canadians, and the Canadian elites' belonging to a transatlantic, liberal, Anglo-American hegemonic bloc persisted largely uninterrupted. Canada's political separation from Britain in 1931 (i.e., through the Statute of Westminster), and later in 1982 (i.e., through the patriation of the Constitution), can be understood in these terms as changing a lot while functionally changing very little. It is also

because of this historical decolonization that the conditions where many of the ideological manifestations of the tensions described below and in later chapters seem intractable. Unlike the French expatriates living in Algeria or Tunisia at the time of their wars for decolonization (Clarke, 1969), there is nowhere for the postcolonial States of a theoretically decolonized Canada to send its settler population. They are here, and they have nowhere else to go. This influences the internationalism that is described below because, by necessity, we must become allied people in a coalition against capitalism. This will necessitate coming to a common understanding of land reform, development, and socialized ownership of the means of production. Additionally, applying this concept of passive revolution to Nunavut's decolonizing project requires some modifications. Between the Canadian, British, and American elite cultures that dominated the hegemonic bloc during the period from 1850-1950, the politics of recognition were largely smoothed over by sharing a common set of political ideas and cultural norms that made differences based on their national characters manageable, for the most part.

The first necessary modification required to proceed with describing Nunavut's political development should consider neoliberal ideological transformations of capitalist social relations that also occurred as a passive revolution. In the absence of the immediate threat posed by communist States following the fall of the Soviet Union and the liberalization of China, combined with the success of anti-communist propaganda in much of the "free" world for the past seventy-five years, and the slow death of organized labour as a bulwark against the most barbarous trends of modern capitalism, neoliberal social relations gained traction as the common-sense approach to emancipating people by improving their access to markets. This radical position was intentionally undemocratic and sought to destroy the commons as the last vestige of democratic space in Fordist societies (Ball, 2006). This ideological transformation

transferred the realm of politics to the domain of consumption, and is a persistent concern in the field of education studies as critical scholars of education desperately try to plead with the public to hold onto public education as it is smothered by ideologues looking to privatize everything they can get their hands on (e.g., H. Giroux, 2010, 2011, 2016; McLaren, 2000, 2015; McLaren et al., 2002).

Again, this radical transformation in ideological dispositions is not revolutionary in the sense of replacing existing social relations of production. The "neo" in neoliberalism is the extent to that late-stage or postmodern capitalism (Jameson, 1982, 1991) creates new divisions between the educated and uneducated (e.g., corporate anti-racism seminars that divide the workforce between educated anti-racists and uneducated racists and often serve as an additional layer of surveillance for management through human resources departments) and extends the logic of capitalist exploitation beyond national boundaries using postmodern technologies (e.g., the internet and commercial air travel to surveil workers anywhere in the world). The consequence of this globalization has been a return to imperialism (Lenin, 1939) as the dominant form of late-stage capitalism.

Robinson (2019) described how globalization has restructured the nature of the proletarianization of the world's labour by exporting the capital necessary to reproduce society to places where labour had no substantial protection from the worst forms of exploitation. Additionally, through the increased movement of people and unequal development of nations, a corresponding brain drain has been observed. This refers to how countries in the core of capitalist society leverage their expanded social security systems and disparate wealth to entice the world's best minds to relocate themselves as ideal immigrants. Harvey (2005) understood this early on as a shift in the ideological transformation of capitalism to transcend national

boundaries through free-trade agreements and the inclusion of China in the World Trade Organization. Shifting the locus of production away from core capitalist countries in the breakdown of the post-war Fordist consensus had the effect of limiting collective means of democratic intervention as companies were incentivized to move their operations overseas and to break labour unions domestically. These older forms of democratic interventions in the structure of society were seen as interfering in the rational conduct of the market and needed to be stamped out through the rapid redeployment of the State's various functions in destroying them (e.g., Thatcher's breaking of the coal miner's strike, or Reagan breaking the air traffic controllers). Those who are left to make a living in a post-industrial economy are technicians who allow for the continued functioning of necessary digital technologies (e.g., IT service providers, and the corresponding liberal mantra that displaced industrial workers should "learn to code") and the labour aristocracy (e.g., police, teachers, social workers, union bosses, managers, etc.) who police the working class on behalf of the ruling class in service of a stable, consensual reproduction of capitalism.

I have described my understanding of neoliberalism and passive revolution mainly because they serve as important macroeconomic and political theories that are useful to explain certain overarching trends in the capitalist social structure during the period of interest to this dissertation. The changes described transformed many of the ways that we understand and relate to each other as individuals and came to speak in public about our personal and common political visions for a more humane society. These changes also migrated the worst and most brutal forms of capitalist exploitation from the field of view for many bourgeois-minded workers in the labour aristocracy (Lenin, 1939) from the Global North with a return to imperialism (Robinson, 2019). But these transformations also had profound impacts on the ongoing development of a

postcolonial Nunavut. By corresponding to the period when decolonization was ostensibly achieved (e.g., the 1970s-1990s), understanding these trends serves this dissertation to describe why certain limits on the radical potential of the decolonial project undertaken by Nunavut Inuit seem immovable politically, namely that Nunavut came into being as the period of postwar, debt financing and the public good as a humanitarian vision of a collective future came into question through various shifts in the superstructure of capitalism. Finally, in the context of Canada's relationship to Indigenous people there was often baked into these a politics of misrecognition on top of the impetus for direct economic exploitation. This took the form of a refusal by public institutions to recognize the shared humanity of Indigenous people on racist grounds.

To understand the historical and persistent racism that underlies Canada's relationship with Indigenous people I will primarily rely on Fanon (2004, 2008) who articulated a psychological and political understanding of the interplay between racism, economic exploitation, and the potential emancipation of colonized people during his time. Fanon serves as a useful foil for much contemporary decolonial and postcolonial scholarship because of his historicist and dialectical approach to the issue of race and class simultaneously. An avowed communist, Fanon (2004) regarded the issue of race as inscribed into the complexion of capitalist exploitation because of European imperialism and the accompanying scientific racism that served as a useful rationale for the inferiority of the oppressed. This collective psychopathology was shared between both the colonized and the colonizer, causing them to experience these racial categories as real, transhistorical, and natural, becoming marked into the skins of the oppressed and oppressors. This type of psychological misapprehension of the nature of race as being more than a mostly meaningless phenotypic variation among human populations whose meaning is almost entirely socially constructed within economic relations of capitalist

exploitation he described as “epidermalization” (Fanon, 2008, pp. xiv-xv). This recognition of the Hegelian approach to the categories of colonizer and colonized takes further shape in a later work by Memmi (2003) who articulated a related ideological accounting for his classifications of various colonizer and colonized subgroups. Like Fanon, Memmi (2003) rejects the position that there is a benevolent colonizer who will liberate the colonized on their own behalf. He argued that colonialism must be understood structurally, and that its abolition would come about after the public rejected the categories in Memmi’s (2003) taxonomy of colonizer and colonized and through the self-emancipation of the colonized through their own efforts.

What seems to render Fanon controversial today among critical theorists of contemporary Indigenous politics in Canada (see Coulthard, 2014) is exactly his dialectic understanding of the contradictory positions of colonizer and colonized, and their implications for the self-emancipation of the colonized. Coulthard (2014) addresses Fanon’s (2008) political theory in *Black Skins, White Masks* by describing how Indigenous people in Canada preserve for themselves in their cultures and languages a utopian politics that can be derived from these existing customs. Fanon (2008) challenges us though to consider the common human inheritance that is history. This common inheritance requires what he calls a “new humanism” that comes as a double negation of the categories of race, nationalism, and class (i.e., needing to abolish their ideological constructs, material relations, and the State apparatuses that support them all simultaneously) that are necessary preconditions for the liberation of all people (Fanon, 2004).

The insistence of many Indigenous critical theorists who rely on a model of Indigeneity that is primarily nationalistic (or, Indigenist) in character was specifically addressed by Fanon (2004). He cautioned us to beware the dead end of the national bourgeoisie claiming to speak on behalf of the nation. He wrote that “If nationalism is not explained, enriched, and deepened, if it

does not very quickly turn into a social and political consciousness, into humanism, then it leads to a dead end. A bourgeois leadership of the underdeveloped countries confines the national consciousness to a sterile formalism" (p. 144). This "sterile formalism" refers to the creation of new national symbols that are not popular, in the sense of being from the people. Instead, the nation is wrested of its revolutionary potential, and it retreats into the hinterlands where it needs to be renewed again (p. 144). This caution points to how the liberation of the colonized often became the domain of a sterile class of educated Indigenous people who are best positioned to become the new exploiters in a postcolonial, rhetorically anti-racist, but still fundamentally capitalistic society. In the context of Nunavut, language reform efforts there, and the accompanying scholarship described in the previous chapter, we can observe how this postcolonial elite behave in a manner that is openly hostile to the concerns of ordinary Inuit. They subscribe to a model that positions Indigenous people themselves as the cause of the dying of their own languages (see also Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2021), and tries to fix them without engaging in the war of position required to resist the challenges posed by global Englishes that impact on endangered languages (Ives, 2009).

Ultimately, a more coherent, Marxist critique of the political economy that underlies social relations of school and work in contemporary Canada is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Instead, as McLaren and Jaramillo (2010) suggested, the honest approach to a Marxist (revolutionary) critical pedagogy and the necessary reforms to education emerge by a staunch commitment to historicism and advocacy for alliances among working people across social strata in each country. In some ways Canada is a post-industrial economy, well established in the broader global political economy as a wealthy nation. In others we are a resource colony to be mined for our common inheritance. These are Indigenous lands being mined, and so any

analysis of this situation involving Canada must accommodate the complexity of a multicultural working class while working simultaneously to acknowledge and make amends for the land theft experienced by Indigenous peoples. This tense alliance would then have the political potential for the necessary national unification between Indigenous and non-Indigenous occupants of this country.

Grande (2003), an "Indigena" scholar, describes this as her radical vision of intersectionality and as a break from a "whitestream" feminist centre of political discourse that many education scholars are complicit in reinforcing. She argues that to be critically engaged with someone is to understand your own position while attempting to understand and place yourself in opposition to the historical and material conditions that oppress your comrades. She also challenges the critically engaged scholar to attempt to understand and reconcile with the tensions within markers of identity. Considering the position of women and feminism, she argued that she has more in common with Indigenous men than ruling class, white feminists. This complexity of identity as both a site of antagonisms and struggles usefully critiques the poststructuralist position that claims to recognize everyone but has nothing of use to say about the conditions that reproduce their exploitation (Grande, 2003, p. 344). Like, Coulthard (2014), Grande (2004) questions the legitimacy of a Marxist humanism that she argues relies on the same European and anthropocentric notions of land and property that justified the colonization of Indigenous lands to begin with. The universalism of a socialist redistribution of land for all rings hollow to a skeptical Indigenous scholar whose people faced land theft and other acts of violence by those espousing similar humanitarian values. This is something that I would have to disagree with ultimately; this line of reasoning runs similarly to Fanon's (2004) critique of the native working class becoming the postcolonial nation's landlords and bourgeoisie. Her description of a

critical position that takes theories about complex issues, like class and identity, and presents a good faith path to reconciling their differences is important to take seriously. Starting from a place that recognizes difference as tensions that need to be resolved, rather than a kaleidoscope of difference where everyone needs to have their self-expression celebrated is useful. This emerges most pointedly when considering the tensions among and between Indigenous people which emerges as a theme in later chapters.

This acknowledgement of these tensions necessitates a resolution through alliances based on common interests, whose aim should be the creation of a just and humane society capable of hearing and being responsible to the demands of all its constituents. To be clear, I do not stand opposed to land redistribution and the return of Indigenous land to the sovereignty of their people. But, as I referenced above, I find the discussion about land reform in a Canadian context, after our decolonization from Britain, requires that we re-imagine our place as being committed to finding common interests and building alliances among all the inheritors of these lands. I would argue that this alliance, where the multicultural working class is re-made by focusing on the socialist values embedded in their own histories, while acknowledging their shared visions for a unified socialist common identity intentionally forces people to begin erecting bridges where previously ideology had obscured commonality and made difference seem intractable. This would involve redistribution of lands and resources to people with different cultural inheritances as a necessary precondition for unlocking any revolutionary potential in our historical moment. For Coulthard (2014) and Grande (2003, 2004), this utopian vision is embedded in the social relations among Indigenous people. For McLaren (2015) these historical truths can be found in radical theologies of socialist Christians. It requires a kind of internationalism that McLaren and Jamarillo (2010) suggest is embedded in a staunch localism.

Ultimately, they argued that in the face of a common enemy, it would be an immense waste of human potential to require Indigenous people to become working class as a precondition for revolution (pp. 258-259), and I agree.

Finally, I wish to add one final theoretical consideration which is the extent to which Indigenous politics, and the politics of late-stage capitalism (Jameson, 1982, 1991), has undergone a shift towards an understanding of culture which poses important challenges in the conduct of anticolonial political analyses. This is the basis of my disagreement with Coulthard (2014) and Grande (2003, 2004), where I posit that the distinctions made regarding the specificity of Indigenous cultural politics within the capitalist State are largely distinctions over process and scale. Coulthard's (2014) analysis is most important here because he explicitly makes a kind of materialist critique of the historical development of the Canadian State in relation to Indigenous people. His analysis is most closely related to my own and shares common convictions while maintaining important sites of disagreement. The concept of primitive accumulation, a Marxist term used to describe how capitalists accumulate land and resources which then are used to supply socialized industry through enclosures and other means of dispossessing people from their homelands (Marx, 1976; Lenin, 1939 for a description how this develops into imperialism between nations), serves as the primary tool of analysis for Coulthard (2014).

The expression and experience of primitive accumulation, according to Coulthard (2014), is unique within the framework of Canadian colonialism. Instead of the bloodiest step in the progress of capitalism through a series of stages towards the more humane form of coercion expressed as proletarianization, Coulthard (2014) argues that Canadian colonialism has continually, and primarily operated at the level of land and natural resource appropriation from

Indigenous people. Basically, the argument is advanced that Canadian colonialism has not proceeded as might have been predicted by some orthodox Marxist analyses and exists in a state of perpetual stagnation in form but has become more humane (i.e., less physically violent) in the manner it is expressed. This description of the historical development of the Canadian State in its relationship with Indigenous people revolves around an important, unstated distinction made in this theory of colonialism. Namely, the argument suggests that each cultural group has experienced its own unique histories in the development of capitalism, and this makes their histories incommensurable with one another. Therefore, the argument goes that each colonized cultural group has developed a relation to capitalist exploitation that must be understood on its own terms, and each must be understood as standing alone relative to one another. This understanding is in opposition to Marx's dialectical materialism which acknowledges the ongoing and dynamic nature through which these processes are constantly evolving and being applied as incoherent and incomplete manifestations of themselves. Additionally, this incommensurability thesis is opposed to the notion that these manifestations of capitalist violence contribute to a greater understanding of the whole of capitalist violence around the world.

To be clear, Coulthard (2014) does not understand his work as distinct from a solidaristic politics that embeds Indigenous politics within class struggle. He writes that "it should be clear that shifting our position to highlight the ongoing effects of colonial dispossession in no way displaces questions of distributive justice or class struggle; rather, it simply situates these questions more firmly alongside and in relation to the other sites and relations of power that inform our settler-colonial present" (p. 15). Even in this materialist form, and within a Marxist framework, Coulthard (2014) understands, but dismisses that his book could be read as operating

under a premise of intercultural incommensurability. He rejects, but then proceeds to argue in favour of the interpretation of this history that Indigenous people must be understood within a framework of historical and cultural specificity in Canada and their history must be appreciated as standing alone from other peoples' experience of land dispossession and proletarianization. It is this assumption that is largely unnecessary when considering broader political and economic trends in the colonialism expressed in Canada which I intend to demonstrate throughout my analysis in the later manuscript chapters.

Strangely though, for Indigenous critical theorists anyway, Coulthard (2014) abandons in the first instance that the Canadian State operates within a framework of violent repression or economic coercion in its dealing with Indigenous people in the twenty-first century and understands his contribution as a break from Marx's description of primitive accumulation (p. 15). This suggests to the reader that Indigenous people primarily do not experience their day-to-day lives within the life-or-death struggle of selling their time for wages (proletariat), buying the time of other people to extract surplus value from them (bourgeoisie), going to school (proletarian or bourgeoisie in waiting), or participating in other forms of parasitism (e.g., as landlords) and reproduction (e.g., going to church or watching the news). These are the mechanisms of violence, coercion, and consent that I demonstrate later in this dissertation to function primarily as the tools of assimilation employed by the Canadian State as they relate to Inuit, and by extension others in similar relationships with the Canadian State. These become emblematic of the transformation that interests Coulthard (2014), but are dismissed out of hand as being unable to deal with the specificity of Indigenous cultural expressions. That these processes (e.g., primitive accumulation, proletarianization, imperialism, etc.) are simultaneous and ongoing is an assumption I share with Coulthard (2104) and this assumption informs the

remainder of this dissertation. But rather than understand these as distinct from one another in a hierarchy of steps towards capitalist triumph or defeat, this dissertation considers how Inuit, in this case, underwent, and are undergoing this constant, dynamic flow between primitive accumulation and proletarianization as simultaneous and ongoing processes. And that this is an experience common among all people in the expansion of capitalist exploitation through time and is the basis of understanding this development along solidaristic terms among older leftists, like Fanon (2004, 2008), is a belief I share.

Using the collected texts above, I am describing an incomplete vision of an internationalism within Canada's own complex multiculturalism that understands the shared struggle of working class and colonized people to overcome exploitation and theft of their lands and labour. The role of Inuit in this struggle has been refocused in recent years towards the pacification of their radical egalitarian traditions in the name of managing a legal agreement that one side, the Canadian State, has no intention of honouring. It is also in this way that my critique of the political developments that constitute the decolonization of Nunavut rests in the unfulfilled potential of that historical revolutionary moment. It is then a by-product of these failures to struggle against the underlying base structures in a Canadian political economy that create the continued conditions of Inuit exploitation in contemporary Nunavut. This is not to say that the Inuit negotiating the land claim settlement saw themselves as revolutionaries or saw their purpose in these terms. This is only to say that like the bourgeois revolutions of European history (Engels, 1914), I am hopeful that the residue of their revolutionary potential, to demand self-determination over their lands and in their communities (Dunne, 1970; Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1976), persists as a spectre that will haunt the Canadian State until socialism can be realized here and the World over.

Methodology

This section deals both with the mechanical aspects of how the research that informs this dissertation was conducted, and an attempt to describe an approach to historical analysis that is influenced by my Marxist theory. A central antagonism in the previous chapter's literature review existed between poststructuralist (McLean, 2016a, 2017a, 2017b) and liberal-progressive (McGregor, 2010a, 2012b, 2013b, 2013a) histories of education in the Arctic. There exist no attempts at a Marxist history of Arctic education that I am aware of. The dearth of Marxist analysis seemingly has something to do with the fact that many of the existing histories of Inuit education available were written at or after we entered the age of the end of history (Fukuyama, 2006). This refers to the celebratory era of a post-Cold War liberal elite who understood themselves as a progenitor of a hegemony of liberalism in the aftermath of the defeat of communism by capitalism at the turn of the twenty-first century. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the liberalization of China in the late twentieth century, many western academics and self-described leftists implicitly endorse this position and have turned to nihilism or a Nietzschean understanding of power in the form of postmodernism and poststructuralism. Fukuyama has since retracted his celebratory declaration of an end to history, but the idea of a triumphant capitalism that dominates the world unchallenged remains a persistent, unacknowledged assumption of much academic scholarship today.

Beyond the specific history of Arctic education, Marxist analysis of education generally is treated as a fetid corpse, something to be avoided so as not to tarnish your good reputation, or an oddity to be ridiculed at dinner parties (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2010). Even though there are scholars who have dedicated themselves to maintaining this intellectual field within the study of education (e.g., Allman, 2001; Borg et al., 2002; Ives, 2009; McLaren, 2015), their impact is

limited, and their works may be popular while also being misappropriated and denatured by ignoring their radical critique (see, Freire, 2014; Freire & Macedo, 1995). Accordingly, the following section explores the approach to the history of education taken in subsequent chapters that justifies the deployment of Marxist analysis within the context of Indigenous politics in Canada. It is followed by a final section that describes how the data that informed the rest of the dissertation was collected and analysed.

Historical Materialism: Context and Capitalism

Marxist analysis of history relies on an inversion of Hegel's (1910) idealism by substituting a material analysis of relations of production as the foundation of social and political critique, and his theory of progress (Marx, 1972). It is an underlying assumption that people can act with collective power based on their role in transforming the natural world into the domain of the social through their relations of production (Marx, 1976). These relations necessarily imply a historical relationship as the form of the means of production changes according to ownership practices in a given period (e.g., slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism in Marx, 1976; but also includes hunter-gatherer and other relations of production, see Sahlins, 2006) and technological and political changes that inform these transitions between different means of production, and relate to issues of regulating time (Thompson, 1967; see also Marx, 1976 for socially necessary labour time). In these relations, as has been previously established, the day-to-day exploitation of peasants and working-class people is not governed by explicit violence and resisted through individual acts of transgression (see Foucault, 1977a). As Gramsci (2014; also see Ives, 2009) suggested, these relations of domination are created to provide an illusion of stability through the establishment of consensual relations of hegemonic domination.

This theory of history affords for the study of diverse people a vision through which their social and political lives are governed by specific relations that manifest in their exploitation. Then the superstructural apparatuses, like school or the Church, militate as a means of normalizing these social relations of production. Some education theorists, like Apple (2008), Bourdieu and Passeron (2000), and Freire (2005), have argued that teaching has a dual class position, one that is involved in the enforcement and reproduction of society through the normalization of hierarchies at the level of the superstructure, but also have identified ways that teachers are themselves workers involved in relations of exploitation, proletarianization, and other issues which complicate their class position. The class position of teachers is of some interest to this dissertation because of their role as agents of a colonialist State in the Arctic was informed by their class position as members of a new petty bourgeoisie (Poulantzas, 1979). Poulantzas (1979) defined this new petty bourgeoisie as a class position that does not own the means of production (like the older petty, or petit bourgeoisie of Lenin and Marx might have) but is entrusted with managing the proletariat to naturalize hierarchies. In more traditional Marxist terms, this is referred to as the labour aristocracy, members of the working class who are bribed into reproducing the liberal ideological constructs that legitimize capitalism (Lenin, 1939). Regarding teachers in particular, their role in a Gramscian sense is typical of the traditional intellectual, a person whose role is to naturalize the exploitation of the working class and who aligns themselves to the interests of the ruling classes ideologically (Gramsci, 2014). The specific role of teachers in this way has been to reproduce class and race hierarchies (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000) in the Arctic through credentialization and through the assumption of pedagogic authority over Inuit in a colonizing manner.

Regarding the broader, macro-history of the Arctic through this Marxist lens, the colonization of the Western and Central Arctic took place under conditions where capitalism was already well established. Even the earliest, semi-permanent European outposts in the Canadian Arctic region established themselves under the social relations of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Damas, 2002). The early form of capitalist exploitation in the Arctic was mercantile capitalism, through whaling and the fur trade. Tester and Kulchyski (1994) highlighted in their work how this form of capitalism sometimes served as an early justification of forced relocations of Inuit. In these cases, the HBC post would be moved due to declining local fur yields and the Inuit in the surrounding areas would be moved with the post to provide a ready-made labour force to setup new trap lines where furs were more readily available. These decisions were not often made with the best interests of Inuit in mind, and sometimes these relocations had dire consequences such as local famines or occurred at inopportune times when the relocated Inuit were unable to gather adequate materials to keep themselves warm throughout the winter.

This kind of capitalist exploitation throughout the colonial period, or roughly the 1850s-1970s, could be described as conforming to the expansion of capitalism through primitive accumulation (Marx, 1976). As described above with reference to Coulthard (2014), primitive accumulation describes the process of capitalists claiming access to resources through purchasing it using their financial capital, militaristic interventions, and/or enclosures of common lands and properties by existing landlords. This early form of exploitation persists in its colonial form today[9], but the relations of these expropriations have been normalized through land

[9] The Nunavut Inuit organization (NTI) maintains a map which shows the lands claimed under the NLCA which are divided between surface claims (excluding mineral rights) and surface and subsurface claims (including mineral rights). The vast majority of Nunavut's vast land area is Crown Land under the management of the GN, see: https://www.tunngavik.com/files/2011/03/iolmap.pdf.

claim settlements and other legal arrangements. In the case of Nunavut, settlement beneficiaries and the organizations established to manage the lands retained control over only eighteen percent of the total land in the territory. Of these, only a smaller fraction included mineral rights. In total, Inuit retained control of nearly 350,000km^2 of surface rights and 36,000km^2 of land that included mineral rights out of a total 1.9 million km^2 of land in the territorial boundaries (NTI, 1993). Some critical scholars highlight an additional flaw in the development of the NLCA in the form of an extinguishment clause wherein at any point, the Nunavut Inuit can renounce their sovereignty over these lands only by vesting it in the sovereignty of the Crown. This clause is described by Inuit land claims negotiators as the most offensive and colonial concession they were forced to make. It was made only by necessity because they felt that they would lose the entire project of Nunavut if they had pushed back too vociferously (Loukacheva, 2007, p. 41). The macro-historical trajectory that this dissertation describes does not address these questions of early Inuit-Crown relations but is instead interested in the incorporation of Inuit as extensions of a broader Canadian industrial and then post-industrial political economy. It is during this period, from 1939-1999, that the totalization described by Tester and Kulchyski (1994) was enforced through a passive revolution (Gramsci, 2014; Mckay, 2010) in the Arctic. The result has been that Inuit were incorporated as marginal actors in the globalized (imperialistic) form of capitalism that manifests as neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005) today.

Archival Study

The primary mode of research that informs this dissertation comes through archival study. This section is not treated in a specifically methodical way, and by this, I mean that it was not undertaken with reference to a body of scholarship that systematizes an approach to archival study that I then followed. Instead, what follows is a description of the types of sources that were

found, and how these shaped the kinds of responses later made to the research questions posed in Chapter One. The archives accessed for this dissertation were the Social History of the Eastern Arctic Database, the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation Archives, and the GNWT Archives. I intended to access the national archives through Library and Archives Canada but due to the COVID-19 epidemic and the associated closures of these archives and disruptions of their bureaucratic systems this was not possible. Many efforts were made to access the national archives through their online systems, and attempts were made to contact the archives directly, but the timelines for accessing the documents meant that this source was largely excluded from this research. I used the qualifier "largely" here because the sources made available to me through the other archives are often duplicates of material gathered from the national archives originally. I am grateful to the digitizing efforts of archivists at the University of Manitoba Archives and those working with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. I am also grateful to the archivists in Yellowknife, NWT who were very helpful in aiding with navigating catalogues and identifying relevant materials to be digitized and provided electronically to me for this research to proceed. They made this research possible even during these times when accessing sources in person was impractical, or at times forbidden.

Conducting this research required certain creative manipulations before settling into a clearly identifiable path forward. Originally, the question of language of instruction was considered as a medium to investigate the colonial dynamics of the development of a federal, and then territorial education system in the Arctic. Much has been written on this issue in the broader Indigenous context of Canada, but it was hoped that a historical analysis would add more clarity to this question. Unfortunately, during the early period, from the 1950s-1980s, language of instruction was not often discussed as a matter of concern based on the sources available. The

sources were largely from the Government of Canada and GNWT and the question of Indigenous language education was never taken seriously, and this is well-established in the existing literature. This forced a change in direction as the primary issue that concerned much of the policy discussion were issues related to the permanence of settlements and the role of settled lives in the education of Inuit into the political, economic, and social norms of Canadian society. It was this path that proved fruitful as these discussions made transparent the colonial relationship that I had expected to uncover, even as it was often couched in humanitarian language to justify the government's paternalistic mistreatment of Inuit.

This change in direction slightly modified the results I expected to find from the initial research questions. The source material suggested that there were two competing visions of Inuit colonization, one that was considered unnecessarily costly, but that had greater support among Inuit, was to provide the services and infrastructure within the Arctic itself with the goal to transition Inuit to a new mode of economic activity. The original mode, that was assumed to be in terminal decline, was predominantly mercantile trapping and subsistence hunting and fishing for most Inuit. They would be encouraged to transition from this semi-autonomous lifestyle to settled lives in places where these activities would be unsustainable and require new economic skills. Themes emerged from these historical documents that mapped surprizingly well onto the frame of colonialism that persists today. Namely, the lack of inclusion of members from affected groups during discussions concerning their welfare, denigration of Inuit economic and epistemological systems that were intentionally replaced through colonial interactions, and the relationship to space and issues of cost minimalization for the colonizer whose manifestation often took the form of decentralization modelled after Britain's decolonizing efforts (see Mckay, 2010). The establishment of the Canadian nation-state's hegemony over the Arctic needed to be

done cheaply, and so the policy advisors who came together from various departments often petitioned for the consensual removal of Inuit from the Arctic well into the 1960s as an alternative to permanent settlements in the Arctic. Eventually this was understood as impossible absent a forced removal that the government refused to undertake; therefore, the colonization of Inuit would take place in the Arctic itself moving forward.

School's role in this transition was also deliberately described in colonial terms. It was seen as an essential piece of infrastructure for settlements that were deemed worthy of becoming permanent outposts of the Canadian State. These permanent sites were often chosen based on their service to some strategic interest in Canada's international obligations or its own domestic affairs. For example, Baker Lake, NU, was considered for abandonment because the facilities were too expensive to replace or refurbish. It was saved primarily due to its being situated as an important weather station that transatlantic air travel relied upon while crossing the Arctic (Bereza, 1962). These types of considerations were made across the Arctic by various committees, the most permanent of these was the Community Planning Group (CPG) who had various iterations and subcommittees (e.g., the Community Development Group) throughout the 1960s. By 1970, many of these federally controlled functions were devolved to the GNWT, and so the focus changed again to how the territorial government functioned as a site of continuity with federal objectives. Information regarding this period came from a source that seems to have been largely ignored in the scholarly literature.

In the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation Archives exists a, seemingly, complete set of transcripts, translated into English where appropriate, from the hearings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). These RCAP hearings conducted across the Arctic provided useful perspective from Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants that covered

the period from 1970-1993. Many of the elders who spoke described their experiences of colonization into the early period of the late 1950s through the 1980s. These materials provide useful insight into issues when Inuit experienced the intrusion of school and exploitation through work in settled communities. It was these hearings that motivated the search through the GNWT Archives as they suggested that it was still commonplace in the Kitikmeot region for children to finish high school in Yellowknife well into the 1990s. I was aware that this process continued until fairly recently from my time as a teacher in the Arctic, but to find out that in some communities it was not until 1998 that full K-12 schooling could be offered raised some important regional concerns that are described in detail in Chapter Six. The GNWT Archives included correspondence between the District School Boards and the GNWT over issues like school planning, infrastructure budgets, and attendance policies. These provide insight into how the process of decentralization was uneven and certain regions were limited structurally in their potential for resistance.

Namely, much of the literature in the history of education in the Arctic deals with issues in large, centralized communities, and their associated regions. These communities (e.g., Iqaluit, Inuvik, Yellowknife, etc.) were provisioned in such a way that they had schools to act upon politically. In more remote regions, where this was not the case, the respondents to RCAP described feeling disconnected from their child's educational destinies and had limited means of enacting political change through direct action. This led to Chapter Six taking a comparative historical analysis looking to the descriptions of educational activism in Cambridge Bay, Inuvik, and Iqaluit. This is a general overview of the primary archival research that informs the bulk of this dissertation. Below is a description of the approach to policy analysis taken within Chapters Seven and Eight.

Social Science and a Methods Question

This section will address the methodological considerations of the contemporary policy analysis undertaken in Chapters Seven and Eight. It would be a mistake to consider these as distinct methodological problems, but rather as a continuation of the general approach to the study of history and to archival analysis described above. The largest, and most important distinction regards the philosophy of history and whether contemporary problems can be adequately assessed using historical approaches? For this consideration the example of Gale's (2001) critical policy sociology will be used as a justification of ignoring this concern for practical purposes. According to Gale, understanding the critical implications of policy in the present necessitates that a policy analyst understands the historical precedent that informs it.

Another important addition to these methodological considerations comes from I. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) who consider these political decisions through the literary turn in the humanities that looked to texts as a material and symbolic manifestation of the ideologies of the people who author them. Although the specific methods often employed from this methodology will not be used (e.g., quantifying and then commenting on the number of instances that specific terms or phrases emerge in a given text) this approach allows for insight into the ways that discourse is formed through political will that is manifested in the final form of the text and allows the scholar to think about how decisions about authorship were negotiated through the political process of developing each policy. Although strict counting will not be employed, this methodology makes one conscious of how the frequency of certain discourses in a document can inform thinking about whose voices were given consideration and priority.

These examples of approaches to policy study primarily focus on textual analysis and treat policy making as the discrete domain of those within the category of policymakers.

Additionally, since it is through the lens of the present this study will consider contemporary news accounts that provide responses of local actors to infer about challenges which arise in the field of policy enactment. These will be used to inform how current educators, school officials, and community members work within, or reject policy pronouncements from the Government of Nunavut. The significance of enactment is that it challenges the policy analyst to consider implementation of policy as not only an experiment that informs later policy making, but as a central component to understanding the scope and effect of any given policy (Ball et al., 2012). Relying instead on a Marxist theory of history, these discursive manifestations of issues of central import to policy analysis will be reappraised considering the relationship between the superstructure and base of social relations.

