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**PRODUCING A SOCIETY OF INDIVIDUATED SUBJECTS: A HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY
OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE KITIKMEOT REGION, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES**

by

SCOTT D. MCLEAN, B.A., M.A.

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

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario**

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OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE KITIKMEOT REGION, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

submitted by

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Producing a Society of Individuated Subjects: A Historical Sociology of Adult Education in the Kitikmeot Region, Northwest Territories

Rather than accept contemporary patterns of individuality as natural and universal, sociologists need to problematize such patterns, and deconstruct the processes through which specific forms of individuality emerge. Particular forms of human individuality and subjectivity are historically constructed, as human beings experience and engage in social practices and relations. In societies such as ours, individuation is central to the constitution of human subjects. I conceptualize individuation as a process through which human beings become objectively knowable to others through distinctive biographies and personal characteristics, and subjectively known to themselves through habituated patterns of consciousness and practice.

In this dissertation, I analyze adult education in the Kitikmeot region of the Northwest Territories as an organized field of intervention which individuated human subjects, and objectified their putative learning needs. My analysis has three main stages. First, I document the political-economic changes through which individuating educational practices became possible in the Kitikmeot. The disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices, and the construction of permanent settlements, wage economies, and plural administrative fields of intervention were the key political-economic changes. Second, I narrate the evolution of official

discourses, administrative structures, and local programs through which adult education was actually constructed as a significant field of social relations. The construction of adult education was achieved through the emergence of "cultural deprivation" and "deficit learner" regimes of truth about the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity, along with the emergence of specific administrative agencies responsible for organizing and supervising adult education programs in Kitikmeot communities. Third, I analyze how adult educators' practices in the 1980's individuated adult basic education participants, and objectified those participants' learning needs. The cumulative weight of adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices objectified students and learning needs, and inculcated a subjective sense of inadequate individuality among participating students.

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Location of the Kitikmeot Within the Northwest Territories

INTRODUCTION

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE KITIKMEOT

A gap is developing rapidly between the level of education of children and adults. An adult education program will be provided to reduce this gap and to help adults adjust to the changes taking place in the Northwest Territories.

Canada, Advisory Committee on
Northern Development, 1962
Government Activities in the North

The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that we can fight fear.

Michel Foucault, 1974
The Archeology of Knowledge

Points of Departure

In 1989 and 1990, I worked for Arctic College as the community adult educator in Cambridge Bay. During this time, I became puzzled by the lack of public debate over the social impact of adult educators' activities. Given rapid social changes in the North, and the large number of Inuit adults participating in formal education programs, an interesting question presented itself: what is the relationship between adult education and social change in the Kitikmeot region? To me, the salience of this question was self-evident; adult educators' practices explicitly promoted the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and habits to help integrate Inuit into the wage labour market. Despite the significant political and ethical implications of such practices, there was little local discussion about adult educators' objectives, methods, or influence.

When I began research for this dissertation, I encountered existing literatures which offered three basic responses to my question on the relationship between adult education and social change in the North. First, government documents asserted that adult education *provided* Inuit with the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to successfully adapt to changing social and economic realities. Second, liberal critics of this official position argued that adult education *assimilated* Inuit to the norms and values of Euro-Canadian culture. Third, marxian critics suggested that adult education *integrated* Inuit into dependent positions within capitalist relations of production and exchange. A brief sketch of the history of formal adult education in the Kitikmeot reveals that each of these

positions has some merit.

Formal education programs did not exist during the first hundred and fifty years of contact between Euro-Canadians and Kitikmeot Inuit. In the middle of this century however, the nature of such contact was transformed as the fur trade collapsed, and as state administration intensified in an effort to assert Canadian sovereignty over the North. Prior to the 1950's, state officials assumed that Inuit would maintain hunting and trapping lifestyles, and thus required little formal schooling; neither administrative structures nor local education programs existed in the Kitikmeot. Adult education programs began in the 1960's, when state personnel substantially expanded their activities in the region. Initially, educators explicitly constructed programs to facilitate the economic and cultural transformation of Inuit society. By the late 1970's, permanent settlements, wage economies, and state administrative practices were significant features of Kitikmeot life, and adult education had been established as a distinct form of schooling. Educators designed programs to promote the personal development of individual adults, and to help those adults access wage employment.

Since the early 1960's, adult education programs have without question provided Inuit adults with new knowledge and skills. Hundreds of programs were delivered in the Kitikmeot, from the functional literacy and housing education programs of the 1960's, to the academic upgrading, employment preparation, and life skills programs of the 1980's. These programs increased levels of basic education among adults, and provided many people with qualifications

and skills needed to obtain wage employment. From another perspective, these programs consistently promoted the cultural assimilation of Kitikmeot Inuit. Until the early 1970's, adult educators' activities were explicitly assimilationist; formal programs included how to live in permanent houses and how to subsist in a wage economy. In the 1970's, explicit assimilationism became unfashionable, but adult education programs continued to be delivered in English, by Euro-Canadian instructors, with regular daily and seasonal schedules, and according to curricula and pedagogies developed in non-Inuit cultures. From a third perspective, both knowledge provision and cultural assimilation helped integrate Kitikmeot Inuit into economic relations based upon wage labour and monetary exchange. During the thirty years in which formal adult education programs have been offered in the region, wage labour and government transfer payments have superceded hunting and trapping as the predominant means of subsistence. Since the 1970's, preparing Inuit for employment has been the fundamental rationale of most adult education programs in the region.

While educational provision, cultural assimilation, and economic integration were fundamental to the relationship between adult education and social change in the Kitikmeot, I suggest that a less obvious process was also involved. I argue that the construction of individuated forms of subjectivity was integral to processes of state formation in the Kitikmeot. Adult educational practices during the 1980's individuated participating students, and objectified those students' putative academic and personal inadequacies. Adult

education was not the only organized field of governance to individuate Kitikmeot Inuit and objectify their needs; other individuating projects of state formation included practices in the domains of health care, welfare, economic development, justice, local government, housing, and public schooling.