In Chapters Seven and Eight this adjustment of these poststructuralist analytical tools is accomplished with an emphasis on considering how discourse is enacted by considering issues of cultural reproduction, that then become matters of labour exploitation and nationalist politics. These transformations then speak to more pertinent issues that inform the creation of class hierarchies (Thompson, 1968) among Inuit because of concessions made in negotiations with the Canadian State. Unlike those authors cited above who primarily treat these as discursive (ideological, see Althusser, 2001) manifestations and understand them in those terms, I argue in these chapters that reforms to the system often conform to the normalization of certain exploitative patterns in the material base of social relations. In both chapters, proposed legal reforms through the first iteration of *Bill 25* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) were analysed. In Chapter Seven the concern for language of instruction reform was understood through the lens of changes to the socially necessary labour time of teacher's work (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000 for a description of the work of teaching). In Chapter Eight this was

understood in the context of a public government trying to engage in a nation-building project in a fraught political space where the majority population feels underrepresented by their government in the territory (Poulantzas, 2001). This territorial government is situated within a broader Canadian political economy that treats Indigenous languages as insignificant and not worthy of support.

It is this concern with reform and the politics of language that is informed by Gramsci's description of the need for a war of position (Gramsci, 2014; Ives, 2009). In the context of schooling, the material basis for the ideological apparatus that reinforces the status quo is normalized. To counter this hegemonic position, the common school as Gramsci described it, is not an abandonment of formal education as a bourgeois construct, but demands a radical democratic, revolutionary transformation of the conduct of schooling to build class consciousness and a working-class hegemony. In the absence of such revolutionary vision, it is a central contention of all subsequent chapters that the Government of Nunavut is likely to replicate the same injustices that face all other working people in Canada (see Lenin, 1939, 1992; Luxemburg, 2003, 2006), even if the labour aristocracy of the professional sections of the government's employees are entirely Inuitized. By rejecting the limits of the Foucauldian framing that many critical policy studies have adopted, the above authors have been intentionally reappropriated to advance a more materialistic analysis of issues facing schools in Nunavut today.

Research Ethics

This dissertation deals exclusively with archival and publicly available documents. As such it is not subject to the regime of research ethics for working with human subjects. Instead, this brief section will discuss the ethics of working with material relevant to Indigenous people

and organizations while being a non-Indigenous person. The first contention is one that I have made above, namely Nunavut is not an Indigenous government. It is a public government whose unique features are a product of a unique demographic situation more than a genuinely transformative Indigeneity. I have also kept the scope of this dissertation largely outside the specifics of Inuit culture and spiritual beliefs. I have instead focused on Inuit as an example of class formation and nation-state building within the confines of the Canadian State.

In many ways this has been an intentional consideration by Inuit leadership as they did not want to be seen in a similar, negative light as other Indigenous groups had been while trying to negotiate a land claim (Dunne, 1970). One of the prominent leaders of the Inuit nationalist movement, John Amagoalik, said as much in a meeting for a delegation of European representatives of the UN's Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. According to Alfred (2005), Amagoalik is supposed to have said that "the Inuit were awarded a territorial government and land rights in Canada because 'we are not Indians, who run around on blockades with guns causing trouble'" (p. 122). After his speech, a European delegate apparently chastized Amagoalik and made him account for the militancy of Southern Indigenous groups in previous years to the successful negotiation of a land claim for Nunavut Inuit. Amagoalik did then admit that it was only after the "Indians" had "run around on blockades with guns" that the Canadian Government took their demands for a separate territory seriously (Alfred, 2005).

This feature of Inuit nationalism and self-determination negates many concerns about dealing with official government documents and their Indigenous provenance or authorship because they are not sacred texts that belong to a specific community. They are instead government documents that belong to a public to whom I belong. Secondly, I will intentionally position myself as somebody who takes seriously the concerns of contemporary Indigenous

peoples and my interest in this subject and material comes from my personal experiences with people in communities relevant to this project. I am not claiming to speak for them, but I am investigating concerns that were shared with me using the tools of scholarship that I have at my disposal. These are primarily an education in the study of history and theory from a predominantly Western perspective. Rather than slink away from this, I wish to turn it into an asset and use these skills and disposition to consider a role that is not accounted for in Turner's (2012) description of the "word warrior". The word warrior, according to Turner (2012), is a position for Indigenous scholars "whose primary function is to engage the legal and political discourses of state" (p. 72). This role serves the Indigenous community by describing, challenging, and finding sites of fruitful resistance for Indigenous people to engage the Canadian State from within its own norms and conventions. What is missing from this analysis, not through malice but through probably deliberate omission due the overall content, purpose, and scope of the book, is the need for people to be interlocutors with these representatives of Indigenous knowledges within the academy and wider society. This is not to say that I intend to translate Indigenous knowledges into contemporary academic discourses. This is work for others. The task of this dissertation is to understand and critique the ways that prevailing capitalist models of the State and education are functioning to continue the assimilation and proletarianization of Indigenous peoples through their own national institutions. A continuation of the processes that McLean (2017a) described as the changing attitudes of governments towards adult education in this region but extended to K-12 over a longer period.

Chapter 4: Educational Escape Hatches: Education and resettlement as a function of colonialism in the Canadian Arctic, 1955-1970

This chapter emerged from the archival study where it was found that even late into the 1960s there was an insistence among policy advisors that the federal government should plan for the eventual mass relocation of Inuit from the Arctic, leaving only a handful of strategically important settlements with minimal populations of professionalized workers and their support staff. This took two forms in the planning stages. Certain officials, mainly from the health services sector of Northern services, advocated for a mass relocation to experimental farms in the rural parts of the Prairies or expanding existing relocations to sanitoriums in the South but incorporating an adult education scheme and to subsidize Inuit being hired by local factories in Southern Ontario. This kind of mass relocation was often advocated for as the simplest and most cost-effective option to rapidly assimilate Inuit into the broader Canadian political economy, and this had its own educational logic and rationale.

The second form in which relocation manifested in policy discourses was to mobilize education as a mechanism that would entice Inuit to willingly leave their homelands in search of better living standards elsewhere. Both mechanisms combined were understood to function as a necessary emergency plan for the inevitable decline of Inuit standards of living as the fur trade floundered (other than for sealskins which remained in demand until the 1980s), and an unwillingness of the Federal Government to provide for the higher costs of assimilating Inuit in the Arctic itself. These constructions are then termed as educational escape hatches in the chapter. This rhetorical device referred to the way that education was understood to provide for government planners a rationale to force Inuit from the Arctic if their position were deemed unmanageable by the government planners themselves.

Introduction

The discursive function of education in colonial relations in the Arctic transformed in the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to this period, education was limited in scope as the costs of moving Inuit children to communities where they could be educated was prohibitive and presented a tension in Northern policy. Concern over the development of a dependent class of "camp Eskimos" is a widely established historical trope that motivated policymakers throughout this period to maintain an arm's length from direct intervention in the support and care for Inuit. As established by Tester and Kulchyski (1994), this policy changed slowly over a period of two decades due to public outcry over starvation events, dynamics of the Cold War and political fears about Canada's sovereignty in the far North, and changes brought about by the postwar expansion of the welfare state. These changes affected the development of key institutions in the Arctic, including changes in educational systems. This chapter will explore these changes in a period that bridges Tester and Kulshyski's (1994) study of forced relocations in the Arctic and what McGregor (2010a) refers to the colonial period of Inuit education.

This periodization is important because it demonstrates a particular continuity of colonial attitudes that persisted among senior policy advisors regarding the role of education for Inuit, namely, that education was supposed to provide the skills and cultural attitudes that would assimilate them into a broader Canadian society and thus motivate them to move South. This was seen as desirable compared to settling Inuit in the North, other than in a select few strategically important locations. This process of promoting Inuit migration south through provisions of education I am referring to as "educational escape hatches" because regularly in the archival records of these institutions the need for these experimental programs was referred to in these terms. If it were to prove too expensive to settle Inuit in the North, the government's policy

advisors felt it important to give them transmissible skills and values so they could be moved south forcibly to experimental communities or would move south for school and stay of their own volition (Jenness, 1962a). Also worthy of note here is the project referred to as "The experimental Eskimos" in a 2009 documentary (Greenwald, 2009). In the early 1960s, the Government of Canada sent several Inuit children (notably Peter Ittinuaq, Zebedee Nungak, and William Tagoona as the subjects of documentary) to Ontario and Nova Scotia to determine the capacity of Inuit to learn in a conventional Southern, educational environment. This is not a central focus of the subsequent chapter. It serves as an illustrative example of the lengths that government planners were willing to take their experiments in service of convincing themselves that Inuit could be educated in the South instead of in Arctic settlements.

The policy direction to provide Inuit with a means to escape from the Arctic was not held universally, and it did not win out against the other prevailing policy discourse that preferred settlement of Inuit in the North. Education would continue to serve this role in planning for Northern communities though. It was expected that educated young people were less likely to return after getting their credentials elsewhere. Education functioned as a substitute to the older form of forced relocation that was a common policy solution to any perceived Northern governance and sovereignty problems into the 1960s. The main primary sources that inform this chapter were found in the Social History of the Eastern Arctic Database at the University of Manitoba. These texts mainly include correspondence between government officials and a series of meeting minutes and directives regarding town planning and community development programs.

The structure of the chapter will first provide a brief overview of education policy during the 1950s, where the government operated within a policy of dispersal and forced relocations.

The examination of the 1960s will follow, where it will be demonstrated that an increase in the role that educational escape hatches contributed to discussions about the longer-term sustainability of Northern communities. The historical account of colonial policy regarding the settlement of Inuit will come from two competing works (Damas, 2002; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). This chapter will reject Damas' (2002) thesis that the changes in Inuit settlement patterns during this period were primarily voluntary and showed a benevolence of the Canadian State towards promoting Inuit welfare. Instead, this chapter will refer to how education policy conformed to the theory of guided self-determination with the goal of having Inuit assimilate and begin to help themselves within norms of the capitalist State (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 306). Educational escape hatches will serve an explanatory function in understanding the transformation in the coercive function of school as the shift from a policy of dispersal (Damas, 2002) transformed into settled life in growth centres scattered across the Arctic.

This contributes to the existing historiography of education in the Canadian Arctic by considering the role of education directly in the policy domain of settlement and relocation. Much of the existing literature in this area has focused on political changes and their effects directly on Inuit autonomy over their children's education (see Berger, 2009; McGregor, 2010a, 2013, 2015; Rasmussen, 2011a). Instead, this chapter attempts to understand these historical trends in a broader political economy of the changes to Arctic policy more generally with the overall aim of assimilating Inuit and then limiting the costs of governing the North. The persistent role of secondary and higher education in debates around the suitability of Northern derived education programs will be used to demonstrate how historically federal and local policy actors viewed developing the North as unsustainable. These policymakers then planned for the development of Arctic communities with an eye towards reforming their governance through the

creation of pathways for Inuit to leave of their own volition in search of greater opportunity elsewhere once the sustainability of their lives in the Arctic was apparent through an anticipated significant decline in their material welfare. Because the policy discussions around whether mass relocations were feasible was always couched in terms where Inuit themselves might ask to be removed, or be removed for their own benefit, the metaphor of an escape hatch refers to the volitional approach that educational policymakers undertook in the 1960s towards more subtle forms of coercion. This is instead of other popular mechanical metaphors used in critical educational scholarship related to the creation of structural pathways where students are implicitly forced into standardized tracks, such as pipelines (Apple, 2008; H. A. Giroux, 2010, 2014).

History of Inuit Settlement and the Importance of Education

The implication of the extent that settlement of Inuit was accomplished through coercive means remains a subject of scholarly debate largely ignored by education scholars (McGregor, 2010a). Representative of the position that settlement was a natural extension of existing patterns of Inuit migration and settlement, and that Inuit came off the land of their own volition was the work *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers* (Damas, 2002). Damas (2002) makes this claim based on a distinction derived by describing the history of Inuit settlement using competing anthropological concepts of migration as opposed to relocation. Migration refers to voluntary movement of people, whereas relocations are planned and often relied upon a forceful State intervention to accomplish. Damas (2002) complained that the increasing criticism of the minority of incidents of forced relocation skewed the overall picture of Inuit settlement and had mischaracterized the motives and effects of the Canadian government's actions in relation to Inuit settlement during the 1950s and 1960s (pp. 3-4). The implication of Damas' analysis was

that political and economic development that informed policy decisions left policymakers with limited options. Their decisions were made primarily out of necessity, or in response to Inuit self-interest that saw Inuit themselves coming in off the land in larger numbers over time.

The main countervailing evidence that Damas (2002) provides to contradict the presumption of coercive measures being used in decisions made by Inuit to come from the land was that it was the explicit government policy to maintain camp-life intact for as long as possible and disperse Inuit from centralized hubs wherever possible during the bulk of this period. Damas (2002) provides evidence related to many population centres during this time, but a particularly evocative example of the consequences of this policy was the deaths by starvation of seventeen Inuit over the winter of 1957-1958 near Garry-Pelly Lake that led the regional administrator, based out of Churchill, Manitoba, to concede "the inevitability of centralization because of chronically depressed local circumstances" and he then "recommended that most people should probably move to the post. He thought that some could remain on the land, but that they should be assisted by the administration by supplying dogs, building permafrost cellars, and assisting in fishing projects" (Damas, 2002, p. 89). The usefulness of understanding this distinction in this way is limited. It provided cover to government actors by constraining the scope of analysis to choices about dispersal vs. settlement as a neutral function of the State, passively acquiescing to or making reactive decisions related to, seemingly, natural trends in Inuit settlement and trying to minimize harm over time. The neutrality that Damas treated this statement hedged his dismissal of the degree of intrusion Inuit encountered when they were relocated at the discretion of State officials, which he argued was more often for their own benefit. Tester and Kulchyski (1994) offered a differing account of this same event by closely examining the actions of local authorities throughout the disaster. These same officials, calling for the inevitable centralized

settlement of Inuit for better provisioning were those who refused to provide aid, even though it was called for (pp. 245-270). In the history of education, it is this same instinct to impose scarcity as a means of social control of Inuit that partly informed the colonial policy of the period (McGregor, 2010b).

The timeline of the interventionist State was also a feature in Damas' (2002) critiques of historical accounts of Inuit settlement that emphasized deliberate, assimilative function of settlements in Arctic policy. The period of the 1950s was described as a transitional phase in the dissolution of the "policy of dispersal", and Damas insists that the emphasis on welfare state interventions is misplaced until later into the 1960s. With increased governmental and national interest in the North, "these humanitarian values did not really take hold until the decade of the 1960s, but when they did, the new policy they encouraged had profound effects on the cultural and social changes among the Inuit, including those of settlement practices" (p. 114). Damas (2002) argued that it was a humanitarian interest in the welfare of Inuit that led to a growth of State revenues being spent in the North, first to expand natural resource exploitation in the region, but then as a function of an emotional turn in wider Canadian society increasing sentimental dispositions towards the welfare of Inuit. Fundamentally though, Damas (2002) seems to mistake this sentimentality expressed by wider Canadian society as being largely separate of the broader Canadian society's own self-interest. Instead of accepting this neutrality, I applied a critical historical analysis where I demonstrate that the function of State intervention was widely understood by policymakers to increase the rate of assimilation of Inuit into the broader Canadian political economy. This will correspond with the overall timeline that Damas (2002) described though.

Referenced explicitly by Damas (2002) as an example of a scholarly work that overemphasized the importance of relocation in the history of Inuit settlement in the Arctic, Tester and Kulchyski (1994), in *Tammarniit*, provide a competing historical account of the era in question. In their account of the same series of events, Tester and Kulchyski (1994) focused on deliberate instances of forced relocation as examples of a shift in colonial policy in the Arctic from 1939 to the early 1960s. The defining feature of this shift was the totalizing interests of a welfare state liberalism to alienate Inuit from their lands by settling them into communities that were chosen to serve the interests of Qallunaat. These are noted because of their detrimental social and economic effects on Inuit. By associating the phenomenon of relocation to broader sociological interest in the welfare of Inuit, Tester and Kulchyski (1994) argue that settlements were pursued with the interest of turning these communities into "northern suburbs" that could be more easily administered from centralized locations, and to permanently enforce the assimilation of Inuit through more regular contact with Qallunaat (p. 7). This obviously contradicts Damas' (2002) central thesis that Inuit settlement in this era was largely the product of Inuit volition, making self-interested decisions to come in from the land. Given the history of Arctic policy being sporadic and driven largely by the initiative of the Northern Service Officer Tester and Kulchyski (1994) use the theory of totalization to understand the ways that the outcomes of this policy, like the starvation at Garry Lake, are best understood as taking place within a colonial ideology and capitalist political economy that was adaptable to changing conditions but was always structured towards the assimilation of Inuit.

The role that education played in this assimilation was central to the entire program as will be demonstrated below. Like the overall policy of relocation, education policy was adaptable to changing ideological circumstances and attitudes about the forcible relocation of

Inuit throughout this period. Tester and Kulchyski (1994) articulate this role for outsiders travelling North on behalf of the Canadian State as helpers or providing support to the State and Inuit in facilitating their assimilation. In the period of forced relocation and throughout the 1950s, large hostels and residential schools were built. Entire communities, like Inuvik, were built from scratch during this period and came to serve the function of hubs from which educational authority was administered (D. King, 1998). Beginning in the early 1960s though, policy directions would change towards "guided self-determination" (Tester & Kulchyski, p. 306; see Kulchyski & Tester, 2007 for an account of an early example of this in a council established in 1957 at Baker Lake) and educational authorities would adapt their roles accordingly with local day schools becoming more common and rapidly decreasing the need for large hostels other than in specialized locations for secondary schooling (D. King, 1998; McGregor, 2015b). The location of these schools in communities became significant throughout the period. Their intrusion meant the permanent establishment of a colonial policy that mobilized education as a means of transforming Inuit into settled, universal subjects who could migrate out of the North with transferrable professional skills. This change in educational policy corresponded with a change in settlement policy where population centres became better served and came to be seen as permanent settlements. The tension caused by this overlap in the history of settlement and education was a recurring problem that was repeatedly addressed throughout this period.

Early History of School and Community Planning in the 1950s

Senior educational administration throughout the Arctic was a responsibility of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the federal government throughout the period. It was embedded in the federal administration in this way to coordinate between

various social welfare and other functions of the Canadian State in the North. An example of this coordination of State intervention in the history of education in the Arctic involves the extent that Inuit were threatened during this period with removal from the family allowance provisions. McGregor (2015b) indicates that there was at least the impression among Inuit who lived during this period that their parents' family allowance would be cut if they refused to send their children with the annual school flight. With reference to an account by Hyde, a man involved in the school flights during this period, the intimidation of having a large group of government officials arriving in a camp all at the same time each year served its own intimidating function. McGregor (2015b), wrote that "'having the nurse and the RCMP on the same plane must have been intimidating for the parents, and certainly no parent refused to hand their children over.' The level of intimidation and fear felt by Inuit in interactions with non-Inuit bureaucrats has been well documented" (p. 26). In the available record there exists documented evidence where teachers working in communities attempted to encourage policymakers to enforce withholding family allowance not only for school refusal from parents whose children were being sent to residential schooling, but also for truancy when Inuit living in settlements were not willingly attending school.

In 1955, for example, Don Whitbread, Anglican missionary and teacher at the mission school in Spence Bay (Talurjuaq), announced "that in accordance with Form 600-3, pupils will have to be reported to the Department if they are absent more than 5 occasions in a month. This also might result in their Family Allowance [sic.] being stopped" but on this occasion the announcement corresponded with a conflict between Whitbread and the local RCMP. The conflict emerged from a concern for "lateness, non-attendance, non-attentiveness, etc." due to a "lack of sleep on the part of the pupils, due to late visiting to the RCMP" (D. Whitbread,

personal communication, November 25, 1955). The RCMP intervened in Whitbread's announcement, arguing that it would be illegal to threaten the family allowances of Inuit on such grounds, and Whitbread was writing to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to confirm the legality of his suggestion, or whether the Department intended to interpret these forms as he had. This kind of confusion illustrates a point made by King (2006) regarding family allowances, that for residential school students there was no official policy to use family allowances as a coercive means to make parents send their children, but once in town and attending day schools, families could be made to forfeit family allowances if the children did not attend. It was probably this distinction that informed the RCMP officer's objections, but this confusion about legalities and enforcement meant that Inuit faced an inconsistent and somewhat unpredictable interventionist State at this time.

By the middle of the 1950s, many of the larger communities in the Arctic had rudimentary school facilities. For example, Cambridge Bay, a community located on the southern shore of Victoria Island on the Queen Maud Gulf, is currently a somewhat large community by Arctic standards and shares administrative responsibilities with Kugluktuk (Coppermine) of the Kitikmeot region in contemporary Nunavut. In 1957, as part of an Arctic Patrol a description of the community was provided along with school facilities. There were around "200 natives in the Cambridge Bay area." Additionally, "in the region covered by the Cambridge Bay R.C.M.Police [sic.] Detachment Area No. 1, there are approximately 500 Eskimo [sic.] people" (Dewitt, 1957, p. 1). Holding these figures to be accurate, this meant that only 40% of the area's population was even within range to be served by the community's rudimentary school. Describing the school, Dewitt (1957) wrote that:

> The temporary building used as a classroom was somewhat of a disgrace to this Department. It was a small shack 15' x 24' in dimension, of the Nissen hut type, with no windows and a very poor floor. It was so cold

> that most of the time both teacher and pupils had to leave their outdoor attire on during the school day. There was no provision made for washing or toilet facilities except for the snow banks (p. 1).

As the quote indicated, school buildings of this type were considered temporary, but their establishment coincided with Cambridge Bay's choice as an outpost that served the nascent Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, an early detection system established throughout the Arctic during the Cold War. Due to Cambridge Bay's fixed position, a school was necessary, and Dewitt (1957) recommended that a more permanent solution be provided, but that this would need to be supplemented further as only 45 of the 150 school-aged children nearby would be able to attend school in Cambridge Bay under the existing circumstances.

Another notable example of the contingency of community planning during this period, and its direct implication for school comes from another community in the region. This experiment involved a tent hostel and accompanying day school in Kugluktuk (Coppermine) initially proposed in 1953 (Grantham, 1953). According to McGregor (2015b), the tent hostel experiment was established in 1955 and ran until 1959, but it was already being discussed in terms of its eventual demise as early as 1957 (*School Hostel Accommodation*, 1957). The tent hostel provided semi-permanent housing for Inuit children who came into Kugluktuk for school in facilities described as "The hostel complex had capacity for 30 children (28 actually registered) and they were billeted in 8 tents, erected in a semi-permanent fashion with wood floors and wood half walls and warmed by oil heaters. Each tent accommodated four children, who slept on camp cots" (Anglican Church of Canada, as cited in McGregor, 2015b, p. 30). This kind of experimentation was intended to accomplish a stopgap and provide Inuit with local educational accommodation because the process of sending children away from their families to large hostels was controversial with parents and educational authorities. Additionally, the

situation of hostels raised a difficult political problem for policymakers that would carry forward into the following decade. Inuit were coming into modern wage-labouring at varying rates.

Among Inuit the controversial elements of residential schooling in large, far away hostels, was obvious, even if it was only rarely considered by policymakers in this era. They often resented having to send their children to school, and as King (2006) noted, low attendance because of school refusal was a significant part of Inuit interaction with the encroaching State education apparatus. The most significant controversy among policymakers was the effects that a foreign education system designed to prepare Inuit for an industrial workplace, which did not exist in the Arctic and likely would never exist, would have on the long-term social development of Inuit youth. Reformers noted this as early as 1948, that residential schools "would give the Eskimo [sic.] children a wrong environment, and would result in making them half Eskimo and half white." This would cause, according to the critics, "the children to revert to the true native way of living when they leave the school. Such a reversion might become a difficult or impossible situation for them" (Lamberton, 1948, p. 9). This reversion was directed towards Inuit lifestyles because there remained a necessary reliance among Inuit on mercantile and subsistence hunting and gathering through the 1950s. The "wrong environment" for Inuit children then was a place with more of the features of modern living that southern Canadians were accustomed.

Put perhaps more clearly in 1952, the manager of the Talurjuaq post of the Western Arctic Section wrote that "a policy [of residential schooling] for the children of this area [Talurjuaq] is extremely short-sighted, and without being accused of heroics think it can be said to be cruel." The cruelty, according to Stanners, arose from seeing the children "broken back into the harsh unrelenting life of the tent and snowhouse, the raw fish and flesh diet – in which they

had been perfectly contented and happy – until they had tasted the hitherto only heard of and incidentally largely unbelieved 'joys' of civilization" (Stanners, 1952, p. 1). The cruelty in this case arose from the Inuit way of life being assumed to be unsatisfactory to the returning Inuit child. It assumed a great deal of cultural superiority and the benefits of the imported, Southern ways, was seen as beyond doubt.

Residential school was only useful within this framework when it corresponded to a commensurate improvement in the material wealth of Inuit by promoting the expansion of wage-labouring to supplement subsistence and mercantile hunting. Until the dying ways of the traditional Inuit could be adequately replaced, the role of State intervention was to maintain a tightrope of slowly assimilating Inuit into the mainstream of the Canadian political economy without causing any catastrophic disruptions of existing patterns of social and economic reproduction among Inuit. This pattern existed during the context set by Tester and Kulchyski (1994), where Arctic policymakers at this time were insistent on Inuit largely being left alone, minimizing the costs of relief, and leaving the decision about administration of relief to the financial interests of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) traders.

This necessitated a division between settlements across the North and within regions. This division was described as development in the Arctic

> reaching the point where Arctic communities are being divided into roughly two classes, one where there is unlikely to be any great change in economic and social patterns, and the second type of community markedly affected by the development of wage employment, with consequent radical changes in economic and social patterns, with hunting and trapping being relegated to a secondary position, and resulting in a congregation of Eskimos [sic.] as contrasted with a dispersion of Eskimos [sic.] as is likely to be the situation in the case of above (*School Hostel Accommodation*, 1957, p. 2).

This social division developed between mercantile and subsistence hunter-gathering communities, and outposts of modernity. The observed effect of institutions of the State to entice Inuit from the land was a concerning observation that threatened this distinction according to Mr.

Phillips, Chief of the Arctic Division, and needed to be minimally used only in communities that had developed the required infrastructure to support the transition of Inuit into wage labourers. The target community for this discussion, Baker Lake, was described as "the largest such traditional community, by virtue of government installations which are there by chance, in which we are seeking to preserve the traditional way" (*School Hostel Accommodations*, 1957, p. 2). Despite these objections, the establishment of a large hostel to provide residential schooling for students in the area was seen as inevitable, with Churchill, Manitoba being listed as a possible alternative to Baker Lake by the Director of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The necessity and inevitability of the hostel was not necessarily in question, because the overall policy goal was to move Inuit "closer to the State of universal education" (*School Hostel Accommodations*, 1957, p. 4).

The results of this investigation into hostel facilities in the Central Arctic was not contrary to the establishment of community schools. Instead, what developed were policies intended to support simultaneous, transitional development of educational facilities happening in an ad hoc manner throughout the earlier period. It also shows that the development of community schooling was not an abandonment of residential schooling during the period of the 1950s and 1960s. Even though many of the regional schools were being upgraded over the next two years, between 1957-1959, the official writing the report on school hostels in the Central Arctic noted that "it is unlikely that the overall change would result in more than 100 children at the best being added to the full-time school enrolment, most of whom would be enlisted from the existing part-time schools" (*School Hostel Accommodations*, 1957, p. 4). The need for residential facilities, far away from the homes of children remained a central pillar of education planning throughout the period. This was especially true for middle and high schools. By the early 1960s,

the high schools that would continue to serve the Western and Central Arctic had been opened (King, 2006; McGregor, 2015b). All of them were founded as residential facilities where Inuit would be brought to complete their formal education. The three high schools that serviced this area were in Yellowknife, founded in 1958, Inuvik, 1959, and Fort Simpson, 1960, and a series of small hostels with accompanying day schools were founded during this period at Coppermine, no data is available about its founding, and at Cambridge Bay, sometime in the early-mid 1960s (King, 2006).

The distinction between small hostels, according to King (2006), was that "Small hostels housed between 8 to 24 students. Large hostels housed over a hundred students. Because small hostels were opened when they were needed to house students from other communities who came in from settlements to attend federal day schools, some hostels did not operate every year" (p. 7). By the late 1960s most of the small hostels in the north were closed (King, 2006). This corresponded with an effort to replace day schooling efforts with permanent elementary schools in the North that resulted in every community in Nunavut having a school by 1968 (McGregor, 2015b). The small hostels served as a kind of transitional tool, providing Inuit living or working outside of settled communities with facilities to house their children closer by, but simultaneously creating conditions that served to motivate Inuit to spend more time in town and eventually settle to be nearer their children for more of the year.

Schools were also seen as serving not only an important structural function in justifying the permanent settlement of a community, but also a pillar of social and political development activities targeted at Inuit. In 1959, for example, in recommendations made to edit the Ministerial Briefing Book for Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), the respondent, J.E. Cleland, wrote that the function of schools in community development must be thought of as serving as a venue for

community functions. These included, but were not limited to, “motion pictures, social gatherings, little theatre groups, music appreciation and other cultural activities.” It was stated as being of highest importance that during these activities “Basic English training will be emphasized” (Cleland, 1959, p. 3). Everything though was geared towards vocational ends when it came to educational programming, especially when considering adults.

The planning for future programming in Iqaluit was postponed due to changes in demographic information relevant to the surrounding communities. The program included plans for a massive upgrade to the school, from two classrooms to eight, and included a hostel development for all the children on Baffin Island. Instead, the planning shifted focus to rehabilitating Inuit adults returning from Southern hospitals or sanitoriums by providing them with some basic education to facilitate their integration into community life (Cleland, 1959). This intersection of school and community development discourses was important as the overall educative function of the State when it came to Inuit moving into settled communities often included multigenerational political, vocational, and social training on the norms and conventions of capitalist economic life.

Throughout this period of the 1950s, the concern about the shifting proportions of Inuit who were beginning to live permanently settled in the government towns was considered dire, something to be postponed for as long as possible. Examples of this locally were shared during Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) hearings more than thirty years later. For example, an elder named Billy Day spoke about how he had been coming into Aklavik from the land with his family to resupply and visit with relatives in 1953. Day described how the RCMP officer “said to me, he say, no, you can’t do that. He said, you go and get your supplies and get right back out to your camp” (RCAP, 1992b, p. 34). Day does not recount whether the RCMP

officer was reflecting explicit policy, but like the example of Whitbread (1955) threatening to withhold family allowances from the parents of truant children, there was often a degree that local officials behaved at their own discretion in the North. They were left with the responsibility of interpreting policy to suit broader ideological concerns about the needs of Inuit, and at the time a prevailing concern was the minimization of government relief to Inuit, often with deadly consequences (see Tester & Kulchyski, 1994 chapters regarding the famines at Garry Lake, Ennadai Lake, and the struggles of Inuit moved to the High Artic Islands).

By the 1960s though, the main change that necessitated greater consideration of the effects of government development strategies in Arctic communities were the result of major demographic shifts among Inuit. The rates of Inuit moving into communities changed, and the development of growth centres rapidly occupied a central feature of community planning discussions. Growth centres in this context occupied the centre of a hub and spoke scheme where services could be supplied that would facilitate generational transformation of Inuit social and economic relations. The above demographic division observed in Cambridge Bay, where 60% of Inuit lived in hunting camps, and 40% lived a settled life in communities (Dewitt, 1957), was inverted by the end of the 1960s. These changes were manifested in multiple policy changes, but the overall political change came in the form of welfare state intervention throughout the Arctic. These growth centres were part of the transformation through “guided self-determination” as education came to serve the purpose of creating wage labourers out of Inuit. With the abandonment of the policy of dispersal in the 1960s, discussion about the sustainability of Inuit culture in policy circles would adapt as well. In the context of educational planning, this meant providing for Inuit to freely move and integrate into the broader Canadian society, and an implicit encouragement for them to not remain in the North forever.

Community planning in the 1960s: Modelling for economic and natural disaster in government planning for school

The 1960s proved to be a very interesting decade in terms of the political economy of the North. Increasingly, the motivations of national sovereignty and concerns about competing claims over Arctic territory gave way and Northern economies became structured around mineral extraction, commercial activity in selling commodities to a growing consumer base, and the provision of relief and government services. The HBC serves as a primary example of these changes. Combined with the collapse of the fur trade and the implementation of family allowances for Inuit parents, the business model of the HBC transformed as the government relied on the HBC's existing commercial logistics to sell consumer goods to Inuit according to government dietary and relief schemes (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). According to Damas (2002), as the fur trade waned, by 1959, the HBC saw their share of revenues changing from being primarily trading fur in the North to being overwhelmingly determined by retail sales. It was at this point that HBC rebranded itself to "Northern Stores" in the Arctic and began focusing more heavily on selling consumer goods to Arctic communities.

In the Western Arctic, elders in the Inuvik hearings of RCAP described how oil and gas became the primary economic mover in the Mackenzie Delta. James Firth, Chief of the Inuvik Gwich'in Council in 1992, spoke about how in the 1960s oil and gas substantially changed the economy of the community. He said, "when there was an increase in resource development in the early 1960s, native people did not have the tools, money and training to reap economic benefits and also adjust to increased social impacts. Resource development did attract a large number of non-aboriginals to obtain wealth and in most cases leave the country with this acquired wealth" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 38). These changes corresponded to political changes among

Indigenous people as well. Described in that passage as a missed opportunity, the exploitation of natural resources in the area motivated Indigenous people to fight with the government to become beneficiaries the next time resource extraction was economically viable again (see Dunne, 1970).

At the same time, the 1960s formalized certain features of colonial policy pertaining to Inuit. The ideas that carried forward and organized the attitudes about government intervention in the North can be listed as the following: that the Inuit way of life was dying; that Inuit would eventually be assimilated into mainstream Canadian society; most Inuit may be better off living outside of the Arctic where jobs and other social services could be more readily accessed; and that social pressure from State interventions could be applied to compel Inuit from the land at varying rates. Inuit themselves are recorded as being aware of these pressures on their ways of life. Tester and Kulchyski (1994) referred to this as the countervailing effort of Inuit to intervene during this period because of their dissatisfaction with the assimilative policies of the Canadian State.

An example of these changes related to relocation and settlement, saw Inuit asserting their preference to remain within traditional norms of self-determination. This was especially apparent as more Inuit from communities remaining on the land were elected by their peers to speak on their collective behalf by joining councils or attending conferences pertaining to Inuit in the South. Tester and Kulchyski (1994) wrote that “Inuit were not prepared to be assimilated or integrated. They were fighting for cultural survival and, contrary to the image held by many Canadians of Inuit as demoralized and confused children, were increasingly stating their opposition to the totalizing processes being directed by the State” (p. 357). Despite this assertiveness shown by Inuit in opposition to State interference (see Kulchyski & Tester, 2007),

the prevailing notions listed above were institutionally embedded and the response to these objections by Inuit was met by federal officials who were "trying to placate, accommodate, and rationalize their way around voices they did not always see as legitimate, reasonable, or knowledgeable" (p. 357). The prevalence and expanding influence of the State during the 1960s would put these positions in direct competition, but with the coercive measures already in place and plans to expand government services out from established growth centres, the timeline of the necessary development and assimilative infrastructure was really all that remained in doubt. In response to this ever-changing timeline the government would become more organized and structure its intervention according to the notion of concentrating Inuit into growth centres where they would rapidly be assimilated as industry moved North to exploit natural and human resources in the Arctic.

By 1960 a more organized apparatus was developing to manage these various and competing interests. An example of this was the Community Planning Group (CPG) that was composed of members from each of the divisions of the Northern Administration Branch. Town planning had previously been done on a case-by-case basis with each new building requiring its own survey and inquiry. The purpose of the CPG was to replace this decentralized process and take on a more holistic approach to town planning. Communities would be planned over longer periods with the establishment of schedules and placement of required facilities being predetermined prior to future development (Director, Northern Administration Branch, 1960). The minutes of the earlier meetings are useful in that they confirm some of the presumptions that operated among policymakers during this period and provide insight into larger policy frameworks that informed others. For example, the eventual death of Inuit ways of life was a common topic of concern among the CPG. This was frequently accompanied by discussions of

interventions that would be more suitable to the long-term welfare of Inuit, rapid assimilation through forced relocation to planned communities in the South of Canada or slower, generational assimilation through the provision of public services in the Northern communities themselves.

Above in quoting from a review of educational facilities and a proposed expansion of hostels in the Central Arctic at Baker Lake, a government official was quoted as preferring to maintain the "traditional way" for Inuit in the area (*School Hostel Accommodations*, 1957, p. 2). The CPG engages with this line of reasoning frequently as it was seen as necessary to maintain Inuit in their current condition so that they did not become dependent on the Canadian State for social assistance and to buy time to settle communities where people could be moved without having to spend more for emergency provisions. For example, in 1962 at the 19th meeting of the CPG the question of priority was raised as there was some concern that the committee might waste time making plans for a community that was likely to become a "ghost town" as Inuit moved into places with greater economies and opportunities over time (Jenness, 1962a, p. 1). This was about the Keewatin region, near Baker Lake, but the premise remained influential over the next year at least. Additionally, because the CPG was centralized and had jurisdiction over the entire Arctic and Subarctic regions of the Canadian territories and took some limited interest in Northern Québec and in Labrador this premise was applied widely to the Inuit Nunangat.[10]

The ghost town metaphor was influential, but additional controversy was caused due to the attitude of CPG's membership towards the long-term viability of assimilating Inuit into mainstream Canadian society while leaving them in place in the Arctic. During this 19th meeting a decision related to the establishment of Rankin Inlet as the administrative centre for the

[10] Inuit Nunangat is an Inuktitut term which refers to the Inuit homeland in Canada. Broken into four regions, this includes the Inuvialuit settlement region, Nunavut, Nunavik (Quebec), and Nunatsiavut (Labrador).

Keewatin region was discussed. The CPG questioned the advisability of this proposal on the above grounds of its long-term unsuitability to Inuit assimilation. In defence of the decision made by the Keewatin Conference, Mr. Cleland who represented the Administrator of the Arctic, laid out the longer-term policy goal as constituted in "three transitional stages – (a) more efficient resource harvesting at Whale Cove; (b) training and employment at an administrative centre established at Rankin Inlet, where the people could secure training without being completely isolated in an alien culture; (c) those wishing to progress onwards could proceed through Churchill" (Jenness, 1962a, p. 4). The purpose of this transition was understood by advocates of assimilating Inuit within the Arctic itself as providing access to Southern industry for interested Inuit. Once relocated, the influence of Qallunaat due to increased proximity, it was believed, would be the most rapid assimilative force that the members of the CPG could imagine.

The issue of employment was particularly salient during this debate between the CPG and Keewatin Conference as the mine which had been the primary source of Inuit employment would soon close. This represents an early failure in government attempts to subsidize Arctic industrialization (Williamson, 1974) and forms the backdrop to the discussions informing the CPG. Accordingly, this change in the local political economy needed to be remedied in educational terms. The representative of the Education Division, Miss McKay, responded to concerns about the lack of existing Inuit employment and other opportunities nearby Rankin Inlet to insist that part of these development plans would include vocational training for adult Inuit moving into Rankin. The plan in her division was for the programming to keep up with these proposed stages and be consistent with the kinds of jobs that would become available over time (Jenness, 1962a). The move to expand these programs within the Arctic was controversial to certain members of the CPG on cost saving grounds though. This was most clearly expressed

by Dr. Willis, of Northern and Indian Health Services. Assimilating Inuit in Northern communities was expensive, more expensive than mass relocation and setting up planned communities for Inuit in the South, argued Willis. Willis is reported to have "estimated that it probably cost Canadian taxpayers about $5,000 per year per family to keep Eskimos [sic.] in that north and give them proper educational, health and administrative facilities" (Jenness, 1962a, p. 4). The CPG was convinced that it would recommend that in the future, experimentation with Southern planned settlements for transitioning Inuit out of the Arctic be considered before planning anymore permanent settlements in the Arctic.

The degree of concern for the plan to move the regional centre to Rankin Inlet was a point of contention between the CPG and the Keewatin Conference, whose members included more senior officers in the Branch hierarchy. At a later meeting, the 22nd (Jenness, 1962b), the CPG was joined by Mr. Carter who represented the Directorate of the Northern Administration Branch. His attendance at the meeting was solely to clarify the position of the wider branch office's senior management, and to insist upon the CPG that their previous comments regarding the move of the administrative centre be reconsidered. Mr. Jenness, the secretary of the CPG at this time, clarified his original comments as not a disparagement of the Keewatin Conference itself, but "He felt that members of the Conference had been obliged to work within certain policy parameters with regard to keeping Eskimo [sic.] people in the north even where there were too few jobs for them and it was this larger issue that he was questioning" (Jenness, 1962b, p. 3). Carter went on to clarify the existing policy position that the Northern Administration Branch operated under, and that settlement within the North was the aim of community planning and should inform any future discussions. Any discussion of mass relocation had been rejected based on a projection into the economic future where "the Branch had not yet fully explored the

possibility of establishing frankly subsidized industries in the north, of a labour intensive type, that would provide satisfactory job opportunities for all the people there" (Jenness, 1962b, p. 5). The CPG then begrudgingly accepted this and proposed that a newly founded subcommittee be tasked with evaluating this policy framework's fundamental assumptions about the longer-term availability of jobs in the Arctic.

A version of the educational escape hatch then distributed throughout the administrative/managerial arm of the Northern Administration Branch and included educational authorities themselves. Taking the form of a community development doctrine, the transitional phases outlined above required significant planning be made for a multigenerational effort to educate Inuit in the norms of settled life. This was contingent on discussions about whether the availability of jobs would ever keep up with the supply of wage labouring Inuit. In this phased development, Inuit were given a path forward with a gradual transitory structure that saw them coming from the land as a first step in their transition to being able to adapt to life anywhere in Canada. The subcommittee established by the CPG took the form of a Community Development Group (or Committee, depending on when the body was established). The Community Development Group was tasked primarily with issues of Inuit social development in this era. Their role in planning for the eventual political, economic, and social assimilation of Inuit proved to centre more on institutional development principles that focused on intrusion into the lives of settled Inuit.

In the policy directive (Director, Northern Administration Branch, 1966) that re-established the Branch's commitment to community development as a philosophical principle and orientation it was said repeatedly that the purpose of community development was to encourage self-government and local autonomy among the local settler and Indigenous peoples.

The Director wrote that the traditional approach to community development was intended to "have left an educational residue with the people of the community in that he [the officer] has helped them to prepare themselves, by experience and by participation, to cope more effectively with future problems" (Director, 1966, p. 2). This educational residue was created by encouraging local councils of Inuit to take a lead in local decision making related to a Community Development Fund that was established to fund these projects (see Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). The fund was administered by the Northern Service Officer in every community but was supposed to encourage Inuit to begin the process of acquiring patterns of political participation identifiable to Qallunaat (Director, 1966). This process was seen as part of the eventual decolonization of the Arctic, even though this term was not specifically used, because the governance over the region was seen as needing to eventually be turned over to locals, who were most likely to be Inuit for long term planning. For this to proceed in a way that would result in the orderly assimilation of Inuit into mainstream Canadian society the community development doctrine, as defined by these government officials, required that all White people working for the government in the North to think of their role as being educational. They needed to serve these communities as role models of proper, by Canadian standards, democratic attitudes and be representatives of the benefits of modern living (Director, 1966, pp. 3-5).

This community development initiative cemented the structural logic of assimilating Inuit in the North that Carter had defended earlier during the 22nd meeting of the CPG. It also meant that greater effort needed to be made to cement the school as a fixture of the multigenerational transition of Inuit from semi-nomadic to settled lives. The adult education function of school would need to be emphasized. Inuit were treated as being in a period of transition that needed to be managed by outsiders and on their behalf. This implicit, consensual pressure applied

knowingly by federal officials, “was not a matter of compulsion but rather by persuading people to move by providing attractions in favoured settlements not available in the poorer communities” (Jenness, 1962c, p. 1). The distinction here between compulsion and persuasion was rather meaningless; the function of the proposal was to entice, manipulate, or use economic inducement to encourage people to live in settlements that served the interests of the federal officials, rather than their own individual or communal self-interest. The school functioned as an ideal inducement to apply pressure to force Inuit off the land because the alternative was to have their children sent away, often thousands of kilometres to be educated for most of the year in a residential school facility.

The example of this compulsion can be seen later in the decade when the government took an active interest in terminating the hub-spoke growth centre model and attempted to find ways to move Inuit from hunting camps and into settled communities (Cressman, 1968). The terms of reference for the committee established to this end (Anders, 1967) saw a subtle shift in overall Branch policy as well. Established policy up until this point insisted that Inuit were going to be assimilated for modern lives in the Arctic. Mr. Carter described the possibility of the government subsidizing the establishment of “a garment factory in Aklavik, a toy factory at Rankin Inlet and other factories at other northern settlements” that was intended to provide the jobs seen as essential to facilitating Inuit assimilation to modern industrial labouring norms (Jenness, 1962b, p. 5). By 1967, Branch policy had evolved with the understanding that the traditional Inuit way of life, by this they referred to mercantile and subsistence hunting that had been common for multiple generations since the 1920s, had been largely killed through competitive contact with capitalist productive and distributive practices. The change in position among policymakers was that the promise of subsidized, labour-intensive industries developing

in the Arctic had been dismissed, and the government was keener on removing those it saw as stragglers still making a living on the land (Anders, 1967).

School under this new policy regime had its purpose modified slightly as well. Due to the desire to increase cultural contact through minimal cost to the government, "The answer seems to lie in a limited number of growth centres – if possible not more than one per resource area." School then was important in facilitating the function of "training and re-distribution […] for the existing surplus labour force to either non-renewable resource based in the northern industries or into the southern Canadian labour market" (Anders, 1967, p. 3). Demonstrating their central role in the coercive function of being useful in the orderly termination of Inuit hunting camps, education facilities, including hostels for children in hunting camps, were of primary concern to the committee being struck to study the issue of terminating the settlement-hunting camp system in the North. The quality of educational facilities, and their suitability for expansion was an important consideration that would determine the merits of a potential growth centre (Anders, 1967, pp. 5-7). One of the communities targeted by this planning committee was Talurjuaq. The report of the study's findings provides a useful insight into how school was imagined in this later period.

In 1968 the Committee completed and published *Committee on the Future of Eskimo Hunting Camps: Report #1, Spence Bay Area* (Cressman, 1968). The report included the required descriptions of demographic data for Talurjuaq and its surrounding communities along with the available facilities in town. The school was described as "a three-room federal day school with two full-time teachers, one part-time teacher and a native assistant teaching six grades, but the children only attend on one half day shifts" (p. 1). The school facilities existing in Talurjuaq were then functionally inadequate, unable to support even the existing settled population in the

hamlet. Talurjuaq was the subject of the report because it already existed as the administrative hub for not only the hunting camps in the immediate area but also the surrounding settlements of Gjoa Haven and Kugaaruk (Pelly Bay) (Cressman, 1968). This was likely a consequence of Talurjuaq being situated between Gjoa Haven and Kugaaruk along any major sea lanes or overland routes that were used to service and/or move between the settlements. Considering the previous reported 60% of Inuit living in nearby Cambridge Bay in hunting camps in 1957 (Dewitt, 1957), by 1968, around Talurjuaq, a far less developed community than Cambridge Bay at this time, the numbers had functionally reversed. According to the Committee during the summer of 1967 only 303 people lived in the entire surrounding area. Of these, 70 lived in the hunting camps (Cressman, 1968, p. 2). Again, assuming these figures to be accurate, only 23% of people living in or near Talurjuaq at this time lived in hunting camps. So, because of the deliberate efforts to promote Inuit assimilation and settlement through increased cultural contact with Euro-Canadians the intervention of the federal government had functionally reversed the demographic distribution of Inuit in little over a decade and provided a functional escape from the Arctic through school in the transition to settled life.

Conclusion

The efficacy of educational escape hatches in preparing Inuit for these changing political economies to abandon the Arctic itself was a moving goalpost that shifted according to the willingness of government officials to subsidize industrialization in the Arctic. When the prospect of jobs was considered optimistic, Inuit were to be assimilated in place and provided the means to prepare themselves for industrial work locally. Under pessimistic ideas when the State was unwilling to subsidize jobs in the Arctic, policy advisers resorted to more elaborate and radical recommendations about the suitability of Northern settlement altogether. Educational

escape hatches are a typical component of the brain drain of rural, poor, remote, and other communities as education serves as the primary vector of socioeconomic and status mobility under the neoliberal State. This chapter establishes its historical precedent in the Arctic and describes its utility in colonial discourses within a Canadian Indigenous community.

Chapter 5: Credentialization and the illusion of meritocracy: Education, class stratification, and primitive accumulation in the Western and Central Arctic: 1955-1992

The chapter below emerged from a close reading of the RCAP hearing transcripts and their association with issues of education as a means of preserving hierarchies in the Arctic. This chapter relies on a definition of credentialization that both refers to the process where a body is determined to be the legitimate authority to grant a particular type of credential (e.g., a high school granting a diploma to qualified graduates), and the process whereby credentials increasingly become necessary as a minimum entry requirement to enter a field within the workforce (e.g., a high school diploma being required to enter an apprenticeship for a skilled trade). This dual function of credentialization played out for many of the Indigenous respondents to RCAP who experienced the transition from job training happening in the workplace itself (e.g., learning how to drive a front-end loader by driving it), towards an educational structure that imposed a series of barriers to entry (e.g., learning to drive a front-end loader through a series of written and practical tests that grant you a licence that certifies your ability to drive) that reinforced the unequal position of Indigenous people who sought greater material opportunity as the means of production changed the circumstances of their economic lives.

This chapter also conducts a comparative analysis that looked at how the non-Indigenous respondents to RCAP understood this credentialization as a benefit to Indigenous people. This section of the chapter argued that this perception manifested to simultaneously individualize failure by reference to educational attainment and collectivize it as a cultural failure of Inuit to promote the benefits of school adequately among themselves. Finally, the chapter considers the extent that this change in the relations of exploitation was an intentional consequence of educational planners earlier in the century. By referring to a text written by federal educational

officials in the 1960s, the origins of how school was situated in the humanitarian vision of colonial interference is referenced. This serves as an example of how these changes were understood to function deliberately in the transformation of Inuit into universal subjects who would eventually submit to the pedagogic authority of Southern educational systems, and how this submission was understood as being in the self-interest of Inuit. The chapter also only deals with the speakers' identities through two primary axes, education as a marker of class, and Indigeneity as a marker of their position in the racialized hierarchy of capitalist exploitation. The specific biographies of each respondent were not considered beyond what they shared during their testimonies.

Introduction

The historical association between the introduction of educational authority over the Arctic by the Canadian State and the imposition of colonial policies is well established. Often in the history of education these accounts are understood as limiting Inuit control over their educational futures (McGregor, 2010a). The evidence provided for this common analysis is derived from educational texts themselves, such as curriculum documents, laws, policies, or popular educational texts meant to paternalistically demean Inuit and convince them of the benefits to themselves from submitting to the norms of a modern Canadian State (McNicoll et al., 1999). Expanding on this association, this chapter will consider changes ongoing in the broader political-economic reasoning of an era where the colonial relationship between Inuit and the Canadian State shifted from direct formal colonization to a period where institutional control of pre-existing systems was divested onto local authorities. These changes are considered as providing the ideological rationale that influenced the documented changes in educational texts and the attitudes that informed them during the Cold War from 1955-1992. I argue that this

period marked the first organized attempt to establish a persistent class and status hierarchy between Inuit and Southerners based on gaps in educational attainment.

The theme of credentialization will be used in this chapter by referring to the way that education functioned to disenfranchise Inuit from the prosperity of a modernizing Arctic by providing the cover of legitimacy for colonial officials to naturalize their perceptions of Inuit inferiority. The testimony of elders and other community members given at public hearings conducted by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) will provide most of the primary source material for this chapter. These testimonies highlight a couple of themes that will be explored to demonstrate the function of rapid credentialization as a means of disenfranchising Inuit while advancing the establishment of a technocratic, primarily Southern elite in the Canadian Arctic. Namely that education's role was both formal and informal and its use as a means of certifying the efficacy of workers was used to normalize the disenfranchisement of Inuit from advancement within occupations involving waged labour. Demonstrating that this process was a deliberate part of educational policy during this period, the final section will consider a publication composed of commentary by Northern education officials published in 1965 (Thorsteinsson, 1965b).

The chapter's first two sections are geographically constrained. Each section will examine the testimonies provided at the Inuvik (RCAP, 1992b, 1992c) and Cambridge Bay (RCAP, 1992a) RCAP hearings, respectively. These hearings took place in 1992 and Inuit, First Nations, and some non-Indigenous residents shared their experiences of the changes in the political economy of the region over the previous four or five decades. That the commentary arose in the aftermath of many of the relevant changes also provides insight into the longer trajectory of educational policy and its persistence in impacting contemporary educational issues.

Inuvik and Cambridge Bay were chosen both because they are communities in regions not usually considered in educational histories of the Arctic, but they represent profound differences in the scope of the intrusion of educational and economic changes in relations of work among Inuit. Inuvik, for example, experienced an oil and gas boom in the 1970s and had been created in 1956 as an artificial community and educational centre to project government control throughout the region (RCAP, 1992b, 1992c). Cambridge Bay was less developed by the 1990s, so the nature of the commentary to RCAP reflects this underdevelopment when relating education and work. In either case, credentialization served as a naturalizing mechanism that legitimized the intrusion of helping professionals into the working lives of settled Inuit. Education was also often implicated in maintaining economic dependency of many Inuit on social welfare for their subsistence.

Oil Extraction and Education Centres: Labour exploitation in the Beaufort Delta

Inuvik was created as an artificial community because government engineers had determined that the older community of Aklavik in the region could no longer grow and would continue to face substantial risk of flooding. Elders at the RCAP hearings described Inuvik as a place that had no history to them. Victor Allen, for example, said that "[Inuvik] doesn't have a history like other places such as Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk, Fort McPherson or other places. It is a government town. [… Inuvik] doesn't have a history" (RCAP, 1992b, p. 11). History for Allen was understood as a generational relationship between a community and a place. He referred to this by considering his own grandchildren and their relationship to Inuvik when he said "To the young people [Inuvik] has history because it is the education centre that was created in the Northwest Territories. In the 1950s the administration came into the north and started putting people into communities and to educate their people, for the betterment of their lives really"

(p.11). The older communities that Allen referred to were founded separately from direct government intervention. Most were established as HBC outposts and built up with churches, schools, nursing, and RCMP stations as they grew. Aklavik was significant for Allen because it was able to persist despite the deliberate effort to depopulate the area and force residents to migrate to Inuvik in the 1960s. Allen described people from Aklavik as strong and persistent, growing their local population and forcing the government to reconsider its efforts to relocate the people eventually and come up with ways to support the population there (pp. 11-12).

Allen also provided a description of the role that locals played in establishing the workforce in the area and the ways that they experienced regular exploitation and alienation from work almost immediately after being relocated. The transition to wage labour in these early years happened by Inuit serving as labourers in construction trades. In the Arctic, this work was done seasonally with workers from Allen's generation being "continually told that you are only going to work for one more summer, you are only going to work for one more summer. We kept going along with it and we ended up staying in Inuvik for the last 40 or so years" (RCAP, 1992b, pp. 10-11). The promise of work being made only seasonally was not uncommon in certain building trades, but Allen described how the persistent threat of having your livelihood taken away year-after-year has been a common feature of the precarious work of his generation for nearly forty years. Initially they were hired as "helpers and operators" contracted out by Southern construction companies to work at their discretion (p. 12). This boom-and-bust cycle persisted through to the 1980s and accelerated with the discovery of oil in the region as well. Education was central to understanding the effects of this change in Inuvik's perceived permanence and the beginning of its history and was directly implicated in the disenfranchisement of Allen's generation of Indigenous people from the region.

On the question of history, the establishment of Inuvik as a regional education centre in 1959 (King, 2006) established its historical significance for the generation of Allen's children. From that time forward the local people had all been educated in Inuvik from Grades K-12, with people coming in from nearby and distant communities for education through the 1970s. He described this as "Inuvik […] really only came up on its own as an educational centre. All of our children are educated through the Inuvik system and they are all grown up and all married off and have families of their own. If they want to tell the history they could start off with: 'I was in kindergarten 40 years ago'" (RCAP, 1992b, pp. 12-13). Education gave the community a central purpose and implicated it in the policy of relocating Indigenous people where they could be better accessed, surveilled, and intruded upon by government officials. James Firth, Chief of the Inuvik Gwich'in Council in 1992, was explicit about this when he said "Also, the government found it easier to deliver services in centralized communities, rather than in the bush. At that time I am sure the government thought all native people would move to Inuvik where their needs could be taken care of by the government" (RCAP, 1992b, p. 37). The government, according to Firth, also relocated several people against their will. This was a policy that emerged from a paternalistic attitude that refused to acknowledge established bush economies that local people relied upon. Firth said about these forced migrations "The government officials did not recognize that native people lived in the bush with an established economy and lifestyle. However, the traditional lifestyle and economy is hard work and the attractions of employment, free housing, free education, welfare and alcohol brought many of the people into this community" (RCAP, 1992b, p. 37). As a projection of hegemonic power, the Canadian State intruded into the lives of people and convinced them through active disregard and implicit economic coercion to eventually consent to the relocations. Education primarily functioned in the consensual aspect of

this hegemonic power by this point according to Firth, with Indigenous people coming in from the land "because parents at that time recognized that their traditional world was changing and that children should be prepared for these changes" (p. 38). The need to accept the changes and modernize came not entirely from State intervention it should be noted. Both oil and gas exploitation, that will be discussed subsequently, and a collapse in the fur trade by the 1960s (Damas, 2002) had radically transformed the political economy of Inuvik in the decades prior to the RCAP hearings.

As Firth indicated in his remarks, many experienced the exchange being made on their account as being conditional upon access to work, education, and social welfare. In the case of Inuvik, this work emerged in earnest with exploration and exploitation of fossil fuels in the region. Dick Hill, who served as moderator of both days of hearings and was a non-Indigenous inhabitant of Inuvik since 1963, referred to the effect of the oil boom on the community and the educational development there. The historical oil boom in Inuvik that these men referred to took place from roughly 1969-1984, according to Allen (RCAP, 1992b), but Hill refers to it as having discredited the principal role of education in workplace success for some. Hill commented that

> because this community is one of the furthest away from Ottawa and in the shadow of Indian Affairs, by virtue of being less affected by the Indian Affairs dogma of yesteryear, people here to me have had much more fluidity or dependency and an illustration would be when the oil patch came through here, the boom that John referred to, we had as many as 1,000 people from this area working in the oil patch. People very readily took to the employment, enjoyed the high wages and are now suffering a fair amount by not having that opportunity (RCAP, 1992c, pp. 7-8).

Hill's comments betray a perception that being further removed from the colonial authority had postponed and modified the nature of colonial intrusion in Inuvik. Although this postponement did affect the extent that overt violence was justified under colonial policy, Inuvik was not exempt from these influences and was home to a residential school, for example. Although the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was distinct from Indian Affairs, in

educational terms this distinction was historically contingent and based on the neglect of Northern matters until the decade of the 1940s, and in some instances this remoteness served as cover for atrocity as opposed to protection from it (Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2015). Hill's comments also betrayed a sense about the naturalizing way that education had come to be understood as the primary, legitimate means of socioeconomic mobility by the 1990s. The oil boom was described as an unusual historical contingency in the ease of attaining work. Education was sustainable in that sense and provided a more reliable means of the same upward mobility.

Hill made this connection more explicit later in his commentary when he referred to the experiences of John Holman and Grace Blake, the Indigenous Commissioners of the Day at the hearing, who he described in terms of their educational success justifying their prominence in the community. Educational development was understood in terms of oil and gas infrastructure, requiring time for a pipeline to fill and for the oil and gas to flow freely. Hill said,

> […] speak with John and Grace on this, in that they were kind of the first people that had the opportunity for a full education system. In energy terms we say the educational pipeline has only been filled up recently, that a lot of people would be married by the time they were ready for -- having Grade 8, they would be married and with family responsibilities and we're on to another era.
>
> Now you have many more people in the secondary school and many more people into post-secondary, like Grace going down for training in Edmonton (RCAP, 1992c, pp. 8-9).

This passage was expressed in a series of comments where Hill shared his optimism for the future of the community. He was seeing more and more local people being hired into positions of authority and imagined that local Indigenous people would be included as well as they underwent more formal schooling. This experience of education and its association with work was implicit in this passage too. There was no finite limit on how much schooling could be considered reasonable, only that people would become more likely to be gainfully employed and become legitimate authorities in the community because of school. Although not expressed in

explicitly pragmatic terms, it betrays a kind of taken for granted assumption about the purpose of school in structuring status-based distinctions between the employable and unemployable, naturalizing the experience of being unable to sustainably find work due to educational attainment. This could be remedied of course, like Holman and Blake had shown, because any individual willing to submit to further educational attainment could improve their likelihood for gainful employment throughout the entire life cycle. Blake, for example, waited until being older before securing the proper credentials to be granted some degree of professional recognition and authority in her community.

Hill's Indigenous contemporaries expressed concerns about the natural order of status bestowed by the education system from the perspective of people who had to deal with its inadequacies in situ. To continue with this account, later in this same day, Commissioner Blake offered her own commentary about the lack of Indigenous participation in local councils and boards that had some degree of oversight over public institutions (e.g., the hospital and the school). To her it was a matter of power and institutional misrecognition that motivated most Indigenous leaders to stay away. She said "So that would mean rather than advisory roles, the native people have to have authority to change, power to change things. We have been given advisory roles before and they have never really done very much. Sometime I look at it as a token thing, just a band-aid solution. The answer is authority and power to change I think, and money to go with it" (RCAP, 1992c, p. 85). Coming from a person ideally positioned in the community to affect change, according to Hill, it speaks to the way that these oversight bodies often served as a means of discouraging more radical change within communities. The woman that Commissioner Blake was addressing in this instance was Pauline Gordon, the vice-principal of the local school and an Inuit woman. Gordon's comments described how school was in many

ways contrary to her cultural beliefs and practices and posed unique challenges to her as she occupied a managerial role overseeing her elders (RCAP, 1992c, p. 82). This association between school and status was implicated directly in this tension. As Hill and others commented, it was more likely the younger generations who would be seeking higher levels of education that would cause them to be challenged by these kinds of contradictions between their cultural and employment obligations.

Within the context of the history of school and its role in disenfranchising Inuit from the benefits of oil and gas exploitation in the region, Allen offered a salient commentary about how he experienced the arrival of Southern professionals during that period from the 1960s-1980s. Allen had arrived in Inuvik from the nearby Aklavik soon after the place had been settled. Above Allen described the precarity of construction trades in this early period and being promised nothing from the companies contracted to build the Northern infrastructure year-after-year. Interestingly, his concern about his experiences of precarity was only marginally directed at the construction companies themselves. Instead of concerns about his employers, education and its associated professionals functioned to steal the time of Inuit labourers. Increasingly jobs that had been done for years without any formal training (e.g., driving trucks or operating heavy equipment) now required licensing to certify Allen's coworkers' ability to conduct their work. Allen described how "education came along and we had to re-educate ourselves to get a piece of paper called a licence to do the same kind of job that we've done and they take three months off our life, which was quite frustrating at times really, because lots of them went through that process. They made it kind of hard" (RCAP, 1992b, p. 28). In this instance, Allen was referring to his own work history in terms of education intruding in his relation to wage labour. In this accounting it was not clear exactly the period he was referring to. Whether this comment referred

to the earlier infrastructural and construction work that his generation participated in on the DEW Line and building Inuvik itself, or if this referred to time spent working in the oilfields is not clear. In either case, Allen did not experience education as a kind of natural measure of his merit as a worker, but as an intrusion that stole three months of his life at a time and took him away from the work that would have provided natural training on the job.

In a similar context as Commissioner Blake, Jimmy Omilgoituk referred to his own work history starting out with only a Grade 8 education and a reasonable expectation that he could find a job. Education served as an arbitrary and unnatural barrier to subsistence and familial welfare in the system enforced at the expense of their bush economies. Omilgoituk said about his educational history, "Like yourself, I went to school until I was in Grade 8. I quite [quit] at Grade 8. At that time Grade 8 was a good education and you could get any kind of a job. Like I said, I loved the land. I loved my land so much that I went out and worked and part of my time was spent out on the land." This education proved insufficient over time, and he returned to the Arctic College. Of his experience of this progression, he said

> If I could put myself in your shoes, when I was going to school here at Arctic College, I had the same problem. I got so frustrated that at times I wanted to quit. I asked myself: What am I doing here? How come when they tell you to get educated then they put everything in your way, they throw everything at you?
>
> When you finally get over one barrier, you get into another one. It seems like every time you get over one there's another one. If you get over that one they go right back to the same one. It gets so frustrating after awhile (RCAP, 1992b, p. 79).

In these passages Omilgoituk referred to the arbitrary and dehumanizing experience of school. He had come to rely on his work to finance his continued activities on the land, but over time he was unable to support these activities with his Grade 8 education. He returned to college, presumably as a mature student, and experienced a sense that this only created new barriers but came with no guarantee of future employment. This interpretation was alluded to by the nature of Omilgoituk's experience of school as this never-ending credential accumulation game where

barriers were erected within school itself that make it challenging. Also, in the labour market dynamics Omilgoituk experienced this frustrating quality of chasing credentials that he perceived was motivated by both a change in the nature and availability of work for his generation. This was also seen as an external pressure to him as it was an indeterminate “they” who told Omilgoituk to pursue higher education in the first place, as opposed to a self-actualizing enterprise.

This experience of education as a means of disenfranchisement was marked by two substantial changes in the political economy of Inuvik based on the timing of these testimonies. A first generation (e.g., Allen’s cohort) experienced little formal education but were relied upon to build the town from a small tent community in 1956 to a place to project colonial and administrative power throughout the region. These people would transition to working on the oilfields once that boom arrived and created a second round of political economic changes in the community. During this second round of economic change the generation of Blake and Omilgoituk had limited education but could reliably find work without it for a time. Eight years later, after the oil and gas boom ended in 1984, Inuit were left with professional or menial work, and collecting social welfare as their only means of subsistence. This conformed to an established hierarchy of status for workers imported from Southern helper professionals, like Hill. This group naturalized education as a means of justifying their own professional merit, while also seemingly naturalizing why Indigenous people in Inuvik struggled with the changing boom and bust cycles of community development and oil and gas exploitation. The following section examines the testimonies of respondents in Cambridge Bay demonstrating ways that similar patterns of exploitation followed by alienation were described.

Outposts and Infrastructure: Education, Inuit, and work in Cambridge Bay

Unlike Inuvik, which Allen and others described as being entirely fabricated at the discretion of the Canadian Government, Cambridge Bay established itself slowly with exploration of the region by Europeans happening in the nineteenth century and permanently settled by the HBC, missions, and RCMP in the 1920s. It was not until the late 1950s that Inuit began permanently settling in Cambridge Bay though. They settled in the area responding to the availability of work and the expansion of government infrastructure beginning around 1957 with the construction of the DEW Line installation on Victoria Island (RCAP, 1992a, pp. 10-13). This account is taken from a description of the history of Cambridge Bay provided by James Kavana, an Inuit elder who had lived in the surrounding area around Cambridge Bay since the 1930s. Kavana spent much of his testimony to RCAP conveying accounts given to him of the community's history as both a settler outpost, but also a key part of the traditional Inuit economy because it was a good site for seasonal fishing. The history of settlement within the community though corresponded to the timeline of expanded investment in terms of asserting sovereignty militarily over the Arctic while simultaneously intruding with the force of paternalistic humanitarianism that was a defining characteristic of colonial policy during the 1950s and 1960s.