Adult education was historically constructed in the Kitikmeot. Educational programs and practices did not emerge naturally, and did not immediately focus upon the putative learning needs of individuals. My basic objective in this dissertation is to analyze the historical construction and operation of specific educational practices which individuated adult students and objectified their learning needs. In broad terms, individuating educational practices became possible in the Kitikmeot through: *political-economic changes* in which aboriginal patterns of subsistence activity were disorganized, and permanent settlements and wage economies were constructed; *symbolic changes* in which Inuit became discursively positioned as inherently deficient individuals; and *administrative changes* in which Euro-Canadian governments became able to deliver and control educational programs in the region. These changes were sedimented by the late 1970's, after which time adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices actively individuated Kitikmeot Inuit, and objectified their putative inadequacies. This dissertation does not endeavor to tell the whole story of adult education in the Kitikmeot. I examine only state organized forms of schooling, and I do not analyze the complex and varied responses of Kitikmeot Inuit to such forms.

Sketch of Dissertation

I develop and substantiate my argument about the social impact of Kitikmeot adult education in five chapters. Chapter One introduces important abstract concepts, and discusses the methodological issues which connect these concepts to my empirical research. The history of adult education in the Kitikmeot involved a complex series of transformations in political-economic, symbolic, administrative, and pedagogical practices. Empirically, these transformations were interwoven. Analytically, I have unpacked them into four distinct chapters. Chapter Two reviews the history of Euro-Canadian interventions in the Kitikmeot, and situates adult education within the disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices, and the construction of several state organized fields of intervention. Chapter Three analyzes the historical evolution of official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Chapter Four documents the construction of local adult education programs, and the emergence of administrative structures through which state personnel controlled such programs. Chapter Five deconstructs the material practices through which adult educators in the 1980's individuated Kitikmeot Inuit, and objectified their learning needs. At this point, I sketch the contribution that each chapter makes to the elaboration of my argument.

Chapter One provides conceptual and methodological points of departure for my dissertation. In this chapter, I: locate my argument within existing literatures on the relationship between power and subjectivity; problematize the sociality of individual

subjects, by reviewing comparative ethnographies of the self, and histories of European subjectivity; theorize individuality as historically constituted by specific relations of production and power; examine how administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices of schooling individuate subjects, and objectify needs; and discuss methodological issues which link the abstract concepts employed in Chapter One, with the historiographic focus of subsequent chapters.

Formal adult education in the Kitikmeot did not develop randomly or naturally. To understand how adult education became possible in the Kitikmeot, one must know how aboriginal forms of social life were disorganized through mercantile relations of the fur trade, and how administered settlements and wage economies were constructed. Chapter Two narrates the history of these processes in four eras: first contacts (1771 to 1910); fur trade (1910 to 1950); creation of administered settlements and wage economies (1950 to 1980); and contemporary. In broad terms, the post-contact history of the Kitikmeot was characterized by periods of exploration and mercantile exchange, followed by an era of state formation. Contemporary forms of educational practice would have been inconceivable within aboriginal Kitikmeot society. Adult education became discursively, administratively, and practically possible through the mercantile disorganization of aboriginal forms of subsistence, and the construction of administered settlements and wage economies.

Adult education in the Kitikmeot emerged in the 1960's as one field of intervention within more extensive projects of state

formation. As a material field of intervention, adult education was accompanied by the development of official regimes of truth about the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Chapter Three analyzes the historical evolution of such official discourses, in three basic eras: before 1960, when adult education gradually became part of official discourses on Inuit and modernity; 1960 - 1978, when a "cultural deprivation" regime of truth emerged, and was subsequently replaced by a "deficit learner" regime of truth; and 1979 - 1991, when meeting the learning needs of individuals was the hegemonic rationale for adult education programs and practices. These discursive shifts reflected: political-economic changes within the Northwest Territories; symbolic changes that were structured by external factors such as the American civil rights movement, and the evolution of discourses on Third World development and aboriginal people; and the emergence of state organized adult education as a material reality in the Northwest Territories.

Prior to the 1950's, adult education was not a significant part of official discourses on Inuit and modernity. Canadian Inuit were positioned as hunters and trappers, destined to remain collectively insulated, by the facts of geography, from the modern world. In the 1950's and 1960's, official discourses changed rapidly. Inuit were positioned as being involved in an inevitable transition to modernity; adult education was seen as an established form of state intervention to alleviate the putative cultural deprivations which apparently inhibited this transition. During these decades, both adult education and Inuit social change were explicitly collective

and problematic. In the 1970's, the collective and problematic process of Inuit modernization was redefined as an individual and natural process of personal development. Official references to Inuit modernization were replaced with references to the personal and vocational needs of individuals. Adult education was viewed as an obvious means through which to meet the needs of deficit learners, and the North was viewed as an obviously modern place.

Chapter Four documents the construction of administrative agencies and local programs through which state representatives organized and controlled educational practices. The administrative development of adult education paralleled more general historical events in the Kitikmeot. In the mercantile era, no specific organizations existed to administer adult education in the Kitikmeot, and no state personnel were directly involved in education programs. Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries organized the schooling which did occur. In the 1950's, the federal government assumed control of schooling in the Northwest Territories, and some tentative adult education programs were organized. When state activities intensified in the 1960's and 1970's, specific administrative agencies for adult education were established and expanded by federal and territorial governments. Initially, local adult education programs were few in number, loosely organized, and non-individualized. Such programs included functional literacy, how to live in permanent houses, and how to live in a wage economy. After permanent settlements were sedimented in the 1970's, hundreds of local programs were organized by a complex combination of federal,

territorial, regional, and local administrative agencies. Such programs endeavored to meet individualized needs in areas such as academic upgrading, employment preparation, and life skills.

The discursive and material evolution of formal adult education in the Kitikmeot was a state organized project. During the aboriginal and mercantile eras, formal adult schooling was simply absent. During the 1960's, adult education emerged as an explicit project to facilitate the integration of Inuit into state organized programs of economic, political, and cultural modernization. As permanent settlements, wage economies, and state administrative activities became sedimented in the 1970's, adult education evolved into a project to meet the putative learning needs of individual citizens. Thus, adult education was not always a significant site for the production of individuated subjects in the Kitikmeot. The discursive regimes of truth, as well as the material structures and pedagogical programs, which made such forms of adult education possible, were constructed in the 1960's and 1970's. It was only in the 1980's that adult education became a significant field of individuating governance in the Kitikmeot.