One feature of accounts of the organized intrusion of the Canadian State into the lives of Inuit in Cambridge Bay was couched in a language of failure to fulfill its promise of providing upward mobility through formal education. In the Inuvik case, many of the respondents observed a change where education became naturalized in the community and both Indigenous and non-Indigenous commenters referred to this in optimistic terms related to the future for the community. Interestingly, a consultant working for a Cambridge Bay construction and retail services company named Terry Hawkins described the educational failures of local Inuit as contributing explicitly to the poorer employability of Inuit. Not exclusive to formal education

either, Hawkins suggests that Inuit residents of Cambridge Bay had not yet been socialized to capitalist exploitation that he understood as a failure to regularly arrive on-time, or at all to work that he attributed to widespread alcoholism and other individual moral failings (RCAP, 1992a). Speaking in these terms of moral failing and blaming the community for the economic insecurity of locals caused by hiring contract labourers from the South, Hawkins said "We would greatly enjoy it if we could get the people from the community. It would be far cheaper for us to do that rather than to fly people up from down south, but we are not able to do that" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 108). The justifying ideology of this comment was based on assumptions about the commodification of labour time and how Inuit could participate in their own commodification if they would only agree to the terms of the new organization of their working lives.

Hawkins also used education as a convenient means to simultaneously collectivize what he saw as individual moral failings among local Inuit. He spoke about how in a previous year the company had tried to staff the hotel with as many locals as possible but, "we interviewed 18 people for a waitressing position. Two of them could add and only one of them could sign their name." It was noted that these were not elders who applied for this job, "all of these people that we interviewed were under 25 years of age" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 114). The implication of these statements was that by failing to apply themselves at school and adjust to the changes in the necessary prerequisites for work, the Inuit in the community had failed to acquire even the basic skills expected for menial service-type jobs. This was constructed as a failure of the community at large, namely that they were failing to encourage educational attainment and participation. He went on to make his point abundantly clear when he said,

> We feel that education is extremely important here, particularly secondary education. Cambridge Bay is a fairly small community and there really is only a set number of jobs. There are only so many people the Hamlet can hire, only so many people that GNWT [Government of the Northwest Territories] or the federal

> government can hire and only so many people that small businesses can hire. We have a very large young population and then they become older, there are not going to be the jobs for them here.
>
> Education is the only way for them to get out of the community. Without that, they have no opportunities in other parts of the territories or down south in the provinces (RCAP, 1992a, pp. 114-115).

Educational attainment was important for the operations of the businesses Hawkins represented, but he was also insistent that it should be understood in competitive terms both within Cambridge Bay and outside. Here Hawkins was speculating about the perceived future for the local population in Cambridge Bay. The company Hawkins represented, by his own admission, contributed regularly to this lack of available jobs by hiring outside contractors from the South. This was justifiable because the community and its members had not adequately prepared themselves socially for the conditions of regular and contract work available in town, thus naturalizing their exclusion from gainful employment, resulting in many Inuit being marked as unemployable.

Another case of how the imposition of this individualistic logic of capitalist exploitation was experienced by Inuit in credentialized terms was shared by Jimmy Ayalik, an Inuk community member who raised his hand to address the Commission. Ayalik's experiences are particularly challenging, he admitted to the Commission that he was on welfare because of his inability to find work. This was a consequence both of his lack of education and prior criminal convictions. Ayalik came into town in the 1950s; before this he had been raised on the land with his father, and in that setting his father provided for him the skills and knowledge required to build a good life on the land (RCAP, 1992a). The changes over the course of his life came not from his ability to work, but from a failure of the changing society to recognize his abilities and willingness to work. He said to this effect "I can't work because -- I can work, but I can work janitor work. I don't know how to drive truck, car. I could drive a skidoo. I could drive (inaudible). I can hunt. (inaudible) I used to look after the meat plant. Maybe I am (inaudible)"

(RCAP, 1992a, p. 48). Elaborating on his relationship to welfare as a condition imposed on Ayalik, he said “I don't have a chance. I don't have any other choice to get the welfare because the reason why I get it, I don't have any work. (inaudible)” (p. 49). Coming into town in the 1950s, Ayalik was treated by the educational establishment as an unfortunate casualty of what government policymakers referred to as aimless teenagers caught in a process of ultimately desirable, collective cultural evolution in the assimilation of Inuit (Cressman, 1968). Inuit expressed this policy failing as a personal lack of educational attainment, but this was also understood through the lens of intercultural superiority expressed by teachers (McLean, 2016a).

The history of education contributed to these persistent concerns raised by Hawkins and experienced by Ayalik in that, until recently, there was no high school programming in the entire region around Cambridge Bay. Beginning in the 1992-1993 school year the local school in Cambridge Bay was expanded to include up until Grade 10 (RCAP, 1992a). A feature of the educational history of this entire region had been neglect and experimentation. In 1955, for example, the federal government had partnered with the Anglican Church to begin a tent hostel in Coppermine (Kugluktuk). This tent hostel was used to house children from further away communities in a manner that they could “‘retain as much of their native life as is possible and as is moreover desirable’” (TRC, 2015, p. 152). The school operated in these earlier experimental years in a manner that they could be closed to provide students relief to join their parents at their winter camps, but the project was closed “in 1959[, which] coincided with the opening of the large Anglican-run hostel in Inuvik” (TRC, 2015, p. 152). The next round of experimentation arrived in the early 1960s with the development of “small hostels” which provided housing for children within settled communities nearby their parents during the school year. These housed children in a permanent hostel overseen by an Inuit community member while their parents were

able to service traplines or hunt for their subsistence (King, 2006). The characterization of this second round of educational experiments with small hostels as permanent was referred to by RCAP respondents as well. This intrusion was deliberate and concretized the developing political economy in the region.

Returning to the accounts of their own education, elders referred often to the inconsistent and irregular educational activity in the region and how conditions changed for their children. The Commissioner of the Day, John Maksagak, shared his experience of having gone to school in 1934 or 1935. He was part of the generation of Northern residential school survivors who was dislocated from his family for years at a time, having to rely on mission or HBC trading boats to move people between communities. He described the effect of having lost his language and upon returning from school he said that “Sometimes I cried because I couldn't talk to my mom. I couldn't make her to understand what I was trying to do and I had to relearn my language.” He then added that this was only the beginning for his generation of the incoming changes, saying “In those years, changes began to come, changes that would make settlements like Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, Holman Island” (RCAP, 1992a, p. 20). The changes he described are primarily social in nature but are linked to the political economy of the region as well. When Maksagak returned from school, presumably around 1940, there was no illusion of a wage-labouring economy where he was expected to find work. Instead, he was able to return to a kind of traditional life of “reindeer herding” and be able to relearn his mother’s language over time (RCAP, 1992a, p. 20). His life story though overlapped with the significant changes that came with permanent settlement for Inuit beginning in the late 1950s and through the 1960s. Maksagak refers to changes in community life and the deleterious effects of alcohol in the community.

Upon his return to the permanently settled Cambridge Bay in 1961 the population was still relatively small, only 400-500 people, but significant social changes were underway with the widespread consumption of alcohol. He described this intrusion historically with reference to his own life story when he said:

> In the years before I went to school, there was no alcohol. People lived happily. They played games. They went together at Christmas and had games. At Easter time, they came together and had games. Now, these years, we are fighting alcohol. Alcohol came in and a lot of people died of alcohol in the years that we have been here since 1961. Probably, I could count as many as 50 people, 50 to 60 people dying of alcohol, freezing because of alcohol.
>
> I think some of us realized that this is not right for us. We would like to change that because alcohol is a very, very bad thing that came into the North, and we would like to change that very much (RCAP, 1992a, p. 21).

The passage above referred to time and social changes without mentioning the effect of school explicitly. Interpreting this passage in the context of the kinds of changes that Maksagak personally experienced, alcohol seems to serve as both an object of disgust and dissatisfaction, but also a metaphor for settled life more broadly. The contrast between the time when he went to school, in the 1930s, with social practices emerging in the 1960s illustrate this point. Note that Maksagak refers to having followed Christian holidays and he associated these with healthy communal life when people came together to play games. The period of Maksagak's early life was not free from outside contact with missions or Southerners in general. What changed then seems to be the making of settlements referred to in the above passage. When he returned after five years away from home, at a residential school in Shingle Point, he returned to his family and, although he struggled, he was able to return to his family's social and economic life for a time. Maksagak did not say why he came in from the land in 1961, only that he did and has lived in or near the community ever since. School was an unstated component of this experience of social upheaval Maksagak described, but similarly it had been naturalized as necessary to achieve economic sustainability. Other commenters also refer to the deleterious effects that these

changes wrought in the community through the lens of their persistent effects at the time of the hearing.

Also speaking in historic terms was Charlie Evalik, an economic development consultant for the GNWT seconded to work with the Cambridge Bay Hamlet Council. [11] Evalik's introduction to the RCAP hearing by the facilitator described him as a long time resident and advocate for the local people, having worked for the Hamlet Council directly before being promoted to the GNWT. Interestingly, in his brief biographic notes the facilitator referred to Evalik as having "gone through the educational system through the high school system in Yellowknife [sic.]" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 65). This detail provides a great deal of context to when Evalik attended school and how his life differs from that of Maksagak. Akaitcho Hall did not open in Yellowknife until 1958 as a large hostel to provide housing for Inuit children attending the city's schools, primarily Sir John Franklin High School for much of the Hall's history. By the mid-early 1960s Cambridge Bay would have a day school for primary grades and accompanying small hostel (King, 2006). Evalik therefore went to school during the period of interest to this chapter and his attitudes relating to the consequences of his experiences are illustrative of this normalizing quality of school as a capitalist intrusion in the North.

Evalik's contributions are examined in detail here as he represented a local person who could be chosen to speak for his generation, the ones who experienced the transition to settled life as a natural course during their own childhoods. He spoke to the Commission as a person with insight to the economic needs of the local people too, as a local person who he described as

[11] Evalik's role as economic development consultant should be noted as well. It was not the case that these ideological divides fell along strictly ethnic lines. School played an essential role in legitimating Inuit to speak to government officials and helping professionals as recognisable spokespeople as part of the process of promoting guided self-determination throughout the North. See Tester and Kulchyski, 1994, pp. 306-307.

being able to adapt to the changes that came from the intrusion of the totalizing instincts of the capitalist State. The historical account provided by Evalik broadly corresponds to the academic histories, starting with military installations and transforming into a policy of settling Inuit from the land and into hamlets. This change came "In the mid-fifties, when the DEW Line first started, the Inuit of this region began to centralize to localities such as Cambridge Bay, to localities that are easily accessible to the needs of the outside world" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 66). These changes for the benefit of access from the outside world were recognized by Evalik to have caused a great deal of confusion and stress for Inuit. Their ability to adapt was consistently referred to as the marker of difference in terms of being able to succeed or not under the changing circumstances.

Previously, Maksagak and Ayalik had spoken about how they were able to act autonomously and care for one's own family with the available resources to be found on the land, but these were replaced by "tak[ing] advantage of the benefits that may or may not come with [settled living]." These benefits are not listed in full, but Evalik referred to "health care, school systems, et cetera" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 67). The response by Inuit, according to Evalik, should be understood along adaptive lines. In his estimation, the disruption of the new system needed to be acknowledged but individual failings to succeed within the system demonstrate an unwillingness or inability to adapt and "to take advantage of these benefits, as I believe many did not take advantage to really adapt to these changes. There are those that become too dependent and have become weak by the changes of time" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 67). It was this function of school that provided an illusion of meritocracy and the perceived resources for upward mobility within a fundamentally unjust system.

For any given individual, this failure to adapt may be a significant contributing factor to their individual lack of success. But Evalik does not speak in individual terms exclusively. He was concerned that the history of Nunavut, and the aspiration for Inuit self-determination may be compromized by "the centralization of the Inuit [that] created a great dependency on the governments, be it welfare, health care, housing, et cetera" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 70). This passage closed Evalik's discussion of the historical issues facing the community of Cambridge Bay. This dependency was described in collective terms as being faced by "the Inuit". Elsewhere Evalik referred to the position of Inuit optimistically due to the settlement of the Nunavut Land Claim. He said, "the recent ratification of the Land Claims Agreement may go towards solving the economic problems of the Inuit" but he hedged this optimism by referring to the individual nature of the avenues that a person could find success in the new system when he said "we must remember that it will not solve all the problems on an individual basis." The Land Claim was "a tool and not […] a solution to all the problems facing us, as Inuit, today" (RCAP, 1992a, p, 72). The individual became solely responsible for his or her own success through the introduction of school and its accompanying political economy. Evalik referred to this as a deliberate government policy, and this will be demonstrated further in the following section, but, regardless, it needed to be understood and adapted to. This was the limit of resistance available in the context of the RCAP hearings anyway.

Speaking to the emancipatory potential available to individual Inuit through school, Evalik addressed the matter head-on and in terms of changes in the necessary credentials for even entry-level work. In a long passage about the role of education and the responsibility of each Inuk to fulfill the potential of the education offered to them, he spoke in terms of his own experiences as one who benefitted from "this education and the discipline that is required for the

ever-changing world." But he does not attribute this discipline to school in full and argued instead that "I believe that it is the family that really taught us the discipline and not become too dependent on the system but adapt to it so I may take advantage of the good parts or the benefits that are acceptable to our way of living" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 68). The changing nature of this world alluded to here was addressed to the persistent changes that extend the logic of progressive education into the domain of the professions as well. A fulfillment of this progressive vision of cultural evolution that was explicitly outlined in the educational policy of the period. Evalik was aware that the next stage in the adaptation that Inuit needed to make was to accelerate their educational attainment to become "good managers, lawyers, doctors, et cetera. These are the jobs that should be filled by the Inuit who are educated and could contribute to the society today" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 69). Evalik was probably correct about the prospects for young Inuit in the context of the ever-changing world as he diagnosed it. His use of a collective noun in this case referred to how the standing of Inuit was understood as competition in a deliberately rigged system though.

Imposing a State of Inferiority: Education in the 1960s naturalizing stratification in the North

The rigging of the system was a legacy of a process engaged in through educational policy enactments and ideological dispositions of policymakers who oversaw and informed these changes dating back to the 1950s and 1960s. Thankfully, educational officials working locally in the Northwest Territories and from central offices in Ottawa published their assessments of their contemporary situation in 1965. This included substantial descriptions of how these officials understood the vision of the educational future for Inuit, on their behalf. *Education North of 60* was a collection published by the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and

Inspectors in 1965 where they produced a special issue authored by officials in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (Thorsteinsson, 1965b). By the time the report was written, the department was undergoing a thirteen-year project to plan and implement "a modern, integrated educational system in Northern Canada by 1968" of which the report described the changes underway to finalize this process that began in 1955 (Simpson, 1965, p. 22).

The official who wrote this chapter was D. W. Simpson, section head of school services. The vision of educational reform towards a modernized comprehensive system of universal education had been drafted as a response to Inuit "urbanization" that had rendered unsustainable typical projections of population and other demographic data commonly used for school planning. The pace of educational intervention had then accelerated based on a paternalistic reaction to conditions that "will not allow for hesitant action" (Simpson, 1965, p. 23). This trend towards the perceived abolition of Inuit lifestyles and their replacement by modern social welfare services were complementary to a rapid expansion of educational reform with the aim of universal access. The paternalism of the colonial attitudes demonstrated by these officials informed regular references to humanitarianism as their primary motivation. Education reformers saw themselves as representing Inuit self-interest and responding to poor conditions that required swift and decisive intervention.

For example, Simpson addressed the perceived necessity of residential schools in the North. School could only be provided through residential programs due to the sparse populations and their nomadic lifestyles. This posed a challenge for schools that needed to be built in easily accessible locations to resupply and address other logistical concerns. The nomadism of Inuit was seen to be changing greatly due to the urbanization described above, but

> Even where settlements were large enough to establish small schools, children often attended irregularly because their parents withdrew them from school for hunting, trapping, fishing, and sealing expeditions. Such irregular attendance by pupils, as well as their meagre language development, resulted in slow educational progress and an extremely high rate of age-grade retardation. Schools in such locations were also always in danger of abandonment due to depletion of game resources in the immediate area. These conditions gave rise to the need for establishing pupil residences adjacent to schools so that children could enjoy a continuous educational experience and could develop their English through practice out of school as well as during school hours (Simpson, 1965, p. 25).

Importantly, progress in this passage was directed unilaterally towards the replacement of Inuit norms, customs, language, and the mercantile and subsistence hunting that became customary by this time with an imprecise modernity. Keeping children in residences, away from their parents, meant that they could be transformed into a modern subject and participate in the broader Canadian political economy. A necessary component of which was to impart the required skills for this transition, primary of these was exposure to and education in English.

Simpson's contribution to *Education North of 60* was important to understand how education policymakers understood their contemporary circumstance, and the past that necessitated their decisions. G.H. Needham, a former regional superintendent of schools in the Inuvik region,[12] provides a brief description of a representative case of Inuit experiences at school by 1964. The illustrative example was written with reference to this primary concern regarding the challenges faced when providing universal education among Northern Indigenous people. Padluk, alternately called Billy elsewhere, arrived in school at the age of nine, left by the age of fifteen, and had only accomplished Grade 5 by the time he abandoned his education (Needham, 1965). Needham used Padluk's situation to inform his elaboration into the necessity of changes to the social and economic lives of Inuit, and their parents, to make universal education attainable. Illustrating his point, Needham referred to the Grade 12 class in Inuvik for the school year of 1963-64 composing of only one quarter Indigenous students whereas "Indians,

[12] This job title of Needham's likely indicates at least some direct experience in the North, unlike Simpson.

Eskimos and Métis [sic.] made up about six-sevenths of the entire school population" (Needham, 1965, p. 86). Returning to Padluk, the causes of his failures were attributed to his parents' actions, taking him from school to help on the family trapline for a year or longer and starting Padluk in school at a date that was not ideal. Needham was optimistic that some combination of availability of school and taking children away from their parents at an earlier age to residential facilities meant that Grade 12 completion rates "will grow at an accelerated rate because more children in recent years have been able to begin school at the normal age. Because of this and because of the desire of the children in the larger schools to continue their education, the number of pupils in the upper grades is growing rapidly" (Needham, 1965, p. 86). These rates of participation were seen as a natural consequence of the changing North and speak to the way that education naturalized a progressive model of transformation of Inuit to suit the needs of a changing model of intervention in their affairs.

Finally, B. Thorsteinsson, Superintendent of Education of the Northwest Territories and Chief of the Education Division in the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, provided his own contribution to the report that speculated on the future of Northern education from his vantage point. Thorsteinsson most clearly betrays the type of liberal colonialism that informed Northern education policy through the mid-1950s and 1960s. Firstly, he opened his contribution by demeaning the opposition to this period of rapid intervention when he wrote "This plea, however often and sympathetically it is made, is inconsistent with the events taking place in the developing countries in different parts of the world. It is lost on the pupils. It contradicts the aspirations of parents who not only wish to send their children to school, but willingly wave them farewell as they board a plane and are wafted many miles from home to stay months on end in a well-managed residence adjacent to a school" (Thorsteinsson, 1965a, p.

104). This comparison to the humanitarian mission of Inuit settlement and education with decolonizing efforts going on overseas betrays a totalizing instinct of this colonial policy. Thorsteinsson relies on a couple of tropes about Indigenous life popular during this period. The first was that people living a predominantly Indigenous lifestyle suffered from poverty and misery, and that they were all children who sought to be cared for by a benevolent State. Secondly, he relies on the trope of a foreign population, within Canadian boundaries, needing an organized civilizing mission to secure their participation in the broader Canadian political economy. Relating these decisions to foreign aid was illustrative of a common notion that Inuit themselves were demanding to be assimilated based on this poverty and wished to be lifted from it. It also positioned Inuit as foreigners living within the Canadian State to be transformed into a universal Canadian subject. As a brief aside, this belief has been established in the context of relocations of Inuit during the period of the 1940s through to the 1960s. The poverty as it was understood often came because of government and Hudson's Bay Company interference, moving Inuit from their traditional lands and away from their traditional bush economies (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994).

The courage of his convictions that Thorsteinsson expressed above was informed by a period of rapid decolonization that was underway elsewhere in the world at this time. Like elsewhere, the decolonizing rhetoric of the former colonizers was contingent on the perception about whether the elites of the colonized people were suitable to govern themselves. Education was very commonly a central pillar of this perception. Thorsteinsson wrote that "a new day is dawning and new attitudes are developing. At no time in all history have so many people in every corner of the world known such enthusiasm for learning. The dominant characteristic of the current global revolution in self-determination rests not only in the souls of ambitious leaders

but is shared universally in the minds of men everywhere, and is revealed in their desires to achieve their own betterment by becoming partners with others in knowledge" (Thorsteinsson, 1965a, p. 105). The universality of this claim and the shared belief that these changes were to the betterment of all men reflected the common paternalistic vision that policymakers required to inform their certainty about the benevolence of their actions. Undeterred by a realization that his own department was participating in the transformations that made these interventions necessary reflects the way that education can reify what is perceived as an evolutionary process. This has both explicitly and implicitly denigrated other cultures and people by establishing a hierarchy that privileges certain sanctioned forms of knowledge.

Above in the discussion of Evalik's testimony, it was demonstrated how the consequence of this naturalization pervaded the way that Inuit self-construct their own relationship to formal education. It was the case that under the terms of a changing landscape of political economy, Inuit have been forced to adapt and will continue to do so. The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate how education participates in creating these hierarchies and legitimizes the actions of helper professionals (e.g., teachers) intervening in the best interests of their othered subject. In the context of Canadian State interventions in the Arctic the effect has been to naturalize economic deprivation as a lack of self-motivation and individual educational attainment. Others have shown that this naturalization can have devastating cultural effects as well, denigrating an entire culture by projecting these individual failures as a lack of cultural progress or modernization in the Northern context (see McGregor, 2010b; McLean, 2016, 2017a; Rasmussen, 2001, 2011a, 2011b). This chapter is intended to be situated as a contribution to this body of literature that has demonstrated that Inuit were perceptive of these effects and have internalized many of them, and that this was likely a deliberate consequence of educational

violence symbolically inflicted on Indigenous people in relation to their colonial oppressors that pervaded the earliest stages of organized educational interventions in the Arctic.

Chapter 6: Guided Self-Determination and the Continuity of the Colonial Period in Inuit Education: Exploring regional inequities in the development of autonomous school boards in the Arctic, 1977-1999

Emerging after reviewing the testimonies from Cambridge Bay to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), the analysis conducted here is an investigation into how the existing histories of education treated regional access to school as an unacknowledged component of their progressive, liberal histories of education (Darnell & Hoëm, 1996; J. King, 1998; McGregor, 2010a). The absence of a full K-12 education system across the Kitikmeot region until 1998 is argued as a structural basis for differences in political action that was possible in neighbouring regions, namely the Beaufort Delta and Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) regions. The period chosen for this analysis was made specifically because this time is often referred to as when decolonization became an attainable matter in Inuit politics (McGregor, 2010c) and it marks the conclusion of two large land claim settlements by Inuit (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009; Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993).

The archival sources that inform this chapter were gathered from the NWT's legal library, their archives, and a return to the RCAP sources found in the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation Archives. This time the chapter includes the testimony from Iqaluit as well. Additional source material was referred to from the various Inuit settlement organizations. The argument that arose from reading these sources was the degree that this experience of decolonization described in many of the histories of education occurred unevenly due to the different levels of development across regions. The specific histories of schools in each region are again summarized here, but the goal of this summary is to advance the argument that uneven development created significant differences in the degree of educational activism. This suggests

that the limited analysis offered by progressive histories misses the extent that the local material conditions created unique opportunities and challenges across three neighbouring regions of Inuit Nunangat.

Introduction

In 1977 the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) passed a new *Education Ordinance* (1977) that replaced the one previously enacted in 1974. This change was enacted because of a political change in the NWT "resulting from the formation of the first representative legislative assembly in 1975" (J. King, 1998, p. 82). The importance of education to this newly representative body is demonstrated by this being an early piece of legislation enacted during their legislative session. It would be returned to quickly and amended in 1983 (Northwest Territories Council, 1983) because of agitation by Inuit, in part, who sought greater regional autonomy through the creation of divisional school boards throughout the Arctic region of the NWT (J. King, 1998). This history has been told previously in a chapter by McGregor (2010b) that examines closely the historical development of Inuit involvement in educational decolonization in the Baffin (Qiqiktaaluk) region during the period from 1984-1999.

The focus on the Baffin region is common in the literature that explores the political development of these boards of education as contributing to the decolonization of the Arctic region (Darnell & Hoëm, 1996; McGregor, 2010a, 2012b). This chapter will argue that this apparent decolonization is a consequence of the uneven political development of the Baffin region in comparison with other regions, and structural differences that made local control over education more accessible. As J. King (1998) wrote, "The Baffin Regional Education Society made a significant contribution to the legislation of 1983, and applied for Divisional Board Status [sic.] as soon as the legislation was passed" (p. 100) and they gained full recognition as a

divisional board of education in 1985. This chapter examines the unequal development of boards of education in the Arctic by looking at the development of the Kitikmeot Divisional Board of Education from the perspective of its leadership in the 1990s. The Baffin Divisional Board of Education is often chosen deliberately because "schooling under the BDBE [Baffin Divisional Board of Education] administration best identified, reintroduced, and practised aspects of Inuit education" (McGregor, 2010a, p. 116).

McGregor (2015b) refers to this problem of regional differences in the historical development of education among Inuit being under-researched in the literature. By considering the structural and political implications of the divestment model adopted during the last years of the old NWT, this chapter will consider political agitation at this time within the framework of examining the extension of policies adopted by the federal government in the 1960s, characterized as "guided self-determination" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 306). This chapter uses transcripts of hearings in Cambridge Bay, Inuvik, and Iqaluit during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1992 and supporting documents from the NWT Archives from the Kitikmeot Divisional Board of Education as its primary sources.

Theoretical implications of understanding educational decentralization as an extension of colonial policy in the last days of the old NWT

There is a historical accounting of this period that adopts a progressive lens toward the development of education in the Arctic, that marked the 1970s as the end of colonialism as the guiding ideology informing educational reform in the Arctic (McGregor, 2010a). The important markers of this change in the political economy that structured education in the Arctic were moves toward divestment of political control over local affairs that contributed to the exercise of uneven local control over education by Inuit between 1975-1999. McGregor (2010a) makes this

association between decentralization and decoloniality by reference to a preferred definition of colonialism that treats decolonization as the persistence and incorporation of the cultural norms and customs of the colonized into official State policy as signifiers of the end of coloniality in this period (p. 56). The expression of these interrupted cultural customs within school policy documents in the old NWT then serves as primary theoretical justification to mark the period from 1975-1999 as serving Inuit reclamation over the educational initiative (McGregor, 2010b). This marked an end of the beginning of the decolonizing process that had been ongoing since the divestment of education policymaking authority to the NWT by the federal government in 1970 (McGregor, 2010a).

Understood in this way, Inuit involvement through greater political control over education becomes emblematic of a broader political economic trend towards self-determination and decolonization that culminates in the Nunavut land claim settlement (Legislative Services Branch, 1999; Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993) for Inuit of the Eastern and Central Arctic. To be clear, McGregor (2010a) never mentions decolonization in her historical accounting of the period from roughly 1945-1999. Instead, she alludes to this by writing "1970 can be considered the date by which Inuit began dismantling the colonial period and embarked on the long road toward self-determination" (p. 57). As a rhetorical device this is a useful tool and seemingly empowers Inuit by considering the ways they have resisted colonization from within the political systems available to them. But this alludes to a deeper problem as the terms of the game remain consistently set within a political economic system that limits the scope and scale of direct interventions by Inuit (see Kulchyski & Tester, 2007). In understanding Inuit education through this progressive lens, it ignores the radical potential of decolonization as a path to abolishing the

dialectic between colonized and colonizer (Memmi, 2003) and the radical rejection of class hierarchy imported from Europe in the postcolonial State (Fanon, 2004).

Within the historiography of the Canadian State intruding in the affairs of Inuit there already existed a counter to this theoretical understanding that limits decolonization to the extent of Inuit cultural expression within capitalist institutions. This literature understood the unique character of Canadian colonialism in the Arctic during welfare state reforms and their totalizing effects on Inuit (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). This chapter will consider how this period might be reimagined as conforming to an expansion of the intrusion of symbolic gestures towards national self-determination as part of the State as a "totalizing force" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 5) by normalizing anti-democratic conventions of capitalist exploitation among Inuit themselves. Additionally, this chapter rejects the approach to decolonization described above, measured by Inuit involvement in school as it existed. Instead, what will be considered here is the way that educational change from 1977-1999 in the NWT functioned as a fulfillment of the ideology developed in the late colonial period in the Arctic. By the 1950s, the logic of direct coercion through forced relocations had changed to "guided self-determination" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 306) where bureaucracy replaced repression as the means of enforcing Canada's racialized hierarchy in the North (p. 307). By decoupling decentralization from decolonization, this chapter will explore further how structural inequalities based on geography informed the degree that specific mandates about the inclusion of Inuit cultural education could be fulfilled within schools.

This has been explored in the domain of adult education in the Arctic already. McLean (2016, 2017a, 2017b) approaches the period in question by interrogating the colonizing attitudes of adult educators during the period from the 1960s to the 1990s. He articulated a genealogy of

this period in a series of phases where adult educators changed the discursive trappings of the way they expressed their views about a racial hierarchy of work in the Arctic. The historical continuity in the discourse among adult educators was observed in the way Inuit cultural deficits were overlayed onto individual academic struggles. This became a common trope in the history of adult education in the Arctic according to McLean (2016, 2017b).

This chapter takes seriously how this same history of discursively constructing Inuit as a particular educational subject became a new means of enforcing colonial dominance during a period of rapid decentralization and local control over education. Partly, this chapter extends this logic by understanding how during the period from 1977-1999 policymakers continued to map Inuit culture onto a discourse that justified the structural failures of educational systems in the Arctic, despite greater degrees of political activity motivated by Inuit themselves. Rather than universalizing the experience of decentralization as a path towards decolonization, this chapter will closely examine the structural and political development of two less often researched regions in the history of education in the Arctic to show the ways that the political economy of education can enforce these same persistent relationships between Inuit and education even with the presence of seeming local autonomy.

Historical Background of the Kitikmeot Divisional Board of Education

During the period of interest, from roughly 1970-1999, education in the NWT went through a series of changes that increased the levels of local autonomy over schooling for residents living in the Arctic, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The development of these changes was instigated by reforms made to increase local representation in the politics of the NWT. This time was marked by three important political milestones for the NWT: The transition between the end of direct federal control over the territory in 1970; the establishment of

representative government in 1975; and the division of the NWT and the creation of two new territories in 1999, Nunavut and NWT. Several notable developments occurred in the domain of educational decentralization that were a consequence of Inuit activism and agitation. In regions surrounding the smaller and more remote Kitikmeot region these developments occurred sooner and were effective to varying degrees. To the west was the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. The Inuit in this neighbouring region were led during this time by the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE). They emerged as the regional voice for Inuvialuit people but were originally founded in Inuvik in 1970 to bring together a shared voice for all Indigenous people in the NWT (Dunne, 1970, p. II-4). By 1980, COPE had asserted a degree of local autonomy over the schools in Inuvik and had begun training local people through the COPE Language Project to go into the schools as language teachers. They also negotiated the Inuvialuit Land Claim Settlement with the federal government in 1984 (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009).

As stated above, this period saw widespread Inuit political agitation in the Baffin region as well. By 1985 the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) was founded. Its effectiveness was felt by its relative success "in establishing policy and programs in support of Inuit education" (McGregor, 2010b, p. 117). They successfully enacted flagship policy changes and curriculum reform. Notably, they instituted two curriculum framework documents (*Piniaqtavut* and *Inuuqatigiit*) that were intended to justify the inclusion of Inuit pedagogical principles into a formal educational setting (McGregor, 2010b, pp. 123-136). The degree of success of these measures was challenging to assess though, with McGregor (2010b) defaulting to graduation numbers to indicate that the inclusion of these documents had certain observable benefits to those who were attending school at this time. Numbers of high school graduates rose from 14 graduates in 1985 to 41 graduates in 1997, peaking in 1994 with 48 graduates (p. 143).

The student population also rose through this period with total enrolment in 1984-85 being 2663 and 3454 students enrolled in 1993-94 (p. 143). The rate of graduation is difficult to assess with these limited figures, or lack of cohort-specific statistics in the text, but roughly determining the percentage by comparing graduates to total enrolment did see the rate almost triple from 0.5% in 1985 to 1.3% in 1994.