In Chapter Five, I analyze the material practices of adult educators who taught adult basic education (A.B.E.) in the Kitikmeot from 1979 to 1991. I begin with a broad discussion of A.B.E. programs, including: explicit curricular content; grading systems; regulations governing student conduct; organizational features which oriented A.B.E. programs toward individual students rather than classroom groups; and methods used to encourage student

participation. The specific practices of adult educators, and students' material experiences of such practices, varied immensely. However, the basic form of the A.B.E. experience was similar for most participants. Specifically, virtually all A.B.E. students were monitored through particular administrative practices, examined through particular evaluative practices, and taught by means of particular pedagogical practices. Administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices structured adult education as a field of social experience that directly individuated Kitikmeot Inuit, and objectified their putative needs.

Chapter Five documents adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices. Adult educators engaged in specific administrative practices which objectively individuated A.B.E. students. Such students actively participated in the administrative construction of themselves as individuals, through regularly completing bureaucratic forms and reports. Each student's involvement with formal A.B.E. in the 1980's was monitored by a series of administrative practices. Chronologically, these administrative practices included: application; registration; placement within the A.B.E. curriculum; attendance records; performance reviews; counselling statistics; termination reports; and annual follow-up surveys. Through administrative practices, A.B.E. participants were objectively identified as individual cases, and encouraged to subjectively experience themselves as autonomous individuals with inherent needs. While the cumulative weight of administrative practices individuated students, a set of evaluative

practices defined and objectified students' learning needs. Through standardized placement procedures and ongoing formal examinations, adult educators encouraged A.B.E. participants to identify themselves as individual subjects with objective learning needs. Evaluative practices examined people's academic skills and compared them to putatively normal levels of ability. Such practices objectified learning needs, and generated material experiences which encouraged students to interpret those needs as personal deficiencies.

Adult educators' administrative and evaluative practices in the 1980's created a cumulative series of material experiences which encouraged Kitikmeot Inuit to understand themselves as autonomous individuals, and to recognize that they possessed certain objective learning needs. These processes were reinforced by daily pedagogical practices which explicitly endeavored to alleviate individuals' learning needs. While Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs during the 1980's included a wide range of pedagogical practices, these practices were structured by several major curricula. To illustrate these pedagogical practices, and to show how they individuated students and objectified learning needs, I review three major programs: the "Learning Individualized for Canadians" program; the Arctic College English and mathematics programs; and the N.W.T. "Adult Life Skills Training Program." Each curriculum was structured to encourage educator identification of student learning needs, student recognition of such needs, and student engagement in activities to alleviate such needs. These programs comprised a medical model of pedagogy, which both objectively defined, and encouraged students to

subjectively recognize, learning needs as individual attributes.

In summary, this dissertation provides a historical case study of the construction and operation of an individuating project of governance. I analyze adult education in the Kitikmeot as an organized field of intervention which individuated human subjects, and objectified their putative learning needs. My analysis has three main stages. First, I document the political-economic changes through which individuating educational practices became possible in the Kitikmeot. The disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices, and the construction of permanent settlements, wage economies, and plural administrative fields of intervention were the key political-economic changes. Second, I narrate the evolution of official discourses, administrative structures, and local programs through which adult education was actually constructed as a significant field of social experience. The construction of adult education was achieved through the emergence of "cultural deprivation" and "deficit learner" regimes of truth about the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity, along with the emergence of specific administrative agencies responsible for organizing and supervising adult education programs in Kitikmeot communities. Third, I analyze how adult educators' practices in the 1980's individuated A.B.E. participants, and objectified those participants' learning needs. The cumulative weight of educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices objectified students and learning needs, and tended to inculcate a subjective sense of inadequate individuality among participating students.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS: INDIVIDUALITY, POWER, AND SCHOOLING

If the economic take-off of the West began with the techniques that made possible the accumulation of capital, it might perhaps be said that methods for administering the accumulation of men made possible a political take-off in relation to the traditional, ritual, costly, violent forms of power, which soon fell into disuse and were superceded by a subtle, calculated technology of subjection. In fact, the two processes - the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital - cannot be separated.

Michel Foucault, 1977
Discipline and Punish

As if the task were the dialectical balancing of concepts, and not the grasping of real relations.

Karl Marx, 1857
Grundrisse

I.1 Introduction

At the grandest level of abstraction, my dissertation can be understood as an investigation into the relationship between subjectivity and power in processes of societal transformation. I am not the first to investigate this relationship. Robert van Krieken (1990: 353) asserts that an important

premise underlying the bulk of contemporary social theory is not only that there has been a transition from tradition to modernity, but also that being modern means being disciplined, by the state, by each other and by ourselves; that the soul, both one's own and that of others, became organized into the self, an object of reflection and analysis, and, above all, transformable in the service of ideals such as productivity, virtue and strength. The history of Western societies is seen to be characterized by an increasing objectification and disciplining of subjectivity....

Theorizing connections between political-economic modes of production, and cultural patterns of subjectivity, has been central to sociology from Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, to Foucault, Elias, and Bourdieu. Corrigan and Sayer (1985: 1-2) assert that the emergence and global expansion of "capitalist civilization involved a wholesale cultural revolution too - a revolution as much in the way the world was made sense of as in how goods were produced and exchanged."

Jean and John Comaroff's (1988, 1989, 1991) analysis of the "colonization of consciousness" in South Africa exemplifies the historiographic focus achieved by conceptualizing subjectivity as integral to power and social change. They (1991: 15) argue that

the essence of colonization inheres less in political overrule than in seizing and transforming 'others' by the very act of conceptualizing, inscribing, and interacting with them on terms not of their own choosing; in making them into the pliant objects and silenced subjects of our scripts and scenarios; in assuming the capacity to 'represent' them....

Further, they (1991: 313) suggest that "European colonization of Africa was often less a directly coercive conquest than a persuasive attempt to colonize consciousness, to remake people by redefining the taken for granted surfaces of their everyday worlds." The Comaroff's work indicates that histories of colonization must do more than document military conquest or political-economic exploitation.

In their history of European colonialism and the Tswana people, Comaroff and Comaroff (1991: 18-25) distinguish between the ideological content and the hegemonic forms of organized projects of governance. They (1989: 289) suggest that the colonization of consciousness in South Africa

entailed two levels. At its most tangible, it involved an overt effort to convert the Tswana, an argument of images and messages intended to convince them of the ideological content of Christianity. Here the evangelists tried to disseminate, in the heart of darkness, the Good News, a persuasive narrative of biblical morality and 'truth.' At a deeper level, only partially distinguished from the first, they set their sights on the total reformation of the heathen world; i.e. on the inculcation of the hegemonic forms, the taken for granted signs and practices, of the colonizing culture.

In separating form from content in governance, Comaroff and Comaroff (1989: 289) reveal how hegemonic patterns of consciousness may emerge in spite of active resistance:

The content of the civilising mission, its substantive message, was debated and often rejected; increasingly, it would turn out later, along emerging class lines. But its forms were conveyed by the very structure of the conversation from the moment that the Tswana engaged in it. Thus, even to argue over the relative success of two kinds of rain medicine was unwittingly to concede a good deal to the ideology of rational empiricism; to adopt the plough was to redefine the division of labour along the lines of the bourgeois family and its engendered signs; to read a vernacular bible was to have Setswana poetics re-presented in the mode of a thin *sekgoa* [European] narrative; and so on. In each sphere, the discourse presupposed a certain kind of subject, and a particular mode of knowing and being.

If projects of governance *presuppose* "a certain kind of subject," they also actively structure practices which *produce* particular forms of subjectivity. Rather than simply explaining how governments oppress individuals, one must show how the creation of certain forms of individuality is itself a form of governance.

The construction and regulation of individuated subjects is an important element in contemporary debates over the changing nature of political power. Miller and Rose (1992: 174) assert:

the political vocabulary structured by oppositions between state and civil society, public and private, government and the market, coercion and consent, sovereignty and autonomy and the like, does not adequately characterize the diverse ways in which rule is exercised in advanced liberal democracies. Political power is exercised today through a profusion of shifting alliances between diverse authorities in projects to govern a multitude of facets of economic activity, social life and individual conduct. Power is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of 'making up' citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom. Personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its exercise, the more so because most individuals are not merely the subjects of power but play a part in its operations.

Understanding the nature of power and individuality is integral to adequately conceptualizing modern and post-modern social formations.

In conceptualizing power, Foucault's later works are particularly insightful. He (1982: 789) argues that

the exercise of power is not violence; nor is it a consent which, implicitly, is renewable. It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions.

In general terms, power refers to processes which enable or restrict people's capacities for particular forms of social practice or

consciousness. Power inheres to all social relations, because all relations promote or discourage alternative forms of practice or consciousness.

This conceptualization of power demands that the study of governance transcend the realm of formal political and legal institutions. Foucault (1982: 790) suggests that the sixteenth century notion of "government"

did not refer only to political structures or the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered or calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others.

Given this broad understanding of governance, one can conceptualize forms of individuality and subjectivity as integral products and resources of structured power relations.

The existence of individual subjects is not an inevitable feature of the human condition. Individuated subjects are produced through historically specific forms of social relations. Foucault (1982: 781) discusses subjection in the following terms:

This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. There are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to.

In becoming subjects, human beings become individuals, characterized by seemingly objective properties which apparently inhere to their

individuality.

Individuation is a difficult process to recognize, because we have all been deeply inculcated with a sense of our own individuality. Human beings' physiological individuality tends to obscure our inherent sociality. Just as with other human characteristics, particular forms of individuality are socially constructed:

the individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals (Foucault, 1986a: 234).

Individuation is a process through which human beings become objectively knowable to others through distinctive biographies and personal characteristics, and subjectively known to themselves through distinctive, habituated patterns of consciousness and practice. In this dissertation, I use the term individuation to refer to both the objective specification of individuals, and the subjective inculcation of individuality. These processes are closely related, but not identical; where necessary I distinguish between them by contrasting subjective and objective individuation.

Individuation is connected with, but not identical to, individualization. Individualization refers to historical processes through which certain social practices become increasingly privatized or personalized. For example, subsistence practices and pedagogical techniques have been individualized over the past fifty years in the Kitikmeot; this individualization has created patterns of social

experience that individuate Kitikmeot Inuit. The individualization of practices tends to coincide with the individuation of subjects, but the two processes are analytically distinct.

My basic concern in this dissertation is to examine how adult educational practices in the Kitikmeot were historically constructed, and to analyze how such practices contributed to the individuation of Kitikmeot Inuit. So far, I have simply located this concern within existing literatures on the relationship between subjectivity and power. In the remainder of this chapter, I: problematize the concept of the individual subject, by reviewing ethnographic and historical literatures which challenge the notion that individuality is a natural dimension of the human condition; theorize individuality, by suggesting that individuated subjects are produced through historically specific forms of social experience; investigate formal schooling as an important site for the social construction of individuated subjects; and address methodological issues which connect the abstract concepts employed in Chapter One, with the empirical analysis undertaken in Chapters Two through Five.

I.2 Historicity of the Individuated Subject

The universality of human individuality seems obvious. In all societies, people are empirically distinct biological entities.

Michelle Rosaldo (1984: 145) argues that people everywhere

are apt to have some notion of personal identity over time and of the boundaries between themselves and others. Whatever the connections we may feel with fellow men, we recognize (and grant significance to) some of our differences as well – and in this limited sense a concept of the self is apt to be a cultural universal.

While some form of individuality seems ubiquitous in human life, the objective and subjective forms that individuality takes vary substantially in different times and places. Within Western cultures, there are important philosophical traditions that view individual subjects as natural features of the human condition. Bryan Turner (1988: 56) identifies three distinct elements of such traditions: a "primitive discourse of the individual" associated with Stoicism, Roman legal traditions, Christian notions of the soul, and medieval practices of confession; political doctrines of "individualism" associated with seventeenth and eighteenth century social theorists such as Locke, Hobbes, and Rousseau; and aesthetic notions of "individuality" associated with nineteenth century Romanticism. One could easily add to this list, citing such twentieth century discourses as psychoanalysis, symbolic interactionism, and philosophical existentialism. It is impossible to isolate any single conception of the individual subject which adequately summarizes the diffuse meaning of this term within Western cultures (Murray, 1993; Spiro, 1993; Whittaker, 1992). At this point, I review certain theoretical and pre-theoretical notions that assume individuality to be a natural, incontrovertible feature of human life. My goal is not to deconstruct the history of individuality in Western thought; I merely want to identify a certain tendency to assume that we are all individuals.