During this same period, the smaller, more remote Kitikmeot was undergoing similar trends towards educational decentralization and attempting to benefit from the changes that were ongoing in both regions on opposing sides geographically from the Kitikmeot region. The Kitikmeot Region is situated centrally in the Arctic portion of the former NWT, bordered to the west by the Inuvialuit settlement region, to the northeast by the Baffin region, and to the southeast by the Keewatin (Kivalliq) region. Like these other regions, educational decentralization was an ongoing process during the period from 1977-1999. The stages of decentralization were hampered in the Kitikmeot because the NWT required certain minimum levels of responsible governance before any region could proceed with decentralization efforts. The first stage was Educational Advisory Boards, being implemented in almost every community in the Eastern Arctic by 1975, that were composed of politically active parents in each community advizing the principal about matters related to the administration of their local school (J. King, 1998, p. 109). During the flurry of activity that saw legislative changes to allow for greater local control over education in 1983, it took five years for a local board of education to be officially recognized in the Kitikmeot region by 1988. During his testimony at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in Cambridge Bay, Larry Aknavigak described the historical development of the board of education as follows:

> In 1981, the first regional education meetings were initiated amongst education council chairpersons. In 1985, the Kitikmeot Regional Council was formed. Then, in 1988, we attained Divisional Board status have progressed since then to develop into a strong Board (RCAP, 1992a, p. 145).

Aknavigak was the deputy chairperson of the Kitikmeot Board of Education in 1992 and he provided an interesting accounting of both the historical development of the body as an organization and its structural limits imposed by the circumstances when it arose.

Local control of local schools: How to control what was happens in Yellowknife from the Kitikmeot?

Aknavigak is named explicitly here because of his role as representative of the Kitikmeot Board of Education (KBE), and as an Inuit man, he was chosen to address the RCAP hearings that took place in Cambridge Bay, NWT (now Nunavut) in November 1992. During his testimony, a recurring problem for the KBE was the extent that the board was able to exercise control over the education that their adolescent children received during their time away in Yellowknife. Unlike in the Baffin and Inuvialuit regions, the Kitikmeot had no K-12 schools in the entire region at the time of these hearings. In 1992, during the hearings, Cambridge Bay and Coppermine (Kugluktuk) had only that Fall established a K-10 program with Grade 12 programming in development for the 1994-1995 school year (RCAP, 1992a, p. 145). Other communities in the region, Gjoa Haven and Taloyoak (Talurjuaq), were only in the early planning phase to have secondary schooling “within the next few years” (RCAP, 1992a, p. 145). By 1995, each of these four communities had some degree of high school facilities, with Taloyoak having high school enrollment statistics from 1993-94 school year and Gjoa Haven projected for 1994-95 according to Kitikmeot Board of Education statistics (Kitikmeot Board of Education, 1994, p. 8). During this same era, the school in the smaller community of Pelly Bay (Kugaaruk) was not even able to provide adequate elementary school facilities for the growing student population in the area (Nerysoo, 1994).

The lack of adequate school facilities created a problem for efforts to exert local control over schooling as residential arrangements persisted until each community was provided with their own high school. The primary structural difference that this illustrates between the KBE and its neighbouring regions was the absence of a local high school that the KBE could begin to exercise local control upon. Aknavigak spoke to this in his testimony when he described the relationship between the KBE and Yellowknife. He said that

> An essential component of providing a complete quality education for our students is the need for us to provide a full range of programs from kindergarten to grade 12. Secondary program delivery within the Kitikmeot is essential to this goal. For as long as people can remember, we have sent our high school students to Yellowknife for their secondary education (RCAP, 1992a, p. 148).

The concern that Aknavigak was addressing during this portion of his public address was the role that Yellowknife's continued control over their children's educational outcomes was a product of having to send their children away for high school where they would be removed from community and familial supports. The role of cultural education in this context was also raised as a topic of concern as Yellowknife did not provide culturally responsive educational and residential facilities.

Another community representative who addressed this issue during the RCAP hearings in Cambridge Bay was the Mayor of Cambridge Bay at this time, Joe Ohokannoak, who described his experiences with school in rhetorical terms conveying the continuity of educational experiences throughout generations of Inuit from the region. Being asked by Commissioner Allan Blakeney where the students from the community went to finish their high school Ohokannoak stated that "They go down to Yellowknife. I went through the same system when I was going through high school back in the seventies [1970s] and this immediately brings on hardship for the family which has to separate them and brings on peer pressure, not only for the family but for the student having to leave home" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 26). The experience of having to leave home to complete their secondary education brought social and familial distress,

but as Mary Rose Maksagak, a Dene woman who married into the community and was at the hearing as a member of the Hamlet Council, it also limited the community's ability to influence the direction of their child's final years of education.

Maksagak described education's promise in functional terms. If the community was mandated to submit to formal education, their children should at least receive adequate training to be qualified to pursue professional or skilled trade jobs. She described how the role of the parents in the community should be to band together and create a system where the young people would express their interests and be given career preparation towards that goal, under the supervision and to the satisfaction of the parents (RCAP, 1992a, pp. 39-40). Yellowknife remained a persistent barrier to accomplishing this aim as she said "Our children did go to Yellowknife and then we don't know what they are doing in Yellowknife. It is like the communication is not there. So we are wondering if – I am sure they are looked after, but outside the school activities they might be doing things and we don't know what they are doing. So there has to be more communicating between the teachers and the parents wherever they are staying" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 42). This description of the challenges and the persistent lack of intervention posed structural issues for the political activism that had been more effective elsewhere effecting reforms to their educational systems.

In their testimony Ohokannoak, Maksagak, and others maintained a degree of optimism. There were reasons to be excited about the impending expansion of high school facilities in Cambridge Bay and Coppermine. Ohokkanoak explicitly referenced this ambition for the community when he said, "The issue of education we hope to solve in the very near future with current plans to build an additional school building to eliminate the shortage of classroom space and eventually introduce grade 11 and 12 so that we don't have to send our youth south to get

their education" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 26). Inuit were optimistic because they were finally seeing the divestment of public control of education to local authorities manifesting in terms of real change in their community. The rate and efficacy of this policy of divestment in establishing local control was still strongly metered by the Department of Education, located in Yellowknife, though.

An example of how these effects were experienced structurally was referred to in passing above. Pelly Bay had at this time limited educational facilities that were underequipped to serve the elementary school population adequately (Nerysoo, 1994). The response from the territory expressed how it had a fixed schedule for the expansion of capital investments for the entire region. The exchange of correspondence was motivated by KBE petitioning to have school facilities expanded to resolve the educational deficit in Pelly Bay by changing the Department of Education's schedule of capital investment. This request was rejected. The Minister's Office wrote in response "Regrettably, I am unable to move the project from its present schedule of planning and design for 1991-98 and construction in 1998-99. However, when construction does take place I am, based upon the growing population of Pelly Bay, recommending that we add on three classrooms as you have proposed rather than the two originally planned" (Nerysoo, 1994, p. 2). If the Board or the community wished to provide better services or expand upon the school, they would have to cut into their own capital budgets and make up the difference. The policy of divestment was being implemented in this way by 1994, where local control was limited with central authority only being divested with strict conditions, and with difficult financial circumstances being referred to often by the Department as justifying their refusals for greater support for local initiatives.

This control over the economic constraints that the GNWT could exercise over the operations of supposedly divested local governance had other cultural effects that also limited the efficacy of local Inuit agitation in the Kitikmeot region. Returning to Aknavigak, one of the concerns that he expressed about the influence of Yellowknife in potentially limiting the influence of local authorities within schools was described in terms of not being able to exert control over school personnel through their terms of employment. When he described the position of school personnel relative to the KBE he said that, "Although there is loyalty to our Board and its goals, [our] staff are all employees of the Government of the NWT, not employees of our Board" (RCAP, 1992a, p. 145). This passage follows where Aknavigak compared the KBE with the more established board of education in Yellowknife, that employed their staff directly. The loyalty of school personnel was implied to be an uncertain limiting factor in the exercise of local autonomy over educational reform, and greater control through the employment contracts for teachers and principals was a way to create greater certainty for the KBE's reform agenda.

The employment relationship here was also understood by Aknavigak within the constraints of local accountability and being able to provide greater control over the school program when he said that,

> An improved degree of public accountability in our communities has developed over the years. However, the greatest accountability remains with the Department of Education in Yellowknife. In order for this to change and in order for us to become an education organization fully responsible to the people of the Kitikmeot, we must attain full school board status. Until we become a full divisional school board with the powers and responsibilities, we will remain a second-class organization trying to serve the education needs of students within the Kitikmeot (RCAP, 1992a, pp. 145-146).

Even by 1992 the Kitikmeot Board of Education had not been recognized as having commensurate status, control, and oversight as neighbouring school authorities according to Aknavigak. This was understood as a distinction between the diminished status of divisional compared to full boards of education. McGregor (2010b) has already established that Inuit

working for divisional school boards in other jurisdictions were able to exceed the legal limits of their local control over education. The KBE, by Aknavigak's own testimony had already been granted recognition as a divisional board in 1988, so this reference must be further explored in context.

A defining feature of the success that the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE) had during this period was a consequence of their ability to exercise control over "[Grades] K to 10, including programs, language policy, staff recruitment and employment, and other aspects of education" (McGregor, 2010b, p. 119). These powers were derived from the 1983 amendment to the *Education Ordinance* (Northwest Territories Council, 1983). Within the powers of the Divisional Boards of Education was a passage that described how "In consultation with the community education councils" the Boards could "participate in the recruitment, selection and designation by the Executive Member, [the Minister of Education,] of Superintendent[…], principals, teachers, classroom assistants and non-professional staff required to provide the programs offered in the education division" (Northwest Territories Council, 1983, p. 195). Reconciling then the self-reported position of the KBE as being unable at this time to secure, by way of enforcement through conditions of employment, the loyalty of the staff in their schools within their legal status as a Divisional Board of Education becomes a challenging proposition to reconcile compared to the experience with the Baffin Divisional Board of Education.

McGregor (2010a) attributes the unique character of the BDBE to their structural position as a recognized Divisional Board of Education. In an unattributed note at the end of the book, McGregor (2010a) explains that by virtue of their ideological force the BDBE "introduced a number of initiatives that were not consistent with the mandate set by the Department of Education" and that in fact "The Department of Education officially retained responsibility for

defining the curriculum outcomes that were to determine the boards' development of classroom programs" (McGregor, 2010a, p. 194). This liberal approach to the implementation of educational programs that were beyond the official mandate of the Divisional Board of Education is seemingly a product of different political and economic considerations than the KBE were constrained by. Despite, and perhaps because of, their much closer proximity to Yellowknife throughout the period, the expression of cultural revival was not experienced in the same ways in the KBE than the BDBE. The structural relationship to the delivery of education from facilities already in Iqaluit in 1992 is likely an important consideration in understanding these differences.

Illustrating how these concerns were still felt throughout the Baffin region despite their relative autonomy though, during the first day of the Iqaluit hearings for RCAP, Tara Lindsay, a student at the time from Nanook School in Apex, spoke about how the community felt alienated from educational decisions made in Yellowknife. She used the example of capital investments in school buildings and other educational planning considerations in the community when she said,

> We believe the community should have a greater say of educational planning and also in the programming of what is taught in the community school. Right now Ottawa gives money to Yellowknife to build schools. Yellowknife plops down a school building in a settlement. The community does not have a say in the design of the building. Forget the students who will be at the school. Don't we matter? After all, we shall be using the building. Is it any wonder why the schools are vandalized. Students and parents should have consults when building schools and in planning classes. A free daycare program should be set up for those students who are denied education because of babysitting siblings during the day (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992d), p. 86).

Yes, at the time of this statement, Lindsay was a teenager, but her expression reflects a sense of dissatisfaction with the degree of decentralization and local control during the period or the degree that divestment of funding was responsive to the needs of the community. The mention of vandalism served as a potential consequence of how the school was perceived as being detached from local concerns. This was specifically interesting as Lindsay treated this vandalism as a kind of resistance to these failures. Regarding the experience of decentralization, Lindsay also

expressed a concern that Yellowknife provided the funds for these projects, from Ottawa, and still operated by refusing to consult with the communities even within the context of the BDBE existing to represent their concerns. Communicating this dissatisfaction in these terms speaks to the limits imposed by virtue of the relationship of Inuit with central governments even if this resulted in relative success in the Baffin region by comparison, as McGregor (2010a) has illustrated. The proximity of school facilities to the community was also instrumental in contributing to the excitement among witnesses regarding the impending settlement of the Nunavut Land Claim and the division of the NWT.

Indigenous Land Claims and the Politics of Regional Schooling: A counterexample of the Inuvialuit

The regional component of this historical account of differential experiences with decentralization can be further illustrated by considering the political development of Inuit control over local education in Inuvik, by Inuvialuit. Unlike the Kitikmeot Board of Education (KBE) and the Baffin Divisional Board of Education (BDBE), Inuvik's political agitation preceded the legislative changes in 1983 (Northwest Territories Council, 1983) and operated independently of official recognition throughout the period of 1980-1992. During the Inuvik hearings for RCAP a similar pattern was shown where education featured centrally in the social, political, and economic concerns of the community (RCAP, 1992b, 1992c). Some important distinctions exist in the histories of these places, existing on opposite sides of the border between Nunavut and the new NWT, the Inuvialuit had successfully negotiated their land claim settlement in 1984. During this period of agitation and negotiating a separate land claim for the Inuvialuit people, COPE organized a language program in 1980 through a dedicated effort to

train teachers and implement in schools a Grades 1-5 Inuvialuktun program (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009).

The parameters and implementation of this program were of importance to the Commissioners of RCAP who had described their aims as an attempt at understanding in universal terms programming for Indigenous people across Canada (RCAP, 1992e, p.15). The importance of this program was understood as serving as a possible model to recommend for other Indigenous people, or as an example of the kind of programming that a policy change by the federal and territorial governments could support as a means of modifying government services to better accommodate Indigenous people, their cultures, and their languages. The implementation of the program was possible only through a negotiation with school officials directly who agreed to combine part-time teacher posts into a dedicated full-time post for an Inuvialuktun teacher (RCAP, 1992c, pp. 61-62). The status of the program was contingent on COPE's direct action as recounted by Pauline Gordon, the Vice Principal of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School and Vice-Chairperson of the Inuvik Community Corporation at this time. She said that "It was never a movement started within the department, although initiatives for putting it on paper were taken, which stated that the aboriginal languages are official languages and, therefore, they should be taught in the school. Nothing past that was ever done, so COPE took the initiative to say that they wanted Inuvialuit taught in the schools" (RCAP, 1992c, p. 68). The period being described here was the early development of the program. One of the local Commissioners, John Holman, asked Gordon to describe when the program started as an immersion program. Gordon had to correct Holman and stated that it was not an immersion program but was taught as a subject course at the insistence of the Inuvialuit self-governing body. In this account, it was the reliability of the GNWT that was the primary culprit in the

structural failures of the divestment scheme. Even with official recognition of Indigenous languages, how Indigenous languages were taught in schools was hampered by a lack of funding for designated language instruction programs.

This example serves an interesting function in this history and shows the differences in the approaches taken by the two self-governing bodies. As described in another document produced by RCAP that considered the situation of self-government in Canada's North,

> Most Inuit view a territorial form of government for Nunavut as self-government and are content to work out in the future the relationship between the central authority and municipal and regional governments. These people have never negotiated a treaty with the federal government, nor have they lived under band governments. With an 80% or more majority of Inuit in most communities, Inuit residents do not fear the influence of a non-Aboriginal population. Therefore, in Nunavut, territorial, regional and municipal public governments will in fact constitute self-government for Inuit (Dickerson & Shotton, 1995, p. 6).

In contrast, the Inuit in the Inuvialuit region lived in larger, more multicultural settlements and instead "have advocated strong regional government as a way of achieving self-government" (Dickerson & Shotton, p. 6). This regional government was understood to exist within the GNWT and had been settled previously with the Inuvialuit Settlement Agreement in 1984 (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 2009). The political mode adopted by groups of Inuit and their expectations for political institutions were different between regions. The Nunavut land claimants expected that the settlement of Nunavut and the establishment of de facto Inuit self-government through a public government within a majority Inuit polity would resolve many of the cultural and economic concerns faced by Inuit in the Eastern and Central Arctic regions. Inuit in the west were prepared to operate independently and make demands upon their local institutions directly. The expected centralization that would come through the Nunavut settlement agreement was not considered an asset for the Inuvialuit, and so they stood apart and settled a land claim for themselves with the NWT and Government of Canada. This allowed them to begin these processes sooner by impressing their demands upon the school directly.

In terms of regional development and comparisons with the KBE or BDBE, the Inuvik case more resembled the BDBE. In the previous period, from 1960-1970, Inuvik had developed quickly as an artificial community that was established as an educational centre (RCAP, 1992b, p. 11). Inuvik served as a location for two large hostels and a residential school where students from across the Western and Central Arctic regions were sent for their education, including many from the communities in the Kitikmeot region (Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), 2015). The school population in Inuvik during this period was relatively young, compared with the secondary education focus of the residential school in Yellowknife, with predominantly elementary school-aged students being housed in the large hostels established in 1959 (D. King, 1998). By 1965 the policy of educational intervention in the Arctic was changing substantially. Federal authorities were no longer interested in centralized residential facilities for educating Inuit and were beginning to plan to use local day schools as the preferred means of educating students during their elementary education (D. King, 1998, p. 99).

Iqaluit underwent a later development in a similar direction as Yellowknife, having the local high school and residence opened in 1971, at the closure of the Churchill Vocational Centre, despite vocal opposition from parents locally and in nearby communities (TRC, 2015, pp. 138-139; see Kulchyski & Tester, 2007 who discuss this opposition through petitions by residents of Igloolik and the response from government officials, pp. 268-271). So, by the period of focus for this chapter, Iqaluit had been nearly as equipped as Inuvik, but not for as long. As a regional centre with educational facilities available in this way Inuit in both the Beaufort-Delta region (Inuvik) and the Baffin region both enacted reforms during periods in their more established political development. Decades of activism, since the 1960s and 1970s, culminated in significant expansions of educational autonomy within the time imminently preceding landmark

land claim settlements. The land claims in question were understood differently by participants in the RCAP hearings. The Inuvik case looked with a degree of hindsight and optimism that the local people were beginning to make more substantial changes within the NWT and the Baffin respondents were optimistic about their prospects with the coming Nunavut land claim settlement and the establishment of Nunavut (Dickerson & Shotton, 1995).

One of the changes that was informing the Inuvialuit participants in the RCAP hearings was the optimism they were feeling because of the impending Gwich'in land claim settlement. The Gwich'in are a neighbouring Indigenous group whose territory in Canada overlaps with the Inuvialuit. They often live in communities split between significant Gwich'in, Inuit, and Euro-Canadian populations. They speak a different language altogether and are not related directly to Inuit though. The expansion of Indigenous language instruction was a matter of serious concern during the Inuvik hearings and the approach that the Inuvialuit and Gwich'in were taking in their imposition on the school had differed considerably. As described above the Inuvialuit operated independently from the board of education and the GNWT, and instead trained their own instructors and used local school authorities to combine existing positions to create a Inuvialuktun program from Grades 1-5. The Gwich'in, by contrast, had been reluctant to engage with local municipal or educational authorities, putting more stock into their Indigenous self-governing and land claim organizations. Pauline Gordon described this situation when she said "As far as the Gwich'in goes, it was an initiative taken by the administration of the schools now. A needs assessment was done three years ago and it was based on a survey that was sent to the parents requesting the numbers of parents that would enrol their students in Gwich'in should it be offered" (RCAP, 1992c, pp. 69-70). The initiative being taken by the administration to inquire with parents and then begin to try and offer Gwich'in language instruction at Sir Alexander

Mackenzie School was understood as part of the differing awareness of the importance that local government could play in the peoples' affairs.

The issue of Indigenous representation on local councils had been repeatedly discussed throughout the hearing. For example, the local Community Education Council (CEC) had two out of seven members that were Indigenous. One of the Indigenous members, Glenna Hansen, spoke about how the community had faced other challenges in recruiting Indigenous people to join such councils. The issue of perceived qualifications was raised, when Hansen said, "they feel sometimes that we don't have the ability or the qualifications, for example, to sit on a personnel committee and to do the interviews for teaching positions that we have in the schools" (RCAP, 1992c, pp. 71-72). But that this credentialized form of institutional disrespect was becoming less prominent because Indigenous people were coming forward and proving themselves capable (RCAP, 1992c).

One of the issues that was of significant concern locally was again the issue of language and Hansen commented on the need for local Indigenous people to sit on these councils to enforce the expansion beyond Grades 1-5 education in Inuvialuktun instruction throughout all grades, including Grade 12 (RCAP, 1992c). This passing reference to the availability of schools to be acted upon politically reinforces the importance of how the persistence of residential schooling in high school grades throughout the 1990s in the entire Kitikmeot region changed drastically the material circumstances within which the KBE was able to operate and contributed significantly to the optimism and interventions enacted by the Baffin and Inuvialuit Inuit communities in their schools.

Another fundamental difference that was more broadly regional was the concern about the capacity of the local community to enact these programs. Regarding the issue of the language

of instruction specifically through Inuvialuit language programs in schools, and Gwich'in to an extent, were compared unfavourably with those being adopted in the Eastern Arctic. The concern expressed throughout both days of the Inuvik RCAP hearings (RCAP, 1992b, 1992c) described how the degree of language shift being critical because parents were unable to speak to their children in their Indigenous languages. This is an important, documented distinction in regional variations in Indigenous language proficiency which exists throughout the Arctic today (StatsCan, 2019). In these communities further to the west, local dialects of Inuktitut are reaching points of critical endangerment because parents and even grandparents are increasingly unable to speak the language to children.

Part of this difference in the degree of language shifts experienced in these regions was a consequence of schooling itself. For much of the earlier period (i.e., throughout the1950s), most of the schools operating in the Eastern and Central Arctic were run by missions (Winters, 1950). One of the defining features, according to government reformers justifying the shift to a federally run residential school system, of these schools was that they ran semi-regularly and could be erected depending on the availability of pupils in the community where the mission was located. This lack of regular attendance was raised as a primary concern, above the lackluster qualifications of the teachers hired by the various religious authorities operating throughout the region (D. King, 1998). The earlier adoption and widespread use of federal schools in the Western and Central Arctic likely had significant consequences for the language shift in this region and has had lasting consequences even today based on surveys of the westernmost communities in Nunavut (Statistics Canada, 2019).

The comparison between the experiences of Inuit in the Western and Eastern Arctic was made explicitly by Gordon. She said about the comparison that in the west "we are hoping that

there will be a ripple effect, so that our area works at point ‘A’ where we are looking at revitalizing the language and building it up, whereas the east is looking at working down and so that they incorporate English. It is a generic curriculum that we are quite excited about” (RCAP, 1992c, p. 75). The problem that this poses for Inuit in this region was the degree of inertia that such a significant language shift posed as a threat to revitalization. In her comments Gordon referred to their being so few language speakers of Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun left that this posed a permanent risk to the language. They had initiated a study and consultation to formally adopt an Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun curriculum through official means of the GNWT, but progress was slowed because of these structural differences between east and west (RCAP, 1992c). Having to start from “point ‘A’” also had implications for the further adoption of Inuvialuktun as a language of common use in the community.

Gordon referred to this as a problem posed by the parents’ own language competencies and the sustainability of language programming targeted to them as well. Posed as a comment emerging from a concern of the “Inuvialuit instructor” in trying to promote language competency with enrichment materials was that “our Inuvialuit parents don’t have ‘Inuvialuktun’ as a first or even as a second language” (RCAP, 1992c, p. 74). This was being remedied through attempts by locals to organize and structure adult education opportunities for parents to learn the language. The success of that program was limited to a first stage of language awareness. The literacy and fluency of parent participants was limited because the language was not available to be “hear[d] all the time, [only] in little bits and pieces here, like on the CBC for an hour and things” (RCAP, 1992c, p. 74). There also was an implicit reference to declining enthusiasm when Gordon referred to the enrolment being high for a time, in the past tense (RCAP, 1992c).

Another RCAP testimonial from Billy Day of the Inuvialuit Communication Society, spoke fondly of his efforts to institute this program. He mentioned how "Our Inuvialuit Social Development Program also has started a program in teaching Inuvialuit to young adults" (RCAP, 1992c, p. 51). The program was only able to run for part of the year because of limited funding and the outcome was two reluctant speakers who had come to speak shyly because, as Day commented, "They always seemed shy of speaking [Inuvialuktun] in case they didn't pronounce a word properly. Sometimes when you don't pronounce a word properly in Inuvialuit, it can mean the opposite of what you are really saying", but despite this reluctance Day "was really proud of the fact that we got two people who came out of that who when they came in could speak a little bit of Inuvialuit and they could understand it" (RCAP, 1992c, p. 51). The Kitikmeot region, being in between the Baffin and Inuvialuit regions shares splits between the structural position where language shifts were maximally destructive in the west and less pronounced in the east (Statistics Canada, 2019).

Guided Self-Determination and the Historical Understanding of Educational Decentralization in the NWT

This final section will consider theoretical issues about colonial policy in the Arctic within Fordism and how the examples demonstrate continuity into neoliberalism as the guiding ideology informing the changes in the 1980s and 1990s. This understanding has implications for the extent that changes in the history of education in this period reflected a continuity of policy towards "guided self-determination" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 306). Guided self-determination described an underlying disagreement among Arctic policymakers about the extent that Inuit should be able to self-determine which was always understood to "lead to integration with the dominant liberal democratic structures of Canadian society" (Tester & Kulchyski, p.

306). Guided self-determination took two forms, either bringing in outside experts to train Inuit directly, or the intrusion of a more bureaucratized surveillance apparatus that established the "common-sense" limits of Inuit self-determination without explicit coercion from outside by decentralizing control and promoting Inuit to police themselves. The formation of community councils informed this development (Kulchyski & Tester, 2007) as these became a common means for Inuit to express their dissatisfaction with Arctic policy effecting their communities but "were clearly to be guided by the barely hidden hand of the northern service officer" (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 352). The colonial politics of the 1950s and 1960s had made serious reforms in the intervening decades to the 1990s, but these changes were primarily discursive and continue to limit the political and economic autonomy of Inuit.

An obvious example of this can be found in the responses from the RCAP commissioners who frequently describe their purpose and the goals of RCAP, especially when faced with criticism. It was commonly understood that RCAP was inadequate in its outcomes and the way that it treated issues of Indigenous self-determination, but it also showed the ways that representatives of the federal government persisted with understanding Indigenous self-determination as the degree that the federal government in the North could function to help Inuit help themselves (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994, p. 325). In the RCAP archive there is a document that considered the political development of Nunavut and its role in providing for Inuit a degree of self-determination. This was premised on Nunavut's unique features of "public government; a broad span of powers; authority over a large enough area to provide effective wildlife and resource management; authority over and accountability to a largely aboriginal population that is likely to remain predominantly aboriginal in the future; and a promise of adequate fiscal arrangements with the government of Canada" (Dacks, 1993, p. 4). This promise of a final

fulfillment of decades of activism and constitutional negotiations excited the Inuit and outside observers about the prospect of this unique experiment in Indigenous self-determination within Canadian jurisprudence.

The degree that this game was rigged by the persistence of a patronizing attitude towards Indigenous people, and their ability to self-govern would arise later. This must be understood because the Canadian State would renege on its obligations in the Nunavut Settlement Agreement, and this had lasting and profound effects for Nunavut's political and social development (T. R. Berger, 2006). In the report for RCAP a set of proposals was laid out for RCAP to recommend to the federal government to fulfill this promise in the future tense. First, Dacks (1993) recommended that RCAP suggest that the federal government must remain committed to providing funding to implement the Nunavut Act, that the federal government respect the autonomy of and recommendations from the Nunavut Implementation Commission, that jurisdiction over Crown Lands in the Nunavut settlement region be transferred to the Government of Nunavut as soon as possible to fulfill Inuit land right considerations, to involve Inuit elders and youth in the planning process, and that the federal government take adequate care in helping the re-emerging NWT establish itself as well (Dacks, 1993, p. 5). But, in the fulfillment plan for these proposals, Dacks (1993) suggested that there remained an important function for outside bureaucrats and other professionals to retain their position and inform the steering of the newly formed public government in Nunavut.

Inuit participation in these commissions and committees had been well-established since the 1960s according to Tester and Kulchyski (1994) and so their participation here reflects more continuity than rupture, but so does the persistent, technocratic paternalism that underlies the incorporation of Inuit into a broader Canadian society through public institutions. RCAP and its

commissioners explicitly understood their function in these terms when they spoke to their role in community hearings. For example, in his opening remarks to the first day of the Inuvik hearings, Commissioner Dussault made his belief known that the purpose of the Royal Commission was "to have a working group that will be credible with both aboriginal and non-aboriginal people" (RCAP, 1992b, pp. 7-8) and would provide recommendations that "are practicable, acceptable and feasible and for the best of all components of Canadian society and, of course, basically fundamentally acceptable for aboriginal people" (RCAP, 1992b, p. 8). This passage was very illustrative of how the examples of the historical development of Inuit educational autonomy in the Western and Central Arctic was constructed in a particularly colonial way. The consistent reference to a broader political economy that prizes a technocratic, professionalized petty bourgeoisie who need to consent to helping Inuit to help themselves (Dacks, 1993) showed the continuity of early-1960s colonial policymaking. The form this took within a neoliberal ideological paradigm sought decentralization of educational responsibility without adequate power and funding to fulfill genuine self-determination.

Chapter 7: Education Policy Studies in Troubling Times: Imagining education beyond the neoliberal epoch

The impetus for this chapter was to explore the ways that differences in access to educational materials for language education represent changes in the socially necessary labour time of teachers' work. In the context of Indigenous language revitalization questions often seem to arise that pit the local, specific nature of these languages against their ability to compete in a global language marketplace. Accordingly, efforts at standardization are often advanced to better provision schools with written texts and other materials to support teachers in their language instruction efforts. This concern is understood in this chapter as a reference to changes in the socially necessary labour time of teachers who are engaged in Indigenous language teaching, but it is argued that this concern has unintended consequences for teachers of minority dialects whose standard is not officially recognized. This chapter refers to a debate around a policy change regarding *Bill 25: An Act to Amend the Education Act and the Inuit Language Protection Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a). This included arguments from Nunavut's Inuit land claim organization (NTI) and records of the public hearings the GN undertook to inform the public and assess their support.

The chapter is the first in this dissertation that examines some of the internal tensions of a postcolonial Nunavut. It takes seriously the concerns expressed about standardizing Inuktitut for scholastic consumption that are often expressed by Inuit in the context of these conversations and by other Indigenous peoples around the globe. The effect on teachers in minority dialect communities would be to either persist in teaching their local dialect and translating the Inuktitut and English texts with little to no change in the actual labour of teaching or concede to the death of their own dialect that many respondents at the *Bill 25* hearings indicated they would object to.

This was influenced by issues in the social construction of time, and the chapter attempts to understand how increasingly much of the cultural work of teaching is being relegated to an infinite category of magic time (Kouritzin et al., 2021) or being ignored altogether.

Finally, the chapter undertakes a critique of changes to the restructuring of education governance proposed in *Bill 25*. The program to reconstitute the responsibilities of the District Education Authorities (DEAs) is understood as an attempt to centralize educational authority within the Minister of Education's office. Some of the concerns explored in this chapter may no longer be relevant. Issues around the indefinite extension of the deadline to provide full K-12 schooling in Inuktitut were revised in the committee hearing stage. This extension being limited to a further twenty years has still been declared an act of colonialism and cultural genocide by some (Deuling, 2020a, 2020b), and has resulted in a lawsuit from parents (Murray, 2021) and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) on behalf of Nunavut Inuit exploring proposals for full self-government distinct from Nunavut (NTI, 2021). This chapter has not been updated to include this most relevant information, but this should serve as a summary of the ongoing controversy.

Introduction

By considering the purpose of time as a structural feature of the social relations that underpin capitalism, this chapter will articulate a materialism of time in educational policy studies. In this instance, I am using the term materialism to consider ways that policy can be imagined not simply as constructing ideological spaces where education actors (i.e., teachers, principals, board administration, support staff, etc.) make choices about their behaviour (Ball, 2006; Ball et al., 2012; Gale, 2001), but also how these policy decisions relate to these actors as workers. This also involves the political function of time as a measure of acceptable educational

work. By imagining teachers as cultural workers (Freire, 2005b) it can be better understood the ways that they are conceived of as belonging to a class position that puts them at a political disadvantage in relation to their employer. Alienated from their communities because of their role in structuring the State's intervention in the lives of children, teachers find themselves precariously situated relative to the gig economy and the general war against labour that is ongoing.

Beyond these general threats posed to teachers in the gig economy there are also proposed changes in Nunavut regarding the transmission of a culturally relevant education system for the majority Inuit population. These changes could affect the nature of the relationship between the territorial government, the school administrations, and local District Educational Authorities (DEAs). The Department of Education (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) intends to centralize its control over language choices in schools arguing that this will accelerate the total adoption of Inuktitut as the primary language of instruction in public schools. The response to these changes, and how they affect the reporting structure for principals has been a concern for the Nunavut Teachers' Association (NTA) (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). The effects this change will have on the construction of educator's time will be used as an example to consider the ways that education policies can be used as a way of understanding educational labour time and the social construction of teacher's work.

The proposed changes demonstrate ways that educational work relate to time in two domains. The first will be how certain proposals relate to standardizing materials and curricular documents and outcomes are important material changes to the socially necessary labour time (Marx, 1976) to educate children in the Arctic. Because there has been a trend towards greater accessibility to a worldwide distribution of classroom materials in English, Inuit teachers

working in Inuktitut are faced with inequities based on the unequal access to similar teaching resources. Teachers working in English are seen as benefitting from the greater ease of their work. This is the inequity that the Department of Education intends to redress through centralization and standardization. The invitation of greater surveillance and accountability measures in relation to the development of these materials will be considered as factors that undermine the value for units of labour time done by teachers within Nunavut.