Philosophical notions of the "Cartesian subject" are central to Western conceptions of human individuality. Eleanor Macdonald (1991: 44-45) suggests that Descartes,

writing at a time in history when the grounding of the subject in relation to God and religiously sanctioned social hierarchies had lost its hold, sought to reestablish the subject's self-certainty. He did this by asserting the ability of subjects to reason their own existence. Out of this rose a theory of the subject as unitary, autonomous, individualist, and rational.

In describing liberal individualism, Peters and Marshall (1993: 20) argue that the

Cartesian-Kantian tradition conceived of the epistemological subject as the fount of all knowledge, signification and moral action. In transhistorical terms, liberal philosophers pictured the subject within a set of highly individualistic assumptions as standing separate from, and logically prior to, society and culture.

Cartesian notions of the subject, popularized by the slogan "I think, therefore I am," view individuality as a natural aspect of humanity.

"Abstract individualism" refers to notions which give ontological priority to individual human beings over social relationships and communities. Marilyn Friedman (1989: 273) asserts:

abstract individualism considers individual human beings as social atoms, abstracted from their social contexts, and disregards the role of social relationships and human community in constituting the very identity and nature of individual human beings.

According to some versions of individualism, collective political, cultural, and economic realities can only be understood as the sum, or the derivative, of individual actions. Alan MacFarlane (1978: 5) describes English individualism as

the view that society is constituted of autonomous, equal units, namely separate individuals and that such individuals are more important, ultimately, than any larger constituent group. It is reflected in the concept of individual private property, in the political and legal liberty of the individual, in the idea of the individual's direct communication with god.

Notions such as the Cartesian subject, abstract individuals, and liberal individualism explicitly theorize human individuality as a

natural, universal, incontrovertible fact.

Commonsense assumptions about the nature of human individuality are even more diverse, and thus harder to summarize, than explicit theories. In very basic terms, I suggest that three pre-theoretical assumptions about individuality are common in societies such as ours. First, each human being is typically presumed to possess some sort of existential core, known alternatively as soul, self, ego, or personality. Second, despite processes of maturation, this existential core is presumed to be relatively unitary and stable; each individual is presumed to remain more or less constant in spite of their various social roles. Third, this existential core is presumed to be somewhat autonomous from social relations. Regardless of social environment, individuals are said to have inherent rights, freedoms, needs, abilities, potentials, and responsibilities. These commonsense assumptions are based in material experiences of reality which present individuality as a taken-for-granted and relatively unproblematic state of being.

At this point, I want to distinguish the term "individuated subject" from the term "individual subject." The term individual subject implies a natural state of being, while the term individuated subject implies a historically specific process of becoming. My use of the term individuated subject indicates my assertion that we are socially constructed as individuals. Essentially, individuated subjects exist empirically, while the individual subject is an ideological construct. To problematize the assumption that individual subjects are inherent to the human condition, I review two

literatures which suggest that such forms of individuality are unique to particular social contexts: comparative ethnographies of the self; and histories of European subjectivity. These literatures indicate that individual subjects are not universal, and that therefore the production of individuated subjects is a sociologically important issue.

I.2.1 Comparative Ethnographies of the Self

Comparative ethnography presents evidence to suggest that individuated subjects are not present in all societies. Geertz (quoted in Shweder and Bourne, 1984: 167) suggests that

the Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgement, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures.

I briefly review ethnographic studies of the Gahuku-Gama, Ilongot, Tallensi, Lugbara, and Taita peoples, which suggest that the structure of human individuality varies between cultures.

Shweder and Bourne (1984) compare ethnographic evidence from several cultures to argue that conceptions of the self are dependent upon social context. They (1984: 158) begin by stating:

Our concern in this essay is with other people's conceptions of the person and ideas about the self. Our aim is to interpret a widespread mode of social thought often referred to as concrete, undifferentiated, context-specific, or occasion-bound thinking, a mode of social thought culminating in the view that specific situations determine the moral character of a particular action, that the individual person per se is neither an object of importance nor inherently worthy of respect, that the individual as moral agent ought not be distinguished from the social status s(he) occupies; a view that, indeed, the individual as an

abstract ethical and normative category is not to be acknowledged.

This conceptualization of individuality directly opposes abstract individualism. From this perspective, individuals exist physically, but they receive no cultural recognition independent from the social context in which they act. Personal identity is context-dependent, rather than abstractly defined.

The Gahuku-Gama of New Guinea apparently "recognize no generalized concept of personhood" (La Fontaine, 1985: 130). According to Shweder and Bourne (1984: 167), the Gahuku-Gama do not distinguish between individuals and the roles that such individuals occupy. La Fontaine (1985 :130) asserts that the Gahuku-Gama

concept of the person is totally particularized. Since there is no awareness of relationships unstructured by recognized roles, which are part of each individual, there is no general category of personhood, merely distinct personalities, defined by their particular social relations.

For the Gahuku-Gama, there seems to be no distinction between individual identity and the social identities which are constituted through involvement in particular relations (La Fontaine, 1985: 134).

In her ethnographic study of the Ilongot people in the Philippines, Michelle Rosaldo (1984: 146) suggests that people can recognize individuality in ways which are significantly different from our conception of the individual subject:

I would not claim that Ilongot individuals do not exist. Rather, I want to argue that an analytic framework that quates 'self/individual' with such things as spontaneity, genuine feeling, privacy, uniqueness, constancy, the 'inner' life, and then opposes these to the 'persons' or 'personae' shaped by mask, role, rule, or context, is a reflection of dichotomies that constitute the modern Western self.

Rosaldo (1984) documents various aspects of Ilongot culture which

indicate non-individuated subjectivities. Examples include: interpreting drunken violence as purely the result of alcohol, rather than of some repressed frustration or anger; changing personal names in response to such events as disease, marriage, or geographic relocation; not describing one's own actions in terms of personal motivation; and not attributing motivation or responsibility for other's actions to their conscious intentions. In summarizing Ilongot identity, Rosaldo (1984: 146-147) argues that

Ilongot hearts are not fixed entities that stand behind or underneath a public world where personhood is both affirmed and challenged. As numerous ethnographies suggest, our notions of a constant 'I' - alluded to by the experiences that make a lengthy dossier - are not found in tribal cultures in which kinship and identity are forever things to be negotiated in diverse contexts....For Ilongots, in short, there is no necessary gap between 'the presentation' and 'the self.' What is most true of individuals, their deepest sense of who they are, is located in a set of actions - hunting, headhunting, growing rice - that displays the 'energy' or 'anger' that gives shape and focus to all healthy human hearts. What is more, these deeds do not achieve the separation of the individual from the group. Lack of focus makes one 'different,' but the Ilongot ideal is best described as one of 'sameness,' parity, or equality. Deviance, illness, madness, and failure to perform are typically attributed to things outside the self. Spiritual forces may cause crops to fail or make a person wild or weak by taking the heart out of one's body. But no one sees in deviant acts the telling symptoms of a person's character or worth. Nor do Ilongots in their self-reflections speak of personal histories or distinctive psychic drives to account for the peculiarities of deeds or dreams....In short, it seems misleading to identify individuality with the Ilongot sense of self, first, because Ilongots do not assume a gap between the private self and public person and, second, because the very terms they use in their accounts of how and why they act place emphasis not on the individual who remains outside a social whole but rather on the ways in which all adults are simultaneously autonomous and equal members of a group.

This passage summarizes an empirical example of non-individuated subjectivity. The Ilongot sense of identity casts doubt upon the universality of the individual subject.

J.S. La Fontaine (1985: 126) reviews ethnographic accounts of three African societies (the Tallensi of Ghana, the Lugbara of Uganda, and the Taita of Kenya), and suggests that, despite significant differences, "overall they resemble one another in their concepts of the 'person' more than they resemble the individualist West." La Fontaine (1985: 125) distinguishes between the "individual" (ie. physical entity) and the "person" (ie. socially recognized identity). In these African societies, not every individual is understood as being a person:

The completed person, whether Tallensi, Lugbara, or Taita is the product of a whole life. By conferring personhood on the individual such societies also, though implicitly, distinguish between person and individual, conferring moral worth not only on the individual but on the social form, which includes as a vital element the maintenance of continuity. The concept serves to fuse the finite span of a human life with the unlimited continuity of social forms, by identifying personhood with self-reproduction (La Fontaine, 1985: 132).

These three societies are all organized through patrilineal descent, based upon the assumption that each new generation represents a projection of initial ancestors. La Fontaine (1985: 137) argues that

in such a society, each new baby has a position defined at birth, which relates it to this [genealogical] structure and the succession of generations. Only full siblings have the same social identity and even they may be ranked in order of birth, as they are distinguished by sex. Personhood in such a society is, as Radcliffe-Brown pointed out, a complex of social relationships. As more social relations are added through life, personhood approaches completion, but the critical feature is the social relation with the next generations whereby society is continued into yet another generation. Not every individual is fully a person, or even a person at all, in societies which define human beings by their place in a social chain linking past with present.

Individuality in such societies is tempered by actual social relations, and by genealogical connections with ancestors and

successors. Together, ethnographies of the self among Gahuku-Gama, Ilongot, Tallensi, Lugbara, and Taita constitute a significant challenge to the notion that individual subjects are a natural, ubiquitous feature of human life. Individuality, like other aspects of human subjectivity, is structured by particular experiences of social and material life.

In Chapter Two, I argue that Euro-Canadian interventions in the Arctic since the early 1900's have gradually individuated Kitikmeot Inuit. However, it is difficult to reconstruct the forms of individuality that characterized pre-contact Inuit life in the central Arctic. Early ethnographers did not problematize the structure of Inuit individuality. Given contemporary debates over the nature of self and subjectivity in different cultures, several recent scholars have used historical ethnographic texts to speculate about aboriginal patterns of individuality among Inuit. Ann Fienup-Riordan (1986) asserts that the traditional concept of personhood among the Yup'ik Inuit of Alaska contrasted sharply with that of the Moravian missionaries who lived with the Yup'ik in the late 1800's. Fienup-Riordan (1986: 262) argues that

for the Yup'ik people of the turn of the century, society was viewed as primary, and the life of the individual only took on meaning in the context of a complex web of relationships between men and animals, both the living and the dead.

In contrast to the Hobbesian conception of society as a contractual arrangement between previously autonomous individuals, Yup'ik Inuit understood the world as originating in peace and unity between people and animals (Fienup-Riordan, 1986: 266-267). Yup'ik mythology suggests that the original unity of human beings with each other and

with animals was only broken when selfish individuals disrupted the harmony of the world.

Arlene Stairs (1992: 119-120) argues that one cannot simply contrast the "egocentric" identity pattern attributed to Western cultures with a putative "sociocentric" identity pattern of Inuit culture. While the notion of sociocentric identity may adequately characterize some African or Asian societies, Stairs (1992) asserts that Inuit identity should be understood as "ecocentric," involving connections within and between the human, animal, and material worlds. Stairs (1992: 117) describes the traditional Inuit concept of "inummarik" ("a most genuine person"):

Becoming inummarik is a lifelong process of developing correct interaction, through both attitude and skill, with people and animals, community and environment....Inummarik identity is progressive; one does not assume the fixed qualities of a bounded person, and others do not describe an absent individual in terms of past behavior. This acceptance of progressive identity is demonstrated by Inuit as they absorb such external features as syllabic writing, fox trapping, media technology, and large-scale carving into the same body of traditional knowledge as oral literature, sea mammal hunting, land lore, and kinship structure.

While arguing that "Inuit identity is not individualistic in the Western sense," Stairs (1992: 116) does not deny the existence of individuality in traditional Inuit forms of subjectivity.

In contrast to Western models of cognitive and moral development, which equate maturation and self-actualization with increasing autonomy, Stairs (1992: 119) asserts that Inuit identity develops and matures in processes of "grounding" within the social and animal worlds. Stairs and Wenzel (1992: 7) suggest that Inuit identity is grounded upon the active construction of a "world-image:"

Through a life that unifies the land, the animals, and the community past and present, the Inuk hunter acquires, reconstructs, and lives out a world-image which provides both security in his own identity and direction for his behavior. He does not hunt only to eat, but also to structure his community, and ultimately to build a cognitive model of the world by which he is defined and directed. To be inummarik is to be actively engaged in lifelong cycles of interaction with, and cognitive integration of, the human and non-human environment.