The second domain where these changes are understood as relating to time is how cultural affirmation is treated within educational policy discourses. These changes will be understood using a metaphorical tool of "magic time" (Kouritzin et al. 2020) where the time of labourers in managerial discourses is conceived of as practically infinite. This temporal space is the junk pile that is perpetually expanded upon and colonized to promote ever greater surveillance and pursuit of perpetually increasing outcomes. Many of these outcomes that find themselves in magic time purgatory are those that are most important socially. The central function of the school remains the social reproduction of capitalism and culturally affirmative practices are tacked on as extra. By conceiving this in relation to real time, magic time categories in educational policy in Nunavut will be considered based on the ways that these centralization proposals impact the nature of Inuit teachers' work outside the core of the territory's capital region. By standardizing materials and centralizing authority over language of instruction, the Department of Education has imagined itself as reducing work for teachers. But it will be argued that the conflict this presents for teachers wishing to affirm their regional or local autonomy are forced to use magic time to translate the standard materials into their local dialect of Inuktitut.

Part of this chapter will describe the historical dispositions that necessitate policy study (Ball, 2006; Ball et al., 2012; I. Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; N. Fairclough, 2013; Gale,

2001). An approach to policy study which involves a historical materialism is required to translate the discursive functions of policy from the ideological to the real. I argue that time (Thompson, 1967) is central to how labour is measured, and policy functions in the real by conceiving of time in particular ways. Left political and educational thinkers have conceived of this relationship between time and labour since at least Marx's (1977) *Capital*. Importantly, in this critique, time is understood socially between the ways that work is structured and includes technological advancements that have material effects on the productivity of labour. Technological development, such as the expansion of standard teaching materials, serves the purpose of diminishing labour's individual contribution to any given product. The teacher is reimagined as being able to do more with less, translating to larger class sizes, fewer teachers hired, or the transformation of teachers into transmitters of official resources and doctrine (Freire, 2000). Although students are not analogues for commodities in the traditional sense (i.e., at the local and familial level students retain their individual character and have not been reduced to pure exchange value, see Marx, 1976), the functional purpose of these measures of surveillance and interference in the work of teachers is to reduce their value relative to their work and commodify pedagogical relations (McLaren, 2015).

Time, Labour Time, and Magic Time: Teacher's work and surplus value

Time within this chapter will be considered in three ways. The first is as a, for practical purposes, infinite, universal subdivision of the natural relationship between the sun and the earth. This is an ahistorical experience of time associated with seasons and daylight hours. This experience of time is less strictly regulated by humans, but instead serves a regulatory function between human experience and the natural world. In my experience as a teacher in the Arctic, the long winter without sunlight, for example, meant many disruptions to the school year as students

"stayed up" for days at a time and the regulation of humans as they interacted with natural time was always an ongoing topic of discussion and challenge to be faced at the school. But, for the sake of this chapter, the hour, day, and year are the important units of this natural time because of their relationship to the limits of the social construction of time in a capitalist society. Thompson (1967) describes the control over time from shifting towards "clock time" or time becoming governed by numbers of hours on task instead of natural patterns of seasonal variations that had governed pre-clock time eras. This is the first social transformation of time that is the primary unit used to measure labour. This transition was fraught with cheating and manipulation by bosses, and so the workers reacted by regulating time on their own accord, buying watches and other devices, concretizing labour time as a measure of productive value in industrial, and post-industrial societies.

By understanding the way that labour has transitioned to this kind of temporal regulation allows one to consider theories of value wherein the exchange value of goods is a composite of its combined labour time. Capitalists exploit this combined labour time through means of undervaluing the time of workers to as close to subsistence level as can be socially accepted, and then profiting from the surplus value derived through the productivity of the worker (Marx, 1976). This exploitation is furthered through reinvestment of the surplus value to increase productive output in a cycle that changes the amount of time necessary to produce a given object, reducing its exchange value but decreasing the labour time invested more. This reduction is a change to the socially necessary labour time, or the average amount of labour time in a particular historical period to produce a commodity. In an educational context, this exploitation is derived from making teachers and support staff less valuable by increasing class sizes, cutting funding to specialty programs, investing in technology to supervise teachers and students more efficiently,

etc. These changes, in education, are not progressively related to the development of technology, but instead based on changes in the material and ideological relations between the State and public institutions. The recent transition that is defining our contemporary epoch is the devaluing of public goods based on radical liberal ideologies and a concurrent shift in labour's share of political power since the 1970s (Ball, 2006; H. Giroux, 2011).

Related to the example of industrial capitalism though, there is a great deal of technological change that impacts the nature and volume of demands on educators. Within this category of technological changes include specific digital technologies for the purposes of classroom administration (e.g., online gradebooks) and knowledge dissemination (e.g., PowerPoint), physical equipment that makes producing materials easier (e.g., copiers), or technology for communication (e.g., emails) and surveillance (e.g., standardized curricula). These have the effect of making teaching more efficient and result in increasing demand on a teacher's preparation and instructional time. This has a troubling effect on the social relations within educational settings. Freire (2000) describes the impact as a transactional (banking) model of education, where teachers deposit standardized knowledge into the student's minds that are treated as empty vessels. This transition happens in a manner that is less of a rupture in historical time, but as a continuation of a series of crises of capitalism that has dissolved the Keynesian, post-war consensus that called for an empowered welfare state (Ball, 2006).

This intentional reduction in investment involves our third category of time. This category is a product of our current sociopolitical moment, the dying gasps of a neoliberal consensus. It also features here as the domain of various additional, not obviously economically productive activities within school in neoliberal discourses. Magic time is understood as a category of time that attempts to transcend the limits of natural time and shoves labour time into

an infinite temporal space (Kouritzin et al. 2020). This third category of time is understood as primarily a discursive space because the tasks assigned to "magic time" are often by-products or undervalued areas of educational work. Critical pedagogies, social justice, ecojustice, etc. are all marginalized in education policies and left to the unpaid, additional work that only certain educators engage in despite the associated personal costs. Within the domain of higher education, Kouritzin et al. (2020) described this as the space where educators are asked to do more and more with less and less.

The examples of critical pedagogical spaces above are considered in this analysis of strategic plans. The university uses these as expectations for the institution but treats them as marginal to its operation including them because they serve important self-promotional value. Within the context of public education, this obvious self-promotion is less apparent as a motivation for specific marketing in a competitive marketplace, but as a political act it can be understood as an attempt to order a consensual relationship between people and the State. In this regard, the function of these magic time categories of teacher's work is practically indistinguishable from a kind of marketing discourse within the neoliberal ideological space that promotes the privatization of public goods such as education (Ball, 2006; Ball et al., 2012; I. Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011; H. Giroux, 2011).

Demonstrating this analysis of the public role of these magic time categories within public education discourse will be examples from Nunavut, where changes are happening that have important implications for teachers' work. Ongoing changes to the education system in Nunavut and the response by the NTA will be used to support this analysis of teachers as an ineffective public servant instead of as day-time parents (Freire, 2005). Both principals and teachers are being considered together in this chapter because NTA is both the labour

organization for principals and teachers in the territory. Nunavut was also chosen because of my relationship to this jurisdiction and based on what it demonstrates in the material and discursive function of time in educational policy studies. Before specifically diving into the ongoing changes being proposed in Nunavut the remainder of this section of the chapter will be used to historically situate ongoing ideological changes involving the public role of education in a broader, global context.

Epochs of educational work: Understanding labour time as an adjacent feature of social investment in public education

The historical pattern of the development of public education in the Anglophone world emerges as a direct result of class politics and the development of the welfare state. Important education reforms emerged as a response to changing demands from industrial labour organizations that understood the role of children within the factories of the British Industrial Revolution as depressing wages (Levine, 1985; Seccombe, 1986) alongside a simultaneous fear about the trouble that unemployed, working-class children may cause without a place to work, or otherwise be supervised while their parents worked (Hilton, 1995). The changing child labour laws in Britain during the 1830s brought about a class awareness of the need to use private and then eventually public institutions to prepare a working class for increasingly specialized exploitation in industrializing England (Humphries, 2010). Throughout the twentieth century this public investment in education would expand, especially during the Cold War. Public education was understood as serving an important labour function in the Arctic during the Cold War in its relationship with military security by promoting the local development of literate, in English, low-skilled workers to build and maintain Northern early warning infrastructure (McLean, 2017a), for example.

Since the 1990s, with the dissolution of the USSR, according to Aronowitz (2000) a corresponding shift in public investment in education has resulted in greater corporate control over education presenting the political and economic rationale for rapid divestment from public education. A slightly different source of the radical shift towards this neoliberal hegemony in K-12 education is described by Ball (2006). In the domain of public education, Ball (2006) argues that economic recessions and the defeat of organized labour in the latter half of the 1970s ushered in Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, influenced by Hayek and his brand of radical neoliberalism, under which began the dissolution of the State as a kind of safety net for poor people in Britain. Mapping a similar political-economic trend onto the United States, Ronald Reagan's rise, influenced by Friedman and the Chicago school economists, functions as a similar break with the norms of the Keynesian status quo around the same time of the early 1980s. This subtle difference historically positions the collapse in interest in public goods as a sociopolitical development that predated the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s-early 1990s, and the end of the Cold War. This could be a difference in the ideological and material role of higher education (Aronowitz, 2000) in combatting the Soviets through direct military contracts, but either way, it contextualizes the transition away from the Keynesian, "New Deal" consensus on or around the 1980s and 1990s.

For Canada, the earlier historical trend is harder to map onto the experience here. The earlier period described above coincided in a reduction in child labour as a means of economic exploitation of children also corresponds with Canada's belonging to the British Empire. In 1867, Canada gains nominal independence, but as Mckay (2010) argues this independence is conditional upon Canada's continued submission to a larger Anglo, transatlantic, liberal hegemony. This relationship served as a kind of divestment of authority by the metropole based

on an agreed subordination to London that persisted between Canada and the Crown. Canada also did not industrialize as completely, or as rapidly as Britain or the United States. Despite this, these pressures did take a particular other form in Canada due to its position on the fringes or frontier of the British Empire. Almost immediately after it had the means to assert itself throughout the entire northernmost half of North America, Canada began forcibly assimilating its Indigenous peoples through residential and day schools (*Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, n.d.). This kind of forced assimilation was a deliberate act to coerce the Indigenous peoples into this consensual relationship described by Mckay (2010) and the lasting effects of this genocide persist today as an important historical legacy to consider with regards to Nunavut (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

The more recent trend described by the dissolution of the Keynesian consensus around the late 1980s and early 1990s more easily maps onto the historical experience of Canada, and Nunavut specifically. Nunavut was born into a world order governed by neoliberalism and has consistently struggled over federal funding for programs guaranteed in the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993), notably for an ethnically representative public service respecting and affirming Inuit culture and language. When Nunavut was founded, in 1999, it was understood that additional funding was necessary to accelerate the training and promotion of Inuit to replace the existing, predominantly White and anglophone public service that existed in the territory. A twenty-million-dollar investment towards teacher training was recommended, for instance, but never granted resulting in decades of delays in achieving the Government of Nunavut's aims (P. Berger, 2009; T. R. Berger, 2006; Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013). The consensual relationship that this new political coalition formed was similarly a result of defeats of organized labour and the simultaneous collapse of any viable

alternative to capitalist hegemony that stood at the end of history (Fukuyama, 2006). Teachers have been on the front line of these changes and defeats in Canada, for example teachers in Ontario engaged in the largest teacher work action in North America in 1997 in response to the expansion of class sizes and the government effectively split the unions, separating principals from teachers (Gidney, 1999). A feature of this political shift has been described as an abandonment of principles based on class solidarity. This has resulted in an ideological transformation of the Left academically as well, with a fractured disunity inheriting the former unity of class-based solidarity in both Western (Jameson, 1982, 1991) and postcolonial studies (Chibber, 2013).

Politics and Intellectualism in Contemporary Educational Policy Studies

Understanding teachers and how they relate to labour more broadly, and their own labour specifically within our time is not entirely transparent. Within the works of Gramsci (1965, 2000, 2014) the teacher serves the function of an intellectual and is not the specific reprieve of a category of professional work. The intellectual labour is itself a form of productive work, yes, but its categorization is dependent on what effects the group has on the political unity of the popular masses. Two categories of intellectual are understood to function simultaneously and in opposition to one another within Gramsci's works, the organic and traditional intellectual. These positions are not assigned based on specific class positions. Organic intellectuals emerge from among various social distinctions within the working and ruling classes and attempt to structure and unify their fellows' class consciousness from within the various inconsistencies and contradictions they encounter. The working-class organic intellectual is the position of the critical pedagogue among critical pedagogy scholars (Freire, 2000; H. Giroux, 2011; Gottesman, 2016; McLaren, 2015). These inconsistencies are themselves structurally reinforced by a distinct

set of traditional intellectuals who work towards the justification for the consensual relationship to the hegemonic order. The State uses both consensual and coercive means to promote the illusion of order and stability. Traditional intellectuals are used to constantly accommodate outbursts of localized dissent or solidarity into the larger hegemonic structure.

Understanding this distinction within contemporary education policy studies is not inherently useful because the intervening years since Gramsci's own writings leave a contemporary education scholar lost regarding how to account for the professionalization and standardization of teachers' work. The transformation of teacher's work is often understood as an agentive change in the autonomy of teachers, where means of resistance are challenged but are never overcome (Ball, 2006; Ball et al., 2012; H. Giroux, 2011). Teachers are continually having their work reduced to service providers in a relationship to their communities whose function is primarily the economic stability of a skilled labour force to be exploited by capitalists and as citizens who are left to perpetually choose between dysfunctional options in elections. In this way, as they relate to the wider society, teachers belong to a segment of the class stratification of a bureaucratized society described as the petty bourgeoisie (Poulantzas, 1973) and are coerced into the Gramscian role of the traditional intellectual in public life. But, relative to their own workplaces they are members of the working class serving as a proletarian underclass exploited by managers from their respective government ministries and boards of education. In this way they are both recognisable to the working class as fellow workers but are also agents of a State that intends to use the labour of teachers to enforce the consensual relations that stabilize hegemony.

Within critical educational literature this dynamic is understood in ways that perhaps have more substance in other regions, but also do not account for this managerial, or bureaucratic

justification for the class position of teachers relative to their work. Freire (2005) for instance uses the example of a Brazilian teacher strike where the public response was focused on the abandonment of their children. Parents had been encouraged to view teachers as serving a role in society analogous to mothering. Partially this remains true for the way that the public reacts to disgruntled teachers in a contemporary Canadian context. I would substitute that the more pronounced political reaction towards teachers, who are less connected with parental care in a Canadian context, is to react to them as incompetent workers whose failure to accomplish their role in society jeopardizes the economic and social wellbeing of families. It is a function of this detached class position of teachers due to their professionalization that they are easy targets for constant, sustained political attacks on their credibility and find themselves unable to connect to a public that they serve. A result of this detached managerial status of teachers from their communities is that they have become subjected to methods of control and subjugation analogous to a service delivery ideology regarding how teachers should work (Childress, 2019).

Freire (2005) describes this shift towards an authoritarian administrative structure using technical advances to package the means of educational production as products by experts imposed on teachers, and through direct surveillance. But teachers are not fully innocent in this project either. Many of them are worn down by the constant and inconsistent demands of competing layers of policy and surveillance in the conduct of their work, or they cling to a nostalgic notion of bygone eras where teachers were able to demand authority and autonomy over the local delivery of education. These both produce outcomes where teachers are unwilling or unable to act in meaningfully critical ways. It is in this way that the neoliberal nation-state has so effectively depoliticized teachers' cultural work as Freire (2000, 2014; Freire & Macedo, 1995) insists is the key to transformative action within the domain of the classroom. This is not a

neutral depoliticization either, as any mass depoliticization of teachers as primary, front-line cultural workers is functionally equivalent to the promotion of the status quo that secures the stability of capitalism.

Culturally Responsive Education and Standardization for Qallunaat Teachers at Work

A feature of Nunavut's education system that has a persistent influence over how teachers work involves its cultural association with a dominant Qallunaat culture (P. Berger, 2009; Rasmussen, 2001). Beyond this, a persistent problem for the people of Nunavut has been the disproportionate representation of Qallunaat in professional and managerial worker categories of the public service (Department of Finance, 2018). Here this dynamic will be understood as a material justification for certain surveillance and authoritarian responses to the nature of teaching labour in the territory. This has to do with the relationship of Qallunaat to the education system, having transformed themselves from missionaries running haphazard day schools to a fully professionalized community that arrives in the Arctic from the South and perpetuates the subordination of Inuit educational determination in public discourse (Aylward, 2009; P. Berger, 2009; Rasmussen, 2011b).

Wedded to this expansion of State surveillance is a cultural critique of the effect of having Qallunaat teachers tasked with promoting cultural values that they are not experts about. This expansion of surveillance is primarily understood through the arguments about localized control over education versus the centralization of authority to standardize school curricula and teaching materials. By responding to the cultural incompetence of the predominantly Qallunaat teaching workforce, the education system is being reconstructed as a simplified and deskilled knowledge distribution centre, along neoliberal ideological lines for the sake of schooling on the cheap. The dispute that will be considered here is over proposed changes to the *Education Act*

(Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a) and the *Inuit Language Protection Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008c) through *Bill 25: An Act Amending the Education Act and Inuit Language Protection Act* (Bill 25) (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) and the written Statements made in response to this Bill 25 to the Standing Committee on Legislation (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). The events preceding this dispute are the above referenced neglect of the education system during the twenty years since Nunavut was founded (Aylward, 2009; T. R. Berger, 2006; Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013) and the ten years since the passage of the *Education Act*, *Inuit Language Protection Act*, and the *Official Languages Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008d) that has failed to provide the promised bilingual (Inuktitut and English or French) and culturally responsive education in Nunavut by the 2019-2020 school year (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a).

The response to this failure has been to delay confronting the structural issues that prevent the culturally responsive education system's adoption by proposing to further postpone the implementation of the bilingual education system until at least 2030 (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a). The purpose of these delays is justified in other policy literature based on failures in multiple education domains. For instance, it is acknowledged in a report commissioned from an outside consulting firm that the Nunavut Teacher Education Program lacks sufficient capacity to replace the need for importing Qallunaat teachers (Ungerleider, 2017) along with various reporting and other concerns raised by an Auditor General's report called *Education in Nunavut* (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013). Constructed in this way, the Government is reliant on Inuit teachers for the promotion of its responsibilities towards a culturally affirmative education system, but is simultaneously unable to attract, train, and certify sufficient Inuit educators to complete this process. They are therefore bound by this material

reality to act in several ways that could result in a significant additional politicization of teacher's work.

The option that the Department of Education promotes in Bill 25, and in their public consultations (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b) is to centralize authority over the school curriculum and planning to better be able to monitor the efficacy of certain culturally affirmative programs. This centralization of authority is supposed to promote uniformity and transmissibility of curriculum between communities. Because of the irregular migration of students between communities, and to position the school as less of a barrier to having children removed for the purpose of cultural activities such as camping and hunting, the Department of Education is interested in standardization to advocate for the social promotion of children in school all the way through Grade 12 despite these regular interruptions in instructional time (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a). This justification of standardization and centralization demonstrates the incompatibility of these values, with both the cultural transmission of Inuit values and the cultural transmission of capitalist values competing for pedagogical time in the narrow window when schools intervene in the lives of young people. Beyond this, the nature of teachers' work is reconstructed as a matter of distributing standardized materials, tracking progress through modules, and reporting on progress for future reference.

This form of deskilling is aggravated not only due to the reported limited numbers of Inuit teachers and easing their transition into the workforce (Ungerleider, 2017) though. Because there are unique challenges to life in the Arctic it is more common for Qallunaat teachers to abandon lucrative contracts and return to their homes disrupting the educational consistency for students. This transience of teachers in Nunavut is considered a contributing factor to low levels of Inuit employment in Nunavut and the lowest high school graduation rate among Indigenous

people in the territories at less than half of the national average (Ungerleider, 2017). Responding to this in a written submission regarding Bill 25, a respondent named Kilikvak Karen Kabloona, describes her inability to keep track of her child's progress through the English stream because of the confusing patchwork of curricula and related teaching materials, as opposed to her other child in the French language school who follows exclusively the Alberta French language curricula. The ability to keep track of teaching at school is associated with quality of education for Kabloona, demonstrating the need for closer supervision by both the Department of Education and parents over teacher's work (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b).

There is also some concern expressed about the comparative ease of teaching in the English language compared to Inuktitut. Qajaaq Ellsworth describes this as a deliberate choice she feels that the Government of Nunavut has repeatedly made by failing to invest in teaching resources and curricula, and instead devoting itself to the expansion of a government bureaucracy. Further to this, Ellsworth recalls asking the Minister of Education during a public consultation "*Since ILPA was legislated (2008), what resources have the Department of Education/Government of Nunavut requested and/or secured specifically towards positioning the Government of Nunavut to meet its S8 obligations under ILPA?* [sic.]" (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b, p. 153). The response from the Minister was apparently to deflect from the question and state that a response could be provided later. This response had not arrived at the time of this written submission. These measures of creating equivalent resources are seen as necessary to transmit Inuit culture and language within a modern education system. Without a guarantee or clear plan from the Government of Nunavut to accomplish these aims, the delay to implementation of K-12 bilingual education is seen as a further deflection of responsibility onto later Ministers of Education. They also show insight into the public's perception of the nature of

teacher's work and how these standards are associated between replicability and higher quality outcomes. Teacher's work, again probably due as much to the complex historical relationship between Inuit and education, is seen as the dissemination of a school curriculum, something that can be mechanized and circulated with relative ease. This is seen in Kabloona's response as her concern was her ease in tracking the schoolteacher's work, and thus demonstrating the professional credibility that teachers have lost over time.

This association between reduction in teacher's autonomy and space for critical pedagogical action are related to one another. In this instance, these measures are considered as emancipatory as they lower the barrier of entry into the profession for Inuit teachers proficient in Inuktitut. Reporting on the public consultations, the Coalition of Nunavut District Education Authorities (CNDEA) reports a generational shift in this value, as a respondent apparently asked about Inuit cultural teaching centres from the older system of the Northwest Territories. During this time teachers were valued for their efforts to make their own resources from scratch (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). Although not clear, the readiness and availability of English resources was probably less apparent during this time in the Arctic. The cost of transportation and other matters could mean that both the English and Inuktitut teachers shared in their necessary resourcefulness because of their being detached from the outside world and needing to adapt.

Even in these previous eras, English teachers having outsider texts delivered would still be required to work alongside their Inuit colleagues to try and make the texts more culturally relevant to their students to ease instruction ideally. Brant and Hobart (1968) describe this as one of the problems of the introduction of federal schools to replace missionary schools. The missionaries had previously lived in communities for protracted periods of time and were more

familiar with the local context and were better able to work with inadequate materials and translate them into more culturally relevant forms (e.g., taking school textbooks and swapping out the animals for common Arctic fauna). With the influence of the internet, and the accessibility of a world's worth of resources, it has become a more apparent inequity to contemporary Inuit teachers compared with their Qallunaat colleagues. With the ready replicability and access to resources and materials, the implication is that justice can be derived from equivalent technological disruption of the classroom for Inuktitut-medium teachers, and this will produce the necessary quality of education that Inuit desire.

Nunavut's Cultural Education Policies and Magic Time as the Blackhole of Emancipatory Education

The translation of inadequate materials and other culturally important work is also the place of magic time (Kouritzin, et al., 2020) within educational policy. These emancipatory aims are often constructed in response to stated grievances by the communities relating to the education system. They must rise to the level of recognition by an increasingly alienated bureaucracy (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), but once they have done so, they become a tool of self-promotion for educational policy actors who tack onto the core curriculum various aims that are associated with the more democratically oriented features of public education in a Western setting. Educational policy in Nunavut has been constructed with a purgatory where excellence and competitive quality trumps the emancipatory and culturally affirmative education that was promised in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NTI, 1993).

In the domain of education reforms and the reaction to Bill 25 there are two areas that demonstrate the use of magic time as a place to reference, but simultaneously bury emancipatory pedagogical work. First off, the government's own categories to justify the revisions to the

Education Act and the *Inuit Language Protection Act* were listed by the CNDEA in their summary of the public consultations done in response to Bill 25. The summary is interesting because it quantifies the responses from the public to the various proposals and includes categories of discussion that were beyond the justifications made by the Minister of Education. In their analysis, only 11% of respondents addressed concerns used by the Minister to justify Bill 25. The rest were given in response to specific local or general concerns regarding education (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). The exclusions of these public concerns from the agenda of the consultations indicates what Gale (2001) describes as a process of exclusion of certain voices from the process of policy production. The predetermined agenda for the public consultations were intended to limit the scope of public intervention in the process by constraining the field of possible outcomes to those that the Department of Education had already considered. There are also limitations placed on the ideological and material scope of intervention here as well.

For instance, with regards to proposed changes to the roles and responsibilities of various parties in the education system the Department of Education intended to centralize the various responsibilities within itself based on the text of Bill 25. The CNDEA noted though that many of the public respondents stated their concerns about the diminishing local control over education in this way. People responded that local DEAs should retain control over hiring principals because of their importance in establishing school culture (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). The text of Bill 25 would change the nature of this responsibility from “An appointment or reappointment of a principal or vice-principal may only be made on the recommendation of a panel appointed by the district education authority [DEA] that has jurisdiction over the principal or vice-principal” (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 53). This text in the original

Education Act was intended to give local DEAs more control over hiring decisions related to principals, with the Department of Education intervening only in cases where "the panel [appointed by the DEA] has failed to act in accordance with this Act, the Public Service Act, the applicable regulations under either Act or the directions of the Minister" (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a, p. 53). In Bill 25, this version of the text was removed entirely, and the Minister asserted rights under the *Public Services Act* to appoint and dismiss the principal (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) without any necessary consultation with locally elected DEA members. This is just one example of the dissolution of local authority over education in Nunavut that the CNDEA highlights because of its own interest in promoting an equivalent authority over local school-based decisions as that enjoyed by the French language system in Nunavut. But, if Bill 25 is ever adopted this would reduce educators who value community-based, or local education as working either beyond or in contravention of their legal mandate. Schools will be constrained further by the demands of the centralized State, while simultaneously adding reporting burdens to principals to increasingly powerless DEAs.

Another example of this debate about local control over schools that pertains more directly to teachers' work in Nunavut is arguments about bilingual education. Above, the role of professional training of Inuit teachers was discussed in relation to the emancipatory aims of Nunavut and as changing the socially necessary labour time to teach in Inuktitut to be equitable with English. Within the public consultation for Bill 25 this need to transform teacher education is associated with the standardization of various forms of Inuktitut, especially written, to better support the Department of Education in producing and making readily available the teaching materials desired in Inuktitut for Inuit teachers (Hot, 2009; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2011; Palluq-Cloutier, 2014; Ungerleider, 2017). Written language is especially important here as it is argued

among linguists specializing in language revitalization that this serves to lend credibility to the Indigenous language in domains of business and the State (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Certain linguists are critical of this means of revitalization as it is often incompatible with the beliefs related to language life and death of Indigenous peoples themselves (Nakagawa 2020; Hornberger, 2002, 2006; Hornberger & Swinehart, 2012) or perhaps ignores the broader political and material concerns of people that the language revitalizers are advocating on behalf of (Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2021; Costa, 2016; Ives, 2010, 2014).

In pursuing this aim, bilingual education was a pillar of the public consultations by the Department of Education as one of the important drivers of the revisions in Bill 25 has been the inability to provide fully bilingual K-12 education by school year 2019-2020 (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a). During this section of the public consultations, one of the respondents noted that they were concerned by the combination of bilingual schooling with the standardization of Inuktitut's writing system and dialects. The reason for this is that there exist multiple dialectal differences between Inuit in various communities and the effect of standardizing a dialect on the continued usage of local dialects could be destructive over time (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). A respondent compared this effort by the Government of Nunavut to the federal residential and day school system that the federal government had used to destroy Inuktitut literacy in the first place during the twentieth century (D. King, 1998; McLean, 2010a; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

Research in this area has referred to a concept of bidialectalism that has been observed in Greenland after the adoption of an official dialect and the promotion of Inuktitut as the official language there. The redeeming quality of this process is that students in this system become fluent in both their home dialect and the official dialect based on the priorities of their own

communities (Dorais, 2010; Palluq-Cloutier, 2014). This bidialectalism is further divided into passive and active bidialectalism by observing the capacities of Inuktitut users to either speak and write (active) or read and listen (passive) as components of bidialectalism. It was observed by Palluq-Cloutier (2014) that this process is shared among Inuit teachers in Nunavut, with a larger geographic distance between dialects corresponding to difficulties in understanding and increased deference to passive bidialectalism. Regarding teacher's work, the standardized materials will either be retranslated into the local dialects by teachers wishing to promote their local culture and interests, or they will have to submit to the destruction of their dialects in any official capacity by the government for whom they work. The response to this, according to Palluq-Cloutier (2014), is that there will be separate domains for each dialect with the standard serving as a kind of official lingua franca and the local dialects still being used in homes or over local radio. Regardless, it is unlikely that local Inuit teachers will be encouraged by their community to teach using the standard dialect and so they will continue to engage in unpaid work, translating standard teaching materials into their own dialect or teaching about syllabics if the government switches to roman orthography (Hot, 2009). This is magic time. It falls outside of the norms and conventions of the job description for Inuktitut teachers to do this work. But, for the local staff in these communities it remains an important assertion of the promise of Nunavut and their local sovereignty over the language that their children ought to speak and be taught at school.

To further illustrate how these issues around cultural and political sovereignty in education are not to be taken seriously, only alluded to in passing and then ignored at the earliest convenience is the response to Bill 25 by the Nunavut Teachers' Association (NTA). The NTA begins its response to Bill 25 by stating "In this document, you'll notice we have only responded

to certain proposals for change. We have not made comment when we are in agreement with the changes being proposed. We have only made comment on those changes or proposals we disagree with. Any proposed changes not mentioned in this document, we are in agreement with" (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b, 93). In most cases the NTA supports the changes proposed in Bill 25, they primarily object to workload-related demands for principals. Regarding language of instruction changes, the NTA broadly supports the tracking of Inuktitut capacity of teachers and decision-making regarding the choice of Inuktitut instruction model being controlled by the Department of Education and based on their data. They do object to the schedule for this implementation of fully bilingual education on the grounds that the Department has been unable to provide adequate evidence that it will be able to accomplish their aims on-time. Notably absent are any objections based on the important local role that teachers can play as members of, and advocates for their communities regarding the governance and control over important language choices.

Conclusion

This chapter intends to map onto educational policy studies a materialism premised on the way that time is used to socially determine the efficacy of teacher's work. Of particular importance has been a category of time related to labour and how changes in the socially necessary labour time can be perceived when trying to understand changes in the public value of teachers in educational policy studies. Understanding this historically is important as this socially necessary labour time is not a strictly progressive relationship between technology and teachers' work but is equally mapped onto the political position of teachers in relation to their communities. The public has been encouraged to change their perception of the nature of what it means to be a teacher, partly, because of technical changes to teachers' work. These changes are

often understood as contributing to the relative ease of the actual delivery of material that then justifies political and material attacks on teachers as ineffective State employees. Another category of time, magic time (Kouritzin et al. 2020), was considered in relation to the ways that teachers' critical and emancipatory work is categorized as being outside of official policy consideration, often not compensated, or specifically undercut as being outside the official State functions prescribed to teachers. This was demonstrated by considering two categories related to the same topic in Nunavut, an ongoing legislative proposal to amend the *Education Act* and *Inuit Language Protection Act*, its implications for teachers' work, and the response from public and other stakeholders while addressing a standing committee on Bill 25.

The chapter first considers time and its relationship to teachers' work theoretically and historically. Contextually, this historical pattern is important because of Canada's chequered past involving the use of education to assimilate the population of interest to this chapter, Inuit. Within its broader historical pattern of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century reforms to child labour regulations and the simultaneous implementation of public education as a means of reforming working-class children into more productive industrial labourers and managers. This history conforms to what Mckay (2010) describes as Canada's independence being a passive revolution that promoted the continuation of a transatlantic, Anglo, liberal hegemony. In the Arctic though, schooling, and direct government intervention was largely eschewed until rather late in the period. The settlement of people into makeshift communities continued well into the Cold War era. During this period, the federal government developed an attitude of using education to invest in a future where Inuit could become skilled in modern Statecraft and industry to reduce the costs associated with importing valuable experts from the South (McLean, 2017a). Nunavut itself was birthed into the era of the postmodern capitulation of a unified labour

movement at the end of history (Fukuyama, 2006) that is also an important historical thread throughout as notions of the public are perpetually abandoned in favour of greater standardization, mechanization, and control over State actors. Gramsci (1965, 2000, 2014) was used to begin to understand the role of the modern schoolteacher as a kind of traditional intellectual in how they relate to their own work and Poulantzas' (1975) category of the petty bourgeoisie was used to understand how they relate politically to the rest of society. Further, the category of day-time parent espoused by Freire (2005) was rejected as inadequate to understand the modern capitulation of teacher's as active, cultural labourers in Canada. Instead, a metaphor of ineffective public worker was used in its place throughout the chapter.

It was shown that the technical development and accessibility of teaching materials in English and French in the Arctic has drastically changed the nature of teacher's work, creating a transparent inequity for Inuktitut teachers working with English or French-speaking colleagues. This inequity is repeatedly referred to as justification for the low retention of Inuktitut teachers and is attempted to be remedied through centralized planning to make resources more readily available in all of Nunavut's official languages. The second area of magic time was observed through the interaction of the public with the suggested revisions to the *Education Act* and the *ILPA* proposed as Bill 25. The category of magic time was understood as domains of teachers' work that were mentioned, or implied, but were not compensated and served a politically symbolic function in educational policies. In this case, the most salient example was the public consultation related to changes towards standardizing Inuktitut in schools, with respondents comparing this effort to the federal residential and day schools of the colonial era. The work of schoolteachers was then understood as consisting of the transmission of a standard dialect and beyond the emancipatory aims of teaching the children of one's own community in one's own

language. The categorization of this work, translating texts into one's own dialect, as magic time was further supported by the absence of any objections to this effect of Bill 25 from the NTA, who clearly does not consider these changes as warranting important work for their members to be concerned about.