Constructing a world-image involves constantly integrating new social and material experiences into one's cognitive structures. Stairs (1992: 124) rejects both the abstract individual model, and the context-dependent model, as appropriate representations of traditional Inuit individuality. Inuit have individual identities, but these identities evolve over time, and cannot be separated from the social and environmental relations within which they emerge and develop.

Recent ethnographic claims about the cultural relativity of the self have been contested. In particular, the bipolar representation of Western/non-Western concepts of self has been attacked as theoretically simplistic, and empirically inaccurate. Spiro (1993: 111) summarizes the position that the Western concept of self is "peculiar:"

whereas the Western self and/or its cultural conception is characterized by self-other differentiation, personal individuation, and autonomy, the non-Western self and/or its cultural conception is not differentiated, individuated, or autonomous, or not, at any rate, like anything approaching the same degree. Rather, the key characteristics of the non-Western self are interdependence, dependence, and fluid boundaries.

Murray (1995) and Spiro (1993) make three major criticisms of this position. First, they suggest that Western selves, and conceptions

of the self, are extremely diverse and often include elements, such as contextuality and interdependence, attributed to non-Western cultures. Second, they note that the self has been studied intensively in only a small percentage of world cultures, and thus it is premature to construct typologies of the self. Third, they suggest that some non-Western cultures, particularly in Asia, contain selves, and conceptions of self, that closely resemble the "Western self." Forms of individuality vary greatly both within and between cultures. I am unable to evaluate the quality of ethnographic research upon which various cross-cultural characterizations of the self are made. However, comparative ethnographies clearly indicate that any particular representation of individuality must be problematized and explained, rather than simply taken for granted as a natural expression of the human condition.

I.2.2 Histories of European Subjectivity

While comparative ethnography casts doubt on the cross-cultural universality of individuality, recent histories of subjectivity suggest that Europeans were not always individuated subjects. Within historical sociology, a significant concern has emerged with respect to "the social history of subjectivity, and with the impact of a particular kind of society - rational, disciplinary, civilized - on the human psyche" (van Krieken, 1990: 355). In the following pages, I review works by Norbert Elias, Michel Foucault, Robert van Krieken, Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, which suggest that the contemporary existence of individuated subjects is the result of historically

specific social developments.

Elias (1991: 140) explicitly rejects the universality of the individual human subject: "qualities of human beings referred to by terms such as 'individuality' are not simply given by nature, but are something that has developed from the biological raw material in the course of a social process." Individuated forms of subjectivity are produced only in particular forms of society; individuality ultimately reflects not something within a particular human being, but rather the structure of social relations between human beings.

Elias (1991: 121) argues that the individuation of subjectivity

is an aspect of a social transformation which is quite beyond the control of the individual. The product of this increasing individuality, the greater diversity of individual people with regard to behavior, experience and make-up, is not simply given by nature in the same sense as is the diversity of human bodies. Nor is the separateness of individuals that is sometimes talked about a phenomenon given by nature in the same sense as the separateness of individual people in space. Considered as bodies, the individuals embedded for life in tightly knit kinship communities were and are no less separate from each other than the members of complex state societies. What emerges far more in the latter is the separateness and encapsulation of individuals in their relations to each other.

Contemporary European patterns of individuality evolved during long-term processes in which forms of subjectivity, social organization, and material production were gradually transformed.

Elias (1978, 1985, 1991) directly problematizes the historicity of contemporary forms of subjectivity and individuality. He argues that European personality structures have evolved over the centuries in concert with long-term changes both in social structures and in the relations between humans and the material world. In his work on "the civilizing process," Elias (1978: 223) tries

to show the possible connections between the long-term change in human personality structures toward a consolidation and differentiation of affect controls, and the long-term change in the social structure toward a higher level of differentiation and integration - for example, toward a differentiation and prolongation of the chains of interdependence and a consolidation of state controls.

Using research on manners, aggression, and state formation, Elias (1978: 257) argues that since the late Middle Ages there has been a shift from "interpersonal external compulsion" to "individual internal compulsion." In Elias' history of European personality structures, internalized forms of self-constraint increasingly replace external and violent forms of social control as the primary form of governance (van Krieken, 1989: 194). The development of self-constraint presupposes the emergence of particular forms of individuality. Indeed, Elias (1991: 196-197) locates the individuation of subjectivity as an integral component of the civilizing process in Europe since the Renaissance.

Although Foucault's analysis of European history diverges sharply from that of Elias, Foucault also suggests that forms of individuality and subjectivity are historical products. Foucault (1982: 777) states that "the goal of my work during the last twenty years...has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects." He (1982: 777-778) identifies three "modes of objectification" central to his analysis of subjection: modes of inquiry; dividing practices; and the ways in which human beings recognize themselves as subjects. Within the human sciences, people are objectified as subjects; for example, linguistics objectifies the speaking subject, economics objectifies

the producing subject, and biology objectifies the living subject. Within the institutions of psychiatry, medicine, and criminal justice, human beings are divided according to categories such as "the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the good boys." Within the domain of sexuality, human beings form themselves as ethical subjects of their own actions (Foucault, 1986b: 36, 95). These three modes of objectification are not cultural universals; they emerged over time within specific transformations of power relations in Europe.

For Foucault, the emergence of contemporary forms of subjectivity and individuality was integrally connected to the early modern shift from "sovereignty" to "discipline" as the predominant form of power in European societies. Foucault (1986a: 239) writes that disciplinary power

is in every aspect the antithesis of that mechanism of power which the theory of sovereignty described or sought to transcribe. The latter is linked to a form of power that is exercised over the Earth and its products, much more than over human bodies and their operations. The theory of sovereignty is something which refers to the displacement and appropriation on the part of power, not of time and labour, but of goods and wealth. It allows discontinuous obligations distributed over time to be given legal expression but it does not allow for the codification of a continuous surveillance. It enables power to be founded in the physical existence of the sovereign, but not in continuous and permanent systems of surveillance. The theory of sovereignty permits the foundations of an absolute power in the absolute expenditure of power. It does not allow for a calculation of power in terms of the minimum expenditure for the maximum return.

In contrast to power relations based upon sovereignty, which control behaviors through the violent and ostentatious punishment of transgressions, disciplinary power relations control behavior through creating individuated subjects capable of governing themselves. In

section I.3 of Chapter One, I examine how disciplinary forms of power relations both produce and presuppose individuated forms of subjectivity. At this point, I simply want to indicate that Foucault's account of sovereignty and discipline suggests that a transformation of individuality and subjectivity was an integral part of the European transition to modernity. Far from being a universal feature of the human condition, individuated subjects are historical products of particular social formations.