Chapter 8: Inuit Nationalism and the Canadian State: Education and liberation of Inuit as ethnically distinct civic actors

The chapter below emerged early in the research for this dissertation. The process of researching language revitalization and self-determination as a political discourse in Nunavut is prominently featured here. It also relies on an approach that understands Nunavut's project through the lens of nation-state formation. This includes the process of standardizing Inuktitut as an attempt at linguistically coding for the tensions between an Inuit nationalism, as a kind of ethno-State, and a civic nationalism whose implementation limits the fulfillment of the former. The role of linguistic changes and the adoption of collective nouns as a kind of national symbol are investigated to describe this tension in a cultural transformation ongoing within Nunavut. Additionally, this chapter is informed by the political debates around *Bill 25* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) and the related discussions around local sovereignty and language rights for minority dialect communities are also explored. This further contributes to this discourse of local, Inuit sovereignty and demonstrates the tensions between Nunavut's attempts to modernize and Inuitize its education systems.

Similarly, this chapter was written prior to the passage of *Bill 25* and so is commenting on the debate that surrounded its proposal prior to its passage. It also serves as an investigation into the more persistent issues that face a Nunavut that is situated as a dependency of a broader Canadian political economy that does not recognize its cultural heritage as posing any significant challenge to its norms of political and economic life. Accordingly, this chapter serves to highlight these persistent issues as a means of demonstrating the passive revolutionary features of the creation of Nunavut that were described in theoretical terms in Chapter 3.

Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore a problem posed in an anecdote shared by Alfred (2005) when discussing the foundation of Nunavut was how to understand the Inuit leadership's acquiescence to the federal government. Alfred described the positioning of the political crises that had gripped Southern Indigenous communities in the preceding decades by John Amagoalik as the problem of "Indians, running around with guns on blockades causing trouble" (p. 122). After recalling this utterance, Alfred (2005) describes his own reaction to this as "a supreme example of ignorance, spite, greed, and fear all rolled into one shameful display of kowtowing to the colonial master" (p. 122). According to Alfred a member of the European delegation to a UN committee considering the rights of Indigenous peoples challenged Amagoalik's characterization of the political history of the differences between Inuit and other Indigenous people in Canada. Amagoalik accepted this criticism and acknowledged the possibility of how the political and social crises of Southern Indigenous peoples during the 1980s and 1990s may have made the federal government more willing to accommodate the negotiations with the Inuit of Nunavut.

Alfred (2009) later acknowledged that his earlier period of writings had been too focused on the roles of leadership in Indigenous politics, and less focused on structural explanations for the exploitation and alienation of Indigenous peoples in Canada. The structural basis for this exploitation lies in a struggle over land, who controls them, and for what purpose. Offering a passing critique of the political project that informed the creation of Nunavut, Alfred (2009) wrote that

> Inuit people are now the titular heads of government, but the apparatus of government is staffed and controlled mainly by white southerners, and it operates in much the same way as the Canadian territorial government did in the period of open colonization, although with increasingly insecure legitimacy as this fact becomes more evident. The rapid opening of the Arctic to resource-extraction industries that fail to provide economic benefits to Inuit themselves and the increase in psychosocial stress within the communities since the 'handover' of administrative control of the territories demonstrates that it is indeed the form of governance more than the people at its head that determines the outcome of supposed decolonization processes (p. 27).

That Nunavut's new form had committed a land transfer within the legal bounds of Canadian sovereignty underlies the nationalistic terms of Alfred's (2009) critique. He went on to characterize this type of activity as a betrayal of the defenders of Indigenous traditions, whose practitioners had sustained themselves throughout decades of hostility "only to see it given away in exchange for the status of a third-order government within a European-American economic and political system" (p. 27). Nunavut had been reduced to a political betrayal that legitimized the extraction of natural resources and normalized certain contested sovereignty claims. This is a relatively common critique of Indigenous land claims negotiations in Canada by Indigenous critical theorists.

A similar critique of contemporary Indigenous politics is offered by Coulthard (2014), who argues that the Dene, one of the primary Indigenous groups in the NWT, had attempted to articulate "a place-based ethics that fundamentally challenged the assumed legitimacy of colonial sovereignty" but that "the negotiation of land claims has had [an effect] on this place-based ethics, and how these effects have in turn shaped the contemporary trajectory of Indigenous politics in northern Canada towards neocolonial ends" (p. 53). He proceeds in the following chapters to consider the various proposals made by Dene to the federal government prior to the final land claim settlement negotiations to show how this process unfolded. Coulthard (2014) then described in detail how the process of recognizing Indigenous land rights, within a Canadian liberal capitalist mode legitimizes the process of land theft and exploitation that was undertaken openly in earlier colonial periods. It also demonstrates the nationalistic ambitions of many Canadian Indigenous critical theorists who describe a position of contested sovereignty and preservation of Indigenous customs as being the preferred site of struggle in Indigenous politics, and often as distinct from class struggle (Grande, 2003, 2004).

These trends in Indigenous politics within Nunavut are explored here through the structures of education, and the extent that contemporary Nunavut's education system has been constructed to commit the same normalization of hierarchical domination as land claim settlements can reveal. Within the existing education literature that discusses issues of historical and contemporary significance to Nunavut, the issue of land, sovereignty, and nationalisms as the primary sites of struggle is largely understudied. Some scholars have, in passing, commented that the problem of the Nunavut Inuit's concessions should be understood in terms of "What did the federal government receive from this Agreement[, the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement]?" (McGregor, 2010, p. 30). Namely though, this question and its association commonly with land rights and extinguishment clauses (Loukacheva, 2007) in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) (NTI, 1993) are peripheral to their studies that consider issues of pedagogical changes through the opinions of teachers and policymakers (e.g., Aylward, 2010; McGregor, 2010, 2012, 2013; McLean, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Rasmussen, 2001, 2011b). In some ways this is further limited by theories of colonialism that often rely on ideological transformation through the presence of Indigenous traditions within school as their measure of decolonization (e.g., McGregor, 2010a, p. 56; Rasmussen, 2011a).

This ideological understanding of colonial practices is itself limiting as it ignores the underlying material basis for struggle that is common among Indigenous efforts at self-determination and nationalism. That the work of schooling (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000) is primarily limited to the domain of the ideological reproduction of society is partly to blame. But also, it is generally taken for granted among educational scholars that modern education systems are a singular thing, that is imported ready-made from elsewhere. That the inclusion of Indigenous knowledges in the spaces is seen either as emancipatory (McGregor, 2010) or as a

sign of their death (Laugrand & Oosten, 2009) ignores the way that education is implicated in a different set of systems that are attempting all the time to impose the pedagogic authority of the ruling class onto the subordinated classes (Bourdieu & Nice, 1980; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000). It is this place that education systems occupy that underscores its role in normalizing relations of land, labour, and race, regardless of the complexions of those who govern it.

Finally, after describing the underlying nationalistic trends that inform these ideological reforms, this chapter attempts to relate the process of land claims, settlement, and Inuitization as a measure of decolonization to a more radical theoretical tradition to understand the underlying capitalistic relations that inform colonialism. This section refers to Fanon's (2008) concept of "epidermalization" as the process where racial and cultural differences become reified within colonial settings. This serves as a naturalizing, ideological justification for economic and political subordination of the colonized within colonial spaces (pp. xiv-xv). Additionally, in understanding the nationalist form that Nunavut is undertaking relies on an application of Poulantzas' (2001) description of a tripartite division between the nation, State, and nation-state in capitalist political economy. Within the context of Nunavut, it will be argued that there are two competing nationalistic tendencies, one being ethnocultural and the other being civic in nature. The specifics of these differences are not central to the argument, only to suggest that nationalism in Nunavut, and Canada, has not entered a terminal/revolutionary state by having been consolidated into a new humanism. Accordingly, the role of school in these debates around the national character of a postcolonial Nunavut and the normalization of intercultural domination by mainstream Canadians will be argued to be a limitation on the aspirational scope of Inuit themselves to success within the school.

The content that informs this chapter involves a contemporary issue of significance within Nunavut arizing from legislative reforms ongoing since 2017. This period of educational reform emerged because of a series of investigations and reports by the Auditor General (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013) and Legislative Assembly of Nunavut (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2015) into the implementation of reforms to the education system in Nunavut after their separation from the Northwest Territories in 1999. These reports informed a series of legislative proposals (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2017, 2019a), resulted in a vote of no confidence against Premier Paul Quassa (CBC News, 2021), and a series of vociferous denunciations of the territory's plans (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b; NTI, n.d., 2017). This period of dissatisfaction comes primarily from failures of the Government of Nunavut (GN), and by extension the Federal Government, to have created within Nunavut a fully bilingual (Inuktitut plus English or French) education system by 2019. This twenty-year timeline had been proposed because the education system the GN adopted from the NWT had been English-medium and relied on a patchwork of educational materials made locally or imported from Alberta. In those twenty years though, due largely to inadequate funding and the required personnel (T. R. Berger, 2006; Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013), this ambitious goal was unfulfilled in the allotted time and much of the legislative reform was intended to grant the GN an extension on its deadline and centralize authority within itself to enact these aims in the future. It is this dynamic of legislative reform, nationalist upset, and educational politics that is set within a backdrop of a process of ongoing (neo)colonial exploitation of Nunavut for its natural resources and human capital.

Historical Background

This ongoing nationalist project is being undertaken within a context that is the result of decades of negotiations of land claims and a process of disenfranchisement of Inuit through migration to settled communities in the preceding five decades (Damas, 2002; Duffy, 1988; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). The contemporary conditions in Nunavut are a result of Nunavut's establishment in the *Nunavut Act* (Legislative Services Branch, 1999) and certain protections for land usage and mineral rights in the *NLCA* (NTI, 1993). Like the process that Coulthard (2014) described when examining the Denedeh land claim agreement, Nunavut Inuit's proposals for a settlement dropped the radical, place-based, and self-determining proposals laid out in the original proposal (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), 1976) during the process of negotiating. These included provisions that limited participants from engaging in democratic systems unless they had been resident in the Arctic for more than ten years; proposals to constrain the expansion of mining and natural resource exploitation by giving privileged access to all Crown Lands for Inuit to engage in traditional practices on the land; and included a larger share of the Inuit Nunangat as a land-base for the deal. In its final form, much of this had been removed in favour of an agreement that largely had the effect of normalizing Nunavut as an ethnically distinct region within the confines of Canadian customs of political and economic life.

Part of the consequences of this settlement included a tense series of negotiations that disenfranchised many Dene hunters and fur trappers because of where the Nunavut Inuit and the Federal Government had agreed upon the final boundary between Nunavut and the NWT (Légaré, 2008; RCAP, 1992e). This kind of nation-state building within the confines of Canada is common. Subnational (i.e., provincial or territorial) governments have some degree of sovereignty over their internal affairs by virtue of the constitution, as is the case with the provinces, or by virtue of an act of parliament that devolves certain authorities onto a territorial

government. This kind of devolution is understood here as conforming to the theoretical conventions of a passive revolution, that was already applied to Canada's decolonization from the United Kingdom in the century that preceded Nunavut's creation (Mckay, 2010). Canada was involved in a kind of decolonization marked by greater local autonomy, but without fundamentally altering the normative features of the previous colonial relationship. In the context of Nunavut, a similar dynamic has occurred where Indigenous self-determination was granted only insofar as it did not interfere with longstanding cultural and political norms within the country. Many have argued that this remains the underlying tension that limits Nunavut fulfilling its potential (Aylward, 2009, 2010b; P. Berger, 2009; Rasmussen, 2011b; Tulloch et al., 2009) that was understood in optimistic terms at the time of the land claim's settlement (Dacks, 1993).

Nationalism in Nunavut: Ethnocultural and civic nationalism

Légaré (2008) applied a geographic analysis which undertook to describe the changing national politics in Nunavut at the time when most of the early legislative assembly's agenda was being passed (e.g., Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). He observed that the early territory's efforts centred around resolving the dispute over land with the Dene, and the promotion of a linguistic marker in Inuktitut, "Nunavummiut", that had emerged spontaneously. This collective noun signified a kind of multiculturalism that many of the leaders in the GN promoted through public discourse. The symbolic significance of the adoption of Nunavummiut as a preferred collective noun for people from Nunavut was highlighted by Légaré (2008) because it marked a move away from the distinct ethnocultural categories of Inuit and Qallunaat. This distinction between Inuit and Qallunaat served, in previous generations, according to Légaré (2008) as a manner of distinguishing between the colonizer and the colonized. This distinction

was in the process of being challenged with a common, place-based, national identity that included people based on their residency in the territory.

In contrast to this understanding of the emergence of a new, civic nationalism, based primarily on residency within the territory's boundaries exists a tension with the stated aims for Nunavut to develop as a venue for Inuit self-determination. Examples of this are many, including provisions that allow the government to embark on an affirmative action campaign to promote Inuit representation in the public service (NTI, 1993); protection of Inuktitut as an official language on equivalent terms as English or French (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008d); and for the purposes of the rest of this chapter, disputes over the language of instruction within Nunavut schools (Aylward, 2009; P. Berger, 2009; Tulloch, 2004; Tulloch et al., 2009). In these debates there exists an inherently ethnocultural definition of the nation that is understood in competitive terms as asserting itself against intrusions by Qallunaat into the economic and political affairs of the GN. Any deference in this domain is spoken of in terms of a return to colonialism (Murray, 2021) and as a betrayal of the shared sense of Nunavut as a venue for Inuit to determine their own course within Canadian affairs. This persistent ethnocultural nationalism poses significant challenges for the consolidation of Nunavut's nation-statehood, as the political leadership of the GN (e.g., cabinet members and the members of the senior bureaucracy) find themselves making unpopular proposals and negotiating from a perspective that values normative stability over the chaos of an authentic democracy. Below, a recent example where the language politics within Nunavut schools was under negotiation will be analysed by considering claims of reasonableness, or pragmatism. These will be juxtaposed against the personal, emotional, or local claims made in defiance against such a regime to argue that this persistent nationalist tension is an important underlying feature of educational politics in Nunavut.

Within the dichotomous positions of Alfred (2005) and Amagoalik (cited in Alfred 2005) this evolution in terms functions as a problem for both. For Alfred, when he described the tensions between Inuit and the Dene over land, a stronger, possibly pan-Indigenous solidarity based on the militant refusal to work with the Canadian State could have addressed the concerns of adjacent Indigenous people. The land could have been shared between the many groups claiming ancestral usage rights if it had been freed from the capitalist notion of property ownership and been wrested from the disputed sovereignty of Canada in managing relations between people and the land. Alfred's (2009) political vision for the future of the sovereignty of Indigenous people is a land-based return to a traditional way of life and social order. This is a particular notion of sovereignty that is fashionable among certain decolonial theorists in Canada and the United States (Battiste, 2013; Borrows, 2010; Turner, 2012; Womack, 1999) but does not adequately address the structural relationship between production and the social relations of capitalist political formations. Amagoalik's position is substantially different from Alfred's, it desires a situation where Inuit are equal participants in the local and national affairs of Canada, not to exist distinctly from Canada. But this shift from an explicitly ethnocultural nationalism threatens the very underpinning of the accommodations guaranteed within the NLCA (NTI, 1993). A foundational claim in the NLCA was that the Inuit of Nunavut did not wish to become like the other Indigenous people they believed had become too dependent upon the Canadian State for welfare and aid. By reconstructing the identities of Inuit and Qallunaat under a shared civic nationalism, Inuit could become, over time, a preferred ethnic and cultural minority within their own territory, not much unlike the Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada, or the Anglophone minority in Québec, or more closely approximating the deal made between Métis and the Canadian State when Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870. According to Dacks

(1993), this is how Nunavut Inuit understood their place in these negotiations. The creation of Nunavut and the demographic conditions at the time of its creation would sustain a process wherein they "create[d] a public government that they can control and that will help ensure that regulatory agencies created under their claims Agreement will protect their interests" (p. 1).

Usefully, several theorists have interpreted this conflict between nationalist politics in colonial and European contexts that will be used to inform the later analysis of texts related to an ongoing dispute over language of instruction and local control over Nunavut schools. The interpretations of the conditions surrounding Nunavut's founding, as I have described them, deal with the question of nationalism by referencing the role of the State, and its violent tendencies to enforce a stable, predictable environment for the reproduction of capital within its boundaries (Poulantzas, 2001). Understood through the analysis offered by Poulantzas (2001) the transition to a semi-autonomous subnational government has resulted in Nunavut setting itself up as a type of nation-state. This is the merger of the traditional or customary values of a nation to those of a State. In this relationship, the State subordinates the popular interests of the national community to economic relations such as the regulation of trade, markets, and borders for example. A by-product of this strict enforcement of economic relations through gestures to national concerns results in a class of managers, union organizers, and professionals who manage this social arrangement that Poulantzas (1973; 1975) describes as the petty bourgeoisie. It would be a mistake to confuse the position of teachers, in this case, with that of the bourgeoisie proper. They are instead, as Lenin (1939) describes in his preface, a kind of labour aristocracy whose ideological affiliations align with the bourgeoisie because they are the members of the working class who are bought off and who provide ideological cover to the legitimacy of the bourgeoisie for a few extra crumbs they may be offered.

Within Nunavut, the Qallunaat have traditionally served this role within a colonial hierarchy that stratifies people based on class AND race simultaneously. Fanon (2008) describes this as a double process where economic and social stratification is "epidermalized" or internalized and then mapped onto the race of the colonizer and colonized. In this case, the use of Qallunaaq[13] functions both as a class and ethnic signifier because of the way that Qallunaat are constructed as the agentive actors within the public service of Nunavut. Unlike the experience in Europe that is described by Poulantzas (2001) this establishment of the nation-state in Nunavut cannot resolve itself with political opportunists using their racial homogeneity as an excuse to isolate, and possibly attempt to exterminate a minority community among themselves who they have deemed to be untrustworthy. This fascist turn (Poulantzas, 1974) in the revolutionary potential of the nation is then not a prominent feature in Inuit nationalism. Instead, the underlying ideological manifestations are expressed in opposition to the liberalism inherent to the civic nationalism promoted by prominent members of the GN. These manifestations emerge as a kind of localist rhetoric and use the language anticolonialism from the perspective of most ethnocultural nationalists.

As Mckay (2010) describes the century of Canadian history from before Confederation until the 1950s, the colonial history of Canada can be understood by way of the devolution of power being used in the promotion of a transatlantic, liberal, British hegemony. This expansion of soft power is more likely the cause of Canada's willingness to work with NTI to negotiate a land claim settlement and divest itself of the costs and liability over the North by putting it into the nominal control of a subnational puppet State, and to promote the development and expansion of a local petty bourgeoisie instead of one imported from the south of Canada at great

[13] This is the singular form of Qallunaat.

expense (McLean, 2017a). Part of this transition, according to Mckay (2010) has been the creation of a kind of civic nationalism, one that attempted to suppress and homogenize ethnocultural national identities, first as British subjects, and then as Canadian citizens. Not unlike the rest of Canada though, these ethnocultural tensions persist and people continue to structure society based on certain constructions of race that map onto and help inform class and other hierarchies of domination and that sometimes disrupt the illusion of structural unity. These differences are best understood by way of the colonial position of Nunavut relative to the rest of Canada.

This is where structural analyses of colonialism are very useful. During the revolutionary upheavals after the Second World War, Frantz Fanon emerged as a radical decolonial thinker whose work interpreting the political and psychological implications of these wars from his firsthand experiences in Algeria remains influential to consider. Subsequent Canadian, leftist, Indigenous thinkers have engaged with Fanon's work and have criticized his humanist and universalist tendencies as diminishing the importance of cultural strength within colonized peoples as a source of revolutionary utopias (Coulthard, 2014). Coulthard (2014) considers Fanon's work *Black Skin, White Masks* (2008) as the primary insight into this flaw in Fanon's overall historicization and political philosophy. According to Coulthard (2014) Fanon mistakenly dismisses the revolutionary potential of Indigenous peoples' own utopias and their possibility for a noncolonial future. He writes that "Fanon clearly shared Sartre's view that negritude's emphasis on cultural self-affirmation constituted an important 'means' but 'not an ultimate end' of anticolonial struggle, even though both authors arrived at this analogous conclusion via different paths" (2014, p. 133). I have argued elsewhere (T. F. Ellis et al., 2020) that this is a

mistake that has been carried forward into the present postmodern cultural politics and that importantly this misses the larger historical case that Fanon wished to convey.

With reference to Jameson's (1982) work on the political unconscious, this destruction of the political unity of marginalized people based around their differing nostalgic utopias conforms to the features of postmodernism that make viable alternatives to capitalism impossible to imagine today. With reference to a crude Marxist trope here, we no longer live, as the *Communist Manifesto* (Marx & Engels, 2012) insisted was the case in nineteenth century Europe, with the specter of communism lurking to usurp capitalism in the progress of history. Instead, as McLaren et al. (2002) insists, it is our role as committed intellectuals "to set these ghostly memories on fire so that they irrupt to haunt the social consciousness of the living" (p. 151). Take for example the instances where Indigenous people are said by Coulthard (2014) to have done this fire setting for Qallunaat through the Idle no More protests or pipeline blockades. These irruptions each had the potential to ignite the social, economic, and political tensions that marginalize and exploit the lands and people of Canada. Instead, each of these has essentially died off and their revolutionary potential has been reconciled, atomized, and is only symbolically referred to by liberals looking to justify their return to the status quo by more politely speaking to and about Indigenous people while using the products of their land to keep the lights on and capital reproducing itself.

Furthermore, Coulthard (2014) is referring to a utopia that intends to restore economic and political balance among societies and in relation to nature that is itself a construct of a certain abstracted form of Indigenous identity that dismisses many widespread sources of disunity within these utopias. As Amagoalik (cited in Alfred, 2005) stated, he does not see himself as belonging to a wider Indigenous community in Canada. This is not an isolated

position limited to a single Inuk man, fixed in a particular moment in time. During the Coppermine Conference in 1970 one of the primary concerns of the Inuit gathered there was to differentiate themselves from the other Indigenous people in Canada by asserting their desire to be full participants in the economic, political, and social life of Canada (Dunne, 1970). This concern was carried forward and insisted upon by the negotiators of a division of the NWT in the 1970s (ITC, 1976) and is noted in the historical scholarship regarding the political development of Nunavut (Duffy, 1988). This desire is of the variety that Fanon (2004) demonstrates in his insistence upon the dialectical relationship between the psyche of the colonized and the colonizer. The proposals made by Inuit organizers from the 1970s until the 1990s illustrate the desire, as Fanon (2008) wrote, to be treated fairly by "the imbeciles and exploiters[and for them to] let him live like a human being" (p. 179). The colonized subject has earned his right to the riches and benefits afforded this recognition. Similarly, Amagoalik and other Inuit leaders from his generation saw Inuit as having a place at the table as equal members of the Canadian federation, strong and capable of self-government and making important decisions related to their local affairs and being involved participants in national affairs as well. Illustrating this is the title of a report from Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) published regarding the situation of education in the Inuit Nunangat. Although not definitive evidence of the universality of Inuit support for understanding their relationship to Canadian nationalism in these terms it is at least indicative of a kind of elite discourse common among Inuit leadership. The title of the report was *First Canadians, Canadians First: National strategy on Inuit education* (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2011).

The bargain was to use the unique welfare programs promised by the federal government to take a seat at the table of national prosperity, without sacrificing the unique and local character

of Inuit culture. The structural conditions of globalized austerity capitalism have been such that these promises have been perpetually reneged (P. Berger, 2009; T. R. Berger, 2006; Rasmussen, 2011b; Timpson, 2009). This is the double justification colonial capitalism uses to map race onto hierarchies of class, perpetuating injustices (T. F. Ellis et al., 2020). It is a mistake to conceive of this as a burden on or failure of the leaders of Inuit organizations, or Inuit themselves to reconcile their political demands with a broader pan-Indigenous, or possibly "Canadian" proletariat. But it is a product of this double disenfranchisement that limits the potential for a broader, universal response to the warning fires that Indigenous people have been brave enough to set for Qallunaat.

The problem that Alfred (2005) presents is that his insistence upon a revival of traditional politics articulates a limited horizon that desires to be economically self-sufficient and to be ostensibly left alone. He has in mind a form of nationalism in the vein of Poulantzas' (1978) description of the nation, something that persists throughout time, an ahistorical bond shared between people based on their spatial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural affiliations. Fanon's (2004, 2008) critique of this position is that from the moment of colonial and capitalist contact between peoples, the nation as it existed is indelibly marked by this dehumanizing relationship. To resurrect it without addressing the broader racist and classist assumptions that justify the established hierarchies that it produces is a form of idealist nostalgia that only confirms the racist and classist ideology that the colonizer uses as a tool of oppression. Coulthard's (2014) position is different in important ways articulating a politics that activates and motivates people from within their cultural utopias, but not as distinct from a shared struggle against capitalism.

Coulthard (2014) rejects Fanon's (2008) position as dismissing the revolutionary potential of the colonized from within their own utopian visions and as a transitional form of

political motivation that must be subordinated to truly be freed from colonial and capitalist exploitation simultaneously. This transition should destroy the precontact forms of the colonized and colonizer to liberate the future from the yolk of capitalist history (Benjamin, 2007b). Rather than transcending the colonized as a cultural community to reject, Coulthard (2014) seems to mistake Fanon's indifference for hostility towards cultural political acts as an inadequate form of structural resistance. Fanon (2004) does not seem particularly interested in the cultural, describing it as a blind alley that manipulates the intellectual into losing sight of the present political situation. For Fanon (2004) the culture is a historical object that promotes solidarity among the national community and its present configuration is always determined by its hierarchical relation to other nations. The struggle for national liberation is thus the site of cultural revival as the national community being able to assert its sovereignty is best equipped to reassert a cultural character of the people within this new nation. The nation, and its associated culture, is a historical object for Fanon whose realization comes as the negation of the colonized and the colonizer. Without this negation, and the realization of the unity of the nation through struggle, the national bourgeoisie rises to perpetuate the subjugation of the working class thus negating liberation from the outset. Additionally, in the absence of overt historical struggle an ahistorical, blind nostalgia is more dangerous for the colonized to adopt as their radical position because it simply reinforces in the minds of the colonizer the ideological justifications currently being used to subordinate people based on race and class (T. F. Ellis et al., 2020).

Instead, Fanon (2008) articulates a position where the colonized must demand his share of the rewards of world history. A self-recognition as having built and contributed to this history, not to remain as marginal actors, or entirely removed from that history. Benjamin (2007a) universalizes this problem with consideration towards widespread replications of important

cultural artifacts of the ruling classes for popular consumption. The cultural universalization is important for the national community to begin to see itself as constituting a political entity. But Benjamin (2007a) similarly cautions about the ways that a nostalgic, cultural redistribution of power functions only at the layer of symbolic representation and perpetuates the structural inequality of capitalist modes of production (McLaren, 2015). This kind of cultural redistribution has resolved itself similarly to Poulantzas (2001) in the way that the cultural and national become the objects of authoritarian regimes intent on reproducing capitalism under the veil of a false unity. To address these concerns one needs a unified, structured response, that Fanon (2004, 2008) describes as the universalization of a new anti-colonial, anti-capitalist humanism. Never negating the national character of the people but reimagining a culture as a historical feature emerging from the fires of the battle to liberate oneself from the chains of colonialism.

Within the framework of a capitalist State, the cultural will forever be mutilated and deformed to support the reproduction of capitalist relations with minor disruptions. The antagonism of Coulthard (2014) between transcendence and cultural continuity is necessarily a false one. By leaving the question of one's cultural and national character to be decided during the revolution, Fanon (2004, 2008) has imagined a future for his transcended, new human where he is free to choose BOTH the prosperity derived from a centralized means of production AND the cultural distinctiveness that has persisted and stands to be redeemed as Alfred (2005) insists. It is this false antagonism that motivates the tension in Nunavut. The seemingly endless delays regarding fully bilingual (Inuktitut plus English or French) education will be shown to have its roots in a deliberate decision to delay cultural affirmation for comparative excellence, a false choice initiated because of the manner that capitalist production informs all our social relations. This example highlights the problems of Alfred's (2005) politics of Indigenous radical

traditionalism and Amagoalik's own brand of liberal accommodationism and affirms Fanon's (2008) new humanism.

Postmodern politics and Inuit self-government: The role of public education in the persistent extinguishment of Inuit culture

Among Inuit, families and smaller communities existed rather like they had for millennia prior to contact with Qallunaat. Sustained contact with the outside world through trade and other relationships was irregular until very recently (Briggs, 1970, 1998). It was not until 1939 that the Federal Government was made to acknowledge its jurisdiction over Inuit affairs, and at no point were Inuit subject to the *Indian Act* and divided into bands and reserves (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). The idea of structuring an organization based on a shared Inuit identity did not emerge in its current form until the 1970s with the founding of the ITC. Inuit are also unwilling to subordinate themselves to the structure of governance inherited from other Indigenous people and chose the option of conforming to a political position that involved them as members of the Canadian State, but with certain protections for the status of Inuit culture within Nunavut. This arrangement was agreed to with the understanding this would facilitate Inuit in best liberating themselves from the poverty and dislocation that had been experienced in their engagement with the Canadian State until that point (Duffy, 1988).

This position of negotiating for self-government is not shared universally among the Inuit either. Disagreements over the extent that a better deal could be negotiated by fighting for a new territory for Inuit of the Eastern and Central Arctic as opposed to continuing to work within the semi-autonomous structures of the NWT led the Inuvialuit to divest themselves of the original proposed agreement (Duffy, 1988; ITC, 1976). Further, observing the patterns of voting in the 1982 plebiscite on the division of the NWT saw that where people lived proved most important

in determining how people voted. Inuit in the communities closest to the proposed border of the division had the highest turnout, they represented the only communities to vote against the division, whereas the further one moved away from the proposed border to the east, turnout diminished, and the vote was overwhelmingly in favour of the division (Abele & Dickerson, 1985).

This tension illustrates the kinds of local and regional disagreements that are necessary features for understanding the competing ideological and material circumstances that inform the current discussion about various State functions within Nunavut. The questions remaining unresolved include: how these State apparatuses ought to function, which culture they ought to affirm, and how to accomplish these various and competing goals within the context of a Canadian federation? These were technically resolved with the NLCA (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993), but the inability for the aspirations of Nunavut Inuit negotiated in their land claim to be realized leaves many of them unresolved in practice. The function of the State that will be considered here involves ongoing debates surrounding public education, and particularly the interest in promoting Inuktitut as the primary language of instruction in all Nunavut schools from K-12.

According to Rasmussen (2011b), the conflict within Nunavut related to this question of language of instruction is best understood by way of Inuit, and Inuktitut's relationship to the Canadian Constitution as opposed to French, the national preferred minority language enshrined through official bilingualism within the Constitution. His description of the negotiations over the *Education Act* (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008a) are used as the illustrative example of this tension. Almost immediately the newly founded Legislative Assembly of Nunavut began in its first session drafting bills that would replace the legislation that was inherited from the NWT.

One of the primary pieces of legislation they wished to pass was an education act that would definitively affirm the prominence of Inuktitut in all of Nunavut's public schools. In response to this, the small minority of francophones living in Nunavut objected to this centralized approach that could threaten their preference for French to be the primary language of instruction in the public schools where their children were taught. Leaders of the francophone community supported the language rights of the majority Inuit community in public and private, but once they received guarantees of a separate, semi-autonomous francophone school system and that the GN would build them a K-12 school in Iqaluit the francophone leadership functionally abandoned the Inuit and went silent.

This historical accounting does not end at this point, the *Education Act* would later be passed in 2008, but this appeasement of the more powerful linguistic minority left the GN to adopt a project of delaying the necessary investments into higher education and teacher preparation that could accomplish the goal of fully bilingual K-12 public education (Rasmussen, 2011b). These delays are further understood by this tension between the position of French relative to the Constitution based on how federal government programs are used to fund heritage languages and francophone services (Timpson, 2009). Education historians have described this as part of the ongoing transition to a more centralized form of educational governance after the division of the NWT (McGregor, 2012b) and the resulting homogenization of Inuit values to conform to the demands of liberal education (Laugrand & Oosten, 2009). This standardization, seen in the Department of Education's foundational document of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Nunavut Department of Education, 2007), is a product of Amagoalik's generation of Inuit leaders' gamble regarding the extinguishment of Inuit land title in the Eastern and Central Arctic. It also remains a source of the conflict ongoing about legislative responses to the demands for

greater local control and the supremacy of Inuit values in Nunavut schools as opposed to better outcomes in relation to a Southern, Western model of education that serves the replication of capitalism.

Since 2008, much of the discussion around the implementation of the *Education Act* has revolved around its demands for bilingual education in the territory, a promise made explicitly to be accomplished by the 2019-2020 school year. This goal has not been achieved, and full implementation seems unlikely because of structural problems identified in an auditor general's report on the educational system in Nunavut (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2013). The Government of Nunavut itself has investigated this problem and found similarly that a shortage of qualified teachers who are proficient in Inuktitut is at the root of the problem (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2015), a finding reiterated in a review of the Nunavut Teacher Education Program by outside consultants in 2017 (Ungerleider, 2017). Teacher education and capacity is linked with this desirable outcome of having Inuit functionally replace the labour aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie of Qallunaat in the territory and expanding Inuit involvement in economic activity in the Arctic.

A further complication is the unacknowledged tendency in education discourse in Nunavut to compare the success of the public education system to its provincial counterparts. This tension is illustrative of the hierarchy of priorities within the Government of Nunavut and the desire to measure the success of its system by way of comparable graduation rates to the rest of Canada. On its surface, these positions are not contradictory with a great deal of evidence that among Indigenous people across the world culturally affirming education can promote, rather than detract from success in school for Indigenous students (Doerr, 2009; Hill, 2011, 2016). The tension between these positions emerges in decisions about where to allocate resources and the

wider austerity that contributes to the circumstances into which Nunavut emerged. The focus of the Government of Nunavut needs to be delicate and nuanced, but the priority of these two positions in a hierarchy of values prefers excellence and competition with the South over the affirmation of Inuit values in public education.

This tension can be seen in the written remarks regarding *Bill 25: An Act to Amend the Education Act and the Inuit Language Protections Act* (Bill 25) (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a). One respondent who described the conditions for her children, and now grandchildren, wrote that the problem within the education system in Nunavut is that Inuit are forever trying to succeed in an education system imported from Qallunaat (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). This same woman, Linda Idlout, described how little has changed since she was in school. The exact timeline is unclear; her grandchildren still enter kindergarten without any fluent Inuktitut teachers to teach them. Idlout went one step further insisting that the social dislocation experienced by Inuit, referencing suicide as a primary example, is a product of the Qallunaat system of school being used in Nunavut.

Another respondent, Kilikvak Karen Kabloona, expressed the sense of betrayal she feels as a parent of Inuit children at the failures of the GN to uphold the values laid out in its important linguistic and education legislation. Comparing the experience of Inuit to their guarantees as Canadians, Kabloona wrote that Bill 25 “is akin to Parliament [of Canada] changing the Canada Health Act because it is too difficult to implement in northern and remote areas. Worse still, imagine Parliament [of Canada] changing the Nunavut Act because it had not made enough progress” (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b, p. 157). Schooling in Inuktitut was going to be hard work according to Kabloona, referencing the ready-made materials available for French and English instruction in daycare and preschool as opposed to the Inuktitut teacher having to

make her own resources. Some of the concerns that this parent raised is that the mainstream (Inuktitut/English) program refers to a confusing medley of curriculum documents from different provinces and territories that makes it challenging as a parent to track progress. In addition, there was a lack of teaching and learning resources available in Inuktitut for her to be able to access and work on together with her children. Kabloona also has a child in the French school where they follow Alberta's French language curriculum almost exclusively. Kabloona described this proposed legislation as betraying a lack of will by the Department of Education to begin this hard work and abandoning the important promises made in the *Education Act* and the *Inuit Language Protection Act*.

In these written replies from Inuit parents, the tendency towards ethnocultural nationalism returned. The sentiment of Nunavut being by Inuit, and for Inuit is repeated in various forms. This sense of betrayal of the ethnocultural nationalism is stated clearly by Ferdinand Ayo who wrote "It is my belief that in order to make Education Inuit centred (Education for Inuit and by the Inuit), all DEA members must be Inuit in order to genuinely reflect their thoughts, feelings, aspirations for their fellow Inuit" (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b, p. 151). This demand contravenes other legislation and regulations that permit anyone who is resident in Nunavut for at least 12 months prior to the end of the nomination period for municipal office, and having residence in the community in question, to be able to run and hold public office (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2014) and illustrates the tension with the negotiation of the *NLCA* (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc., 1993) and the *Nunavut Act* (Legislative Services Branch, 1999) that promise a public government that is open to participation from all Inuit and Qallunaat.

The conventions for public government in Nunavut are norms that apply elsewhere in Canada regarding residency and other considerations to run for public office, as an example. But

in this context, these same norms and conventions possibly subordinate Inuit who wish to govern their own communities. This problem was foreseen by Inuit negotiators early on, and more protections for Inuit to have control for longer over the democratic institutions in Nunavut was proposed. For instance, the proposed land claim settlement offered by ITC (1976) included altering the conventional residency requirements for civic participation by demanding that people must have lived in Nunavut for at least ten years. Even these more radical proposals were deliberately not explicitly linked to ethnicity as a defining characteristic of participation in public life but based on a sense of belonging in a community for a protracted period.

This is a sentiment that the GN is bound to ignore because of the legal constraints it inherited as conditions for its founding. It is bound by conventions inherited from the evolutions of British liberal democratic traditions. These conventions influence the way that people conceive of school as well and are contrary to culturally affirming education that many activists had aspired (see Dacks, 1993). This has been the trade-off with public education since its widespread adoption in the latter half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. As Gramsci (1965) describes it, public education within capitalism functions to promote the orderly submission of children to their class and social status within society. It serves the coercive function of other State apparatuses such as prison, the army, and the asylums do for adults, but for children to internalize these norms and values so that they eventually consent (Gramsci, 2000). It is this consensual element of hegemony that is often overemphasized in considering its role in colonial and postcolonial institutions, but in the example of the tension between ethnocultural and civic nationalism in Nunavut it is apparent that the GN is using its legal authority to suppress these uncomfortable sentiments and thus coerce Inuit into service of the increasing viability and stability of a capitalist nation-state.

Constituting the public in education policy in Nunavut: Pragmatism and quality in opposition to cultural sovereignty

In part to justify their objections to Bill 25 (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a) by appealing to the sentiment of the people, the Coalition of Nunavut District Education Authorities (CNDEA) took both quantitative and qualitative summaries of the reactions of participants during public consultations that preceded Bill 25. These were accomplished by coding the reactions of participants based on the subject matter of the response, and then these were further categorized based on whether the subject matter in the response of the speaker related to the Department of Education's priorities presented (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). Overall, the CNDEA found that of 974 public responses to the proposals made by the Department of Education, only 11% addressed the Department's concerns. Overwhelmingly, people gave public addresses that expressed a variety of different concerns and proposed solutions to problems within the education system that were beyond the Department's own imagination. In this case, the proposals made by the Department of Education conform to the limits of imagination from an educational bureaucracy that is not composed of members of the communities concerned (Department of Finance, 2018) and who are beholden to more structural understandings of the economic value of school, over its cultural and democratic values, as its primary contribution to the common good (Rasmussen, 2011a). In their responses to these socioeconomic issues, representative Inuit employment in the public service emerges regularly as serving both to improve economic outcomes for Inuit and reforming the public service in culturally responsive ways. These two positions are contradictory though because the functioning of the State requires certain concessions regarding cultural autonomy and local control over things like schools and language choice in Nunavut (Hot, 2009; Palluq-Cloutier, 2014).

This is the concern that primarily interests the CNDEA, returning a greater deal of local control over education in the territory in ways like the French language system that already exists (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b). Other issues emerge when considering their data regarding public consultations during the process of disseminating information about reforming the *Education Act* and *Inuit Language Protection Act*. While discussing bilingual education, one of the four pillars of the government's proposals, the Department was interested primarily in the following three areas: extending the deadline for implementation, amending the *Inuit Language Protection Act*, and delivering on Inuit Employment Plan targets set by the Department. Combined, only 27 respondents were concerned about these proposals and none of them supported the Department's plans. Instead, 259 respondents expressed different priorities that are coded as: lack of learning materials in Inuktitut, limited existing resources, concerns about dialect use in schools, and curriculum document production. One respondent asked about standardizing the dialect of Inuktitut whether this meant Nunavut was "going back to the federal day school again – standardized language?" (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b, p. 56). This reference is to the federal and territorial residential and day schools that were a tool of cultural genocide weaponized against Canada's Indigenous peoples, including the Inuit (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). The result of these proposals has been to confirm Fanon's (2004, 2008) central claim, that without a radical break from the status quo of capitalist exploitation, the cultural will be appropriated by a national bourgeoisie and be used in similar ways to enact the subjugation of colonial subjects as a national proletariat and peasantry.

Within the context that all Canadians find themselves, the potential for being left alone is contingent on how able a community, or group of communities can set up and maintain competing State, or State-like apparatuses. Different models for these competing State

apparatuses already exist within the relations between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian State. Some deny altogether the sovereignty of the Federal Government over their lives, and others have founded and constituted a majority population in Canada's geographically largest subnational government (Borrows, 2010). These arrangements necessitate a preparedness at least to act violently. Violence is a reality of all pedagogical relationships (Bourdieu & Passerson, 2000). It is assumed the legitimacy of the teacher imposes itself on the student through acts of symbolic violence in the legitimation of pedagogic authority.

In the context of the historical and contemporary Arctic region of Canada, this imposition of a pedagogic authority through symbolic violence has been carried out under capitalist and colonialist pretenses. Within this setting, stratification of the social classes produces various differential effects based on each individual or group's position on this hierarchy. Unfortunately, those nearer the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy experience a greater share of these coercive State functions and the violence of alienation from the products of one's labour in the more subtly, but still authoritarian, postmodern workplace. As Gramsci (2000) describes it, the experience of hegemony is different from wherever on the hierarchy one experiences it, and each individual or group's reaction to these coercive functions. He describes this by way of religious metaphor, "Coercion is such only for those who reject it, not for those who accept it. If it goes hand in hand with the development of the social forces, it is not coercion but the 'revelation' of cultural truth obtained by an accelerated method" (Gramsci, 2000, p. 402). The purpose of the violence and coercion of colonial and capitalist hegemony is to reinforce their preferred cultural truth about meritocracy that they promote as justifying the subordination of certain people based on their race or class position on the hierarchy.

Many of the respondents to the Department of Education's proposed reforms had hoped that the GN would be able to use the coercive measures at its disposal to promote and affirm the cultural and economic situation of Inuit values and language. Through chronic underfunding (T. R. Berger, 2006) though the desire for a representative public service and bilingual K-12 education in all of Nunavut's official languages (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2008d) remains unimaginable. Even for the Department of Education that assures the public of this being one of its central goals and priorities (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019b) requires an additional twenty years as a reasonable timeline to accomplish these aims (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2019a), which is a promise made and broken before.

Education and the Nation: A proposal for an anticolonial, socialist pedagogy in Canadian contexts

A fundamental tension exists within this debate over the legitimacy of certain groups of people to rule others. From within the civic nationalism promoted by the GN there is a tendency towards technocratic assumptions about the need for greater efficacy in producing materials, composed by experts, and regulated by central authorities. Within the ethnocultural domain, there is a sense where local sovereignty is the best path forward to undermine generations of being subjected to the dehumanizing practices of formal schooling. These positions exist in dialectical opposition to one another, either the nation is best promoted through the stewardship of a slowly Inuitizing elite of educated experts, or it is best managed by locals who can speak to the specific needs of their children and communities, regardless of their specific expertise. Both terms, articulated in this way are redundant and lack an emancipatory quality. This emerges through an examination of Nunavut's place as the newest subnational addition within the confines of Canadian Confederation.

To resolve these issues though is not to ignore their salience in popular discourse, or the concerns of Inuit as it relates to the education of their children in Inuktitut as the language of instruction. But, at the same time, it is a mistake to ignore the access to cultural and economic capital that English promises by virtue of its global dominance at the expense of other local and Indigenous languages. To engage in this debate as though a culture can educate itself into fixing a problem as complex as language destruction is to miss an important point about these issues. And to pretend that by virtue of being near a problem implies greater observational capacity in describing a solution also does not adequately resolve these issues either. In response, as is the case with many situations where competing nationalisms are a symptom of an underlying problem rather than its cause, the solution lies in an internationalist outlook. In the body politic of Nunavut (and Canada), this will inevitably include Qallunaat in these struggles over how to commit ourselves to respecting our shared and exclusive interests within a common national territory.

Too many educational scholars treat Inuit in homogenous terms, replicating the same patterns to describe a path forward that can be universally applied across a diverse group of people. To resolve this tension though would mean to embark on a path where spontaneous grammars are equally represented and where Inuktitut takes back a place of public significance in every community, and that respects its local qualities. There is most definitely a place for public education in this complex web of solutions that will be necessary, especially in regions where self-reported speakers are limited. Promoting the language's use though must transcend the limited confines of the school and requires that central authorities look to promote the activities of local actors, rather than sanction them as a root cause of this underlying problem and promote their privileged position to best understand and exercise control over their children's

education. To politicize language survival in these terms (i.e., for the sake of mechanical reproduction of texts) is more likely to contribute to Inuktitut's death in the long run.

Conclusion

This chapter considered the limits of a cultural critique in addressing the structural problems that face Inuit in Nunavut, and to a lesser extent Indigenous people in Canada. The problem was described by considering a conflict over disagreements about the degree of accommodation that Indigenous people can demand while choosing to work within, or against the Canadian State. The initial manifestation of this was to consider an exchange recounted by Alfred (2005) where he quoted a statement made by one of the important Inuit leaders central to the negotiations over the NLCA and instrumental in the founding of Nunavut, John Amagoalik. Amagoalik described the history of his organization's negotiations with the Canadian State as a matter of differentiation with the approaches of Indigenous people in the South who had in the 1980s and 1990s saw many violent, armed struggles against encroachment onto their land. Inuit had, according to Amagoalik, taken a different approach and found the federal government was agreeable to their more reasonable approach to settling any outstanding land disputes. Alfred (2005) considered this a prime example of submission to a hostile colonial government.

This chapter then considered the content of the claims of Alfred (2005) and Coulthard (2014) in relation to the radical decolonial thought of Fanon (2004, 2008). The conflict was associated with Poulantzas' (2001) concept of the nation, and the way that it was conceived of as preceding and transcending capitalism. This was compared to Fanon's (2008) articulation of a transcendent humanism to replace nationalism, colonialism, and capitalism, combined with his acknowledgement that culture could only begin to be restored to a new glory in the struggle against colonial oppression (Fanon, 2004). The example of Nunavut's accommodations made to

try and promote a culturally sensitive development of a capitalist economy and public schooling were shown to abandon the principles of affirming the cultural rights of Inuit to expedite many functions of the State in Nunavut. In the absence of the features that typically preceded this development Nunavut has struggled to do both. Alienated from their land, and the wealth derived from its products, Fanon (2004, 2008) articulates a politics that shatters these hierarchies and demands a broader coalitional politics wherein people can decide how to structure their societies for themselves, including returning to a traditional Indigenous lifestyle. This analysis is intended to advocate a subtle reform to the collectivity of political resistance among Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in favour of a broader class-based solidarity to function more democratically in all domains of life.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

As a concluding chapter this will be relatively brief. The purpose that this dissertation embarked has been to critically examine the substance of much of the criticism that embroils the development of an education system within Nunavut. This involved describing the historical development of said school system through the lens of a persistent colonialism, or neocolonialism within the confines of Canada. Additionally, I have tried to apply Marxist theory to the study of educational histories in the Arctic by describing how schools were situated in questions of land, work, and culture. This last venture is, for me, the most substantial unique contribution of this dissertation to the field of history of education in the Canadian Arctic. I have argued that much of the literature in this field has inadequately dealt with the realities of this situation by treating colonialism as a primarily ideological affect best understood through the ideas and attitudes of teachers, policymakers, and Inuit. Instead, I substituted this limited understanding of colonialism with an attempt to understand how it exists as a system of hierarchical oppression that emerged because of imperialism and monopoly capitalism (Lenin, 1939). Throughout the dissertation, colonialism is understood as corresponding to a very specific set of social relations where race is mapped onto an existing hierarchy of social domination from within capitalism and comes to be reified in a psychosocial pathology Fanon described using the term “epidermalization” (Fanon, 2008, pp. xiv-xv).

The specific structure of this dissertation conforms to a multiple manuscript form. Each of the five content chapters (Chapters 4-8) were originally conceived as distinct manuscripts that all were submitted for peer-review at some point. Only one of the five has been published and is reproduced here with the expressed consent of the editor of said journal. During the process of writing this dissertation it became apparent to me that a career as an academic was unsustainable

and I have since returned to the classroom as a teacher in Ontario. Accordingly, the other four chapters were withdrawn from consideration at each of their respective journals. It is also a feature of this style of dissertation that the author must introduce each manuscript chapter by situating them in relation to one another, and collectively to the dissertation. I have done this throughout both in terms of describing their relationship to the dissertation but also how they each were written in relation to one another. For example, the two final content chapters (Chapters 7-8) describe a process where reform was being discussed to the education system in Nunavut during the time of writing (approximately 2019). Accordingly, those chapters were written at a time when those discussions were ongoing and in a state of fluctuation. Rather than substantially rewrite those chapters to accommodate the newest information, the introductory statement describes this as the reality of the writing process for this style of dissertation. This opportunity to highlight the ongoing situation as it related to those chapters was used to suggest to the reader that this is not a definitive understanding of that process and clarify that each chapter is concerned with different features of that debate while it was ongoing.

The other three content chapters (Chapters 4-6) describe a period where substantial historical change was underway within the former NWT. The periodization of those manuscripts was established by McGregor (2010a) in liberal progressive terms in the following sequence: Colonial (1939-1970); Territorial (1970-1984); and Local (1984-1999). The chapters of this dissertation do not conform strictly to the boundaries of these eras, and some time is spent rejecting the underlying theory that informs this periodization as well. These three chapters combine to articulate a process wherein even under conditions of seeming decolonization, as McGregor (2010a) asserts with reference to the inclusion of Inuit voices in the production of curriculum materials and other supplementary materials during the local period, and in the Baffin

(Qikiqtaaluk) region exclusively, the underlying logic of political economic domination of Inuit persisted through the construction of educational systems in this period. Understanding this periodization through a critique of (neo)colonialism based on material relations in the work of schooling (Bourdieu & Passerson, 2000) resulted in the broader thrust of the entire dissertation to consider the role of education in the creation of normative principles that transformed how Inuit related to their lands, each other, and the broader Canadian political economy.

The problem with the assumption of decolonization based on these idealistic terms was described in three instances that intended to demonstrate the persistence of colonialist assumptions, even into the settlement of Nunavut. For example, in Chapter 4, the role of education in perpetuating the logic of Inuit relocation well into the 1960s was discussed. In that chapter, with reference to data uncovered in the Social History of the Eastern Arctic Database and the National Centre of Truth and Reconciliation Archives, it was demonstrated how Federal Government planners understood education as a means of creating the conditions for a consensual abandonment of the Arctic by Inuit over time. I describe this understanding as conforming to the creation of educational escape hatches which was intended to function as a metaphor to describe both how government planners understood the sustainability of Northern communities and how education could be leveraged by making Inuit into interchangeable parts in the broader Canadian political economy. I demonstrated that even after forced relocations had been largely abandoned as a policy direction, that it was understood that the economy of the Arctic would be the determining factor of the sustainability of Northern communities. Accordingly, it was argued that educational opportunities, sometimes in the South but even through contact with education systems in the Arctic, would create for Inuit a sense of inadequacy within their own communities and they might flee South in search of greater

opportunity. This would accomplish a central aim of Arctic policy that had always been understood in terms of assimilating Inuit as quickly and as cheaply as possible.

The role of education itself was vague in much of this earlier period as the normative and hegemonic practices that would develop over the coming decades were still undeveloped or in their infancy in the late 1950s through the 1960s. It was not until the late 1990s, for example, that every permanent community in the Arctic would have facilities to offer full K-12 educational programming. Chapter 5 then describes how Inuit and other Northern residents experienced this development of education systems in their lives and the intrusive effects it caused for them. This chapter was the most comprehensive in terms of periodization, stretching from the late 1950s until the early 1990s. This is due to the main sources of data used in the bulk of the chapter, that was the transcripts from the Northern hearings of RCAP. In particular, the transcripts from hearings at Inuvik and Cambridge Bay were analysed extensively (RCAP, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c). From these testimonies, it became apparent that there were competing notions of what kind of opportunity school, or education more broadly, posed and how it affected peoples' access and experience of work. In this chapter credentialization was used as an analytical tool that referred to both the process wherein minimum qualifications to get a job had increased and a process where educational institutions are positioned as the legitimate site that can grant said qualifications. Finally, the chapter argued that this project was intentionally undertaken knowing full well that it would likely have dire consequences for many Inuit. The final section of that chapter considered the ideology that informed education policymakers in the 1960s as they created the conditions where school and work became intimately tied. It was argued that this created the conditions for the same disenfranchisement that is common in capitalist social stratification, to divide workers along educational lines (Bourdieu & Nice,

1980), and this process disenfranchised Inuit from gaining a commensurate share of wealth from the exploitation of their lands and people.

Chapter 6 takes a more direct approach in challenging the legitimacy of McGregor's (2010a) assumptions about the persistence of colonialism through these periods. This was undertaken by considering the conditions that McGregor attributed to the Local Period, but by broadening the scope of analysis to consider regions beyond the Qikiqtaaluk. The underlying assumption that informs the characterization of the Local Period in that text was the extent that Inuit were granted a degree of autonomy, and also made additional efforts to impose their will through the Baffin Divisional Board of Education. By broadening the scope to include the Kitikmeot and Inuvialuit settlement regions, returning to the RCAP transcripts, adding in the testimony from Iqaluit (RCAP, 1992d), and expanding the analysis to consider the correspondence from the Government of the NWT and the Kitikmeot Divisional School Board (obtained through the NWT Archives) the chapter argued that this experience of decolonization was historically and materially contingent on two factors. First, and most importantly, the Qikiqtaaluk and Inuvialuit had established K-12 programs in their regions since the 1970s. This gave them a greater degree of control over local school as they were able to impose themselves through direct political action. The Kitikmeot region did not have a full K-12 school until the 1993-1994 school year, and in all communities, students were being sent to Yellowknife to complete their education.

Additionally, there is some reference in the Inuvik and Cambridge Bay testimonies that suggested that Inuktitut was better established in the Eastern Arctic, and so actions were more readily available to communities in the Qikiqtaaluk by historical accident. This meant, for one brief section, the chapter considered the longer history of education in the Arctic and suggested

that because federal and territorial schools were not present in in the Eastern Arctic before the 1950s, the language shift in these regions had not been as dramatic. This created a material, linguistic base that educational interventions could be built upon rather quickly. In contrast, children from the Western and Central Arctic were the first to be regularly exposed to federal and territorial day schools. This created a language shift where the Inuvialuit and Kitikmeot Inuit described having to train speakers before they could engage in a large-scale educational reform program. To be clear, this second point is rather marginal and speculative. There is some limited evidence to suggest that mission schools operated under different ideological predispositions and were less hostile to Inuktitut. But the material reality is observable that for much of the period of decolonization in the Arctic, many communities continued to have residential schooling imposed on them. Until 1998, residential schooling in Yellowknife as a requirement for the completion of high school for Inuit in the Kitikmeot region remained a prominent concern for many Inuit who provided testimony at the RCAP hearings. I argued that this ultimately made distinct material conditions in the political development of each region during this period.

Finally, I argued in Chapter 6 that the underlying colonial understanding about the inferiority of Inuit being able to self-govern persisted well into the 1990s. This assertion has been made with reference to the question of how certain provisions of the *Education Ordinances* (1977, 1983) devolved centralized powers from the Department of Education onto the divisional school boards. Mainly, this devolution conformed to a concept adapted from Tester and Kulchyski (1994) that refers to “guided self-determination” (p. 307). This concept refers to a set of ideas and attitudes that became popular among Northern policymakers in the 1960s as they were confronted with politically engaged Inuit, whose legitimacy they did not respect and wished not to tolerate. Guided self-determination arose as a distinct ideology during this period as a new

wave of welfare state professionals and administrators arrived in the Arctic. With them came an attitude about their superiority relative to Inuit that was premised on the simple concept that they were there to "help [Inuit] to help themselves" (p. 301). When considering the conflicts between the Kitikmeot Divisional School Board in gaining legitimacy and full autonomy over its local affairs, the GNWT still held the public purse at ransom or demanded certain normative practices around schooling be upheld (e.g., they refused to let the local school board give attendance payments to high school students as an incentive to stay in school). These disputes revolved around competing visions of the appropriate conduct of schools and were ultimately concerned with making an identifiably standard school system indistinguishable from its Southern counterparts. Accordingly, the chapter argues for a political economic rejection of the application of decolonization to understand this period, beyond the unique circumstances of perhaps one region in the entire Arctic.

The persistence of colonialism into the present day is an explicit theme of this dissertation. The understanding I have applied, adopting a Marxist-decolonial theory to study the Arctic region of Canada, shifts the burden from the morality, attitudes, and predispositions of educational actors onto the material circumstances which govern the expressions of such ideologies. It allows the critically engaged scholar to consider both continuity and rupture as simultaneous historical forces that influence the development of society constantly. In this tumult, where people are exploited, alienated, and in despair, this approach offers a general theory that explains much about how these relations operate in a real world beyond the customary beliefs of the ruling classes (e.g., what is moral, what is just, who is legitimate, etc.). Divorcing the frame of analysis from these largely interpersonal, idealistic categories, and by focusing on how these decisions are informed by material relations within the domain of

production reverses the order how these antagonisms matter. Within this frame, what commonly manifests as a politics of disunity, mistrust, and contempt is reimagined as primarily serving to obscure the underlying commonalities in most peoples' relations to production (i.e., most people sell their labour for wages and have no, or limited control over their day-to-day lives). This is not written to excuse the bad faith actions of many people who have left an immeasurable calamity for current and future generations to try and resolve. This is only to say that, like for all people, the ideological manifestations of these antagonisms are compelled from base relations that involve the exploitation of all workers, Inuit or Qallunaat.

Understanding education in the Arctic, in these terms, it becomes clear that the role of school as an institution is the regulation of a stable reproduction of society, including its warts. Like capitalism though, it would be a mistake to assert that the path forward is to simply abolish the socialization of labour and the capacity to produce for the fulfillment of human needs. Closing the schools, like closing the factories, will not restore us to a kind of utopia where human misery will be abolished. Like the factories, schools are tools in the master's workshop, and the aim should be blow open the doors and liberate them from the tyrant's control. Not abandon these as means to achieve the emancipation of humanity.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Colonialism: A primarily superstructural system wherein the race, culture, or perceived lack of culture is used by a group of people (the colonizers) to justify the exclusion of the other people (colonized) from political and material equality. These interactions usually emerge because of some military or other violent dislocation of the colonized by the colonizer. This justification is then used to naturalize the extreme exploitation and humiliation of the colonized either with the aim to exterminate the colonized as a distinct people, or to assimilate them into the political economy of the colonizer that is understood as being culturally superior by the colonizer and to the benefit of the colonized.

Decolonization (Liberal): The process where the State affords to the colonized greater recognition of their distinct cultural heritage and customs within the confines of systems previously established by the colonizer for the purpose of promoting colonialism. This usually involves a process where the State recognizes the colonized as having reached a stage in their cultural development to be granted equal rights as other citizens and is limited by certain notions about the legitimacy of the system being upheld. This is usually the pinnacle, or terminal stage of an assimilative colonialism (see above).

Decolonization (Marxist): The process that undertakes the abolition of race and class as signifiers of disunity between people and the establishment of an anticolonial politics which recognizes peoples' right to self-determination. Decolonization in this sense understands the imperialist and colonialist impetus as being related to certain forms of capitalist exploitation. It requires a dual abolition then to provide for a broader, internationalist outlook based on shared interests related to peoples' relationship to the means of production.

Democracy: A political system where the people themselves are sovereign and determine the conditions of their social and political lives. In its liberal form, this is confined to the limited domain of civic participation in elections where the choice is ultimately between more or less polite capitalist apologists. In communist political theory, democracy refers to a process where the people collectively own the means of production and get an equal say in its deployment for the fulfillment of human freedom and potential.

Epidermalization: A term derived from the works of Franz Fanon who described a shared psychopathology caused by the colonial encounter. This encounter resulted in a kind of reification of ahistorical categories, namely race, and was used to naturalize capitalist exploitation of colonized working and peasant classes due to their perceived inferiority along racist lines.

Gig Economy: This describes a shift in postmodern capitalist social relations of production where capitalist enterprises have moved into a stage where they attempt to contractually divest themselves of obligations towards workers by defining their employees as contractors or other such arrangements. Classic examples of this shift are services like Uber who mobilizes the private property and labour time of drivers to provide an equivalent taxi service without the regulatory or other burdens assumed by taxi operators. The ideological apparatus that supports this trend emerges because of neoliberal discourse involving the transformation of workers into entrepreneurs of themselves and monetizing their off-hours and down time on their assets (e.g., a car). In the context of education, this is most pronounced in shifts among higher education administration towards the employment of a massive workforce of precariously employed sessional faculty who are disposable to the university (see Childress, 2019).

Inuktitut: This is the name of the entire Inuit language as referred to in most linguistic and scholarly literature. Within the legislative framework of Nunavut, Inuktitut refers to the dialects spoken in the eastern Arctic communities of the Qikiqtaaluk and Kivalliq regions, and along with the Netsilik Inuit of the Kitikmeot region.

Inuktut: The collective name used in Nunavut legislation for all Inuktitut dialects within the territory.

Inuinnaqtun: The westernmost dialect of Inuktitut referred to in legislation and government documents (e.g., by StatsCan) as a separate language that is spoken in Nunavut within two communities primarily, Cambridge Bay and Kugluktuk.

Inuit Nunangat: This is the collective noun for the regions where Inuit live in Canada. This includes, from east to west, Nunatsiavut (Labrador), Nunavik (Québec), Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (NWT and Yukon). For a map of the region visit this website: https://www.itk.ca/maps-of-inuit-nunangat/

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ): This is the Inuktitut phrase that refers to the way of living the good life within Inuit culture. It is composed of various ethical and social practices that are in keeping with how to live in relative social harmony. The Government of Nunavut has, as one of its efforts to Inuitize the bureaucracy of the territory, subjected these principles to a process of reification where the specific principles have been reduced to universal axioms to be transmitted through the conduct of workplace and educational practices in the public service.

Inuvialuit: This is the collective name for the Inuit settlement region that spans the Arctic regions of Northwest Territories and Yukon.

Iqalummiut: A term used throughout this dissertation to refer to people from Iqaluit.

Kitikmeot: This is the political and geographic division of contemporary Nunavut that encompasses its westernmost communities.

Kivalliq: This is the political division of Nunavut that encompasses the communities on the coast of Hudson's Bay and inland to include Baker Lake as well.

Liberalism (Liberal Progressivism): A political theory that emerged independently in various forms through the bourgeois revolutions of the late eighteenth and through the twentieth centuries. Premised on a theory of freedom that renounced feudal political relationships and replaced them with a belief in the sovereignty endowed upon the individual. Liberal progressivism, by extension, is a political theory that takes for granted the underlying justice and legitimacy of the system of capitalist exploitation, usually by referring to the property rights of the bourgeoisie as being legitimate but understands the emancipation of people by expanding their opportunity for civic and marketplace participation.

Marxism (Historical Materialism): A political and economic theory that emerged as a critique of capitalist social relations and German idealism in the mid-late nineteenth century. Marxism makes certain assumptions about the socialization of labour and the appropriation of surplus value by a propertied class (i.e., the bourgeoisie) and rejects the legitimacy of this relationship. Based on a dialectical view of the world, Marxists understand society as being in a constant state of fluctuation, negation, and regeneration. Progress through these crises comes through class struggle as a means of negating the fundamental productive relationship between people and enacting a communist society organized by freely associated people.

Nation: In this case being referred to the broad ways that people have traditionally organized themselves based on shared spatial, linguistic, culinary, and historical traditions. These are

usually bound by a shared sense of distinctiveness from some neighbouring group, but rarely are strictly confined by borders.

Nation-state: The modern condition where the interests of the nation are conflated with the interests of capital and the State in order to manipulate the insecurities of the nation for the reproduction of relations with other States that are beneficial for the reproduction of capitalist relations both within and between States.

Nunavummiut: This is an Inuktitut word that roughly translates to “people from Nunavut”.

Nunavut: A political subdivision of Canada that is a result of an act of parliament established in 1999. This public government was agreed to in the terms settled in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement between the Canadian government and the Nunavut Inuit.

Nunavut Land Claims Agreement: A settlement of the land usage, economic, and political rights of Inuit in the Nunavut settlement region.

Qallunaaq: Generic term for Southerner, but typically used to refer to white people from the South. Plural is Qallunaat and in some earlier writings it was transcribed as kabloona.

Qikiqtaaluk: This is the Inuktitut name for the political region that constitutes the former Baffin Island jurisdiction. This region also includes the High Arctic Islands of the Artic Archipelago.

Self-determination: This is a basic right often called upon by people living under the subjugation of another group. It refers to the right to determine for your own community, or nation, your political economic associations within your group and between other groups. In the context of Nunavut, self-determination was understood as leveraging Inuit’s demographic advantage to create a public government that could be held accountable to the demands of Inuit. Québécois

separatists also argue along related lines for their own community's self-determination distinct from Canada.

State: This term, when capitalized, is being used to refer to the methods that are necessary for the production and regulation of capital but are typically imposed on our relations spatially (e.g., borders, common markets, police, military, etc.).

Technocracy: A political system that derives its legitimacy from the rule of educated experts. Often technocracy does not exist independently of other political systems, other than in idealist texts like Plato's *The Republic*. The creation of elaborate, indecipherable, and punitive or authoritarian systems that are the strict domain of a class of experts (e.g., lawyers interpret the law, scientists interpret scientific data, etc.) is the main feature of the influence of technocracy within other political systems. Technocracy is a common feature of many contemporary liberal democracies, for example, and was a common complaint about State capitalism in the Soviet Union as well.

Totalization: A process where the State, through increased bureaucratic sophistication, incorporates marginal subjects within its boundaries into itself as a totality. This is undertaken by assimilating the margins into the centre. In the case of Inuit, totalization served to define Inuit as a distinct people who could be managed through the colonial intervention of the Canadian State to become assimilated into the broader Canadian political economy. In other words, Inuit came to be seen as part of the totality of Canada and came to be dominated increasingly by the State in such a way to produce the outcome of their assimilation.