Robert van Krieken (1989, 1990) uses existing historical research to connect the individuation of subjectivity with the transition from medieval to modern forms of social life in Europe. Van Krieken (1990: 355) suggests that the relationship between political power and personality structure shifted in the transition to modernity:

Foucault and Elias agree with Weber that one can trace a development trend towards increasing self-discipline, a regularization and routinization of the psyche, so that one's inner 'economy of the soul' coordinates with the outer economy of an increasingly bureaucratized, rationalized, and individualized social world. Their work converges on the notion that there has been 'societalization of the self,' a transition in European history from a social order based on external constraint (sovereign power, traditional power) to one dependent on the internalization of constraint (disciplinary power, rational domination).

Van Krieken (1990: 359) explicitly links the emergence of self-discipline with a transition in the nature of European individuality: "the history of the superego cannot be seen in isolation from the history of the ego, being intimately linked to the development of individuality and the cultural encouragement of a sense of autonomous self-hood." In the Middle Ages, van Krieken

suggests, people had a much different sense of "self" than is now common. He (1989: 213) writes that the

notion of conscience and self-discipline depends on a concept of individual autonomy and responsibility, and this in turn rests on a view of how the world works and the role of human agency within it. In a world governed either by God and the Devil or some other supernatural forces, human beings are merely swept along in the tide, and a strong sense of human independence from those forces contributes to a sense of individual responsibility, and therefore conscience and self-discipline, coming to play a part in people's psychic life....The essential point here is that changes in conscience and self-discipline were intimately related to changes in Western culture's sense of self and individuality in itself.

Individuation of identity, van Krieken argues, developed along with the civilizing processes and projects that culminated in modern European forms of power and social relations.

Corrigan and Sayer's (1985) analysis of the relationship between state formation and cultural revolution in England asserts that the emergence of modern individuality was integral to the construction of capitalist social forms. They (1985: 183, 187) suggest that "modern law and modern polity rest on the concept of the citizen, the autonomous free individual with specified rights and duties;" and that the

core values of bourgeois political discourse - liberty, equality, democracy, rights - suppose the historical individual of "civil society"....The very notion of human rights - rights which attach to the individual as such, without consideration for social status or material circumstance - would have been well nigh incomprehensible in the feudal context.

Corrigan and Sayer locate the emergence of modern individuality in long processes of state formation and cultural revolution.

According to Corrigan and Sayer (1985: 186), the emergence of capitalist social forms in England involved

a two-sided transformation of social relations. The hierarchical, personalized, localized relationships of feudal society are doubly fractured. From one side, the process is one of increasing individualization, the "freeing" of individuals from feudal bonds to become the formally equal, abstractly human subjects of the bourgeois world-view. If the rituals of homage are a symbol of feudal relationships, contract is the master-symbol of this brave new world.

If individuation was one side of social transformations which made capitalism possible in England, state formation was the other side.

Corrigan and Sayer (1985: 186) argue that

state regulation is required to secure conditions under which individuals can thus freely pursue their "private" transactions, and to equalize these conditions for all. Minimally, the state must ensure physical security and (a particular) social order. But beyond this, as Durkheim brilliantly demonstrated in his analysis of the "pre-contractual" conditions presupposed in any contract...extensive moral regulation, the organization of consent, is required.

State formation is both a totalizing and an individuating project. State formation positions people as equal members of an "illusory community," and "individualizes people in quite definite and specific ways. We are registered within the state community as citizens, voters, taxpayers, ratepayers, jurors, parents, consumers, homeowners - individuals" (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985: 4-5). The history of state formation and cultural revolution in England suggests that individual subjects are not timeless entities; rather, individuated subjects were produced through long processes in which feudal social forms were gradually superceded by capitalist forms.

While the historical sociologists discussed above argue that contemporary forms of individuality emerged with the material and symbolic development of modern forms of social relations, some post-modern analysts of European subjectivity assert that

individuated forms of subjectivity are simply illusory. Jameson (1985: 115) explains that for post-modernists,

not only is the bourgeois individual a thing of the past, it is also a myth; it never really existed in the first place; there have never been autonomous subjects of that type. Rather, this construct is merely a philosophical and cultural mystification which sought to persuade people that they 'had' individual subjects and possessed this unique personal identity.

I would like to briefly distinguish my position, with respect to the ontological status of human subjects, from that which I perceive in post-modern literature. I agree with post-modernism that the Cartesian vision of the subject is an ideological product, and that one must problematize the assumption that human beings are naturally rational, unitary, and stable individuals (Flax, 1987: 624).

However, I do not agree that individuated subjects are merely ideological fictions. I argue that specific patterns of social and material experience can, and do, produce human beings who are subjectively and objectively individuated. As Foucault (1977: 194) comments, "the individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an ideological representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called discipline." The abstract question of how ontologically real, individuated subjects are constituted guides the next section of Chapter One. At this point, I have established why, rather than taking individual subjects for granted, we need to problematize and analyze how individuated subjects are produced.

I.3 Power Relations: Constructing Individuated Subjects

Since ethnographic and historical comparisons indicate that individuated subjectivity is not a universal fact of the human condition, one must account for the social processes through which individuated subjects are created. Existing sociological theory contains two outstanding theses about such processes. First, Marx argues that specific forms of subjectivity are rooted in particular structures of production relations:

As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production (Marx and Engels, 1968: 32).

When production relations are individualized, one would expect human subjectivities to be individuated. Second, Foucault argues that specific forms of subjectivity are rooted in particular structures of power relations: "Discipline makes individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise" (Foucault, 1977: 170). When disciplinary forms of power relations predominate, one would expect human subjectivities to be individuated.

These two individuation theses are compatible. Empirically, the transition to capitalist social forms in western Europe was marked by both an individualization of production relations, and an expansion of individuating institutions of disciplinary power. Foucault (1977: 221) explicitly links capital accumulation with the accumulation of disciplined individuals:

the technological mutations of the apparatus of production, the division of labour and the elaboration of the disciplinary

techniques sustained an ensemble of very close relations....Each makes the other possible and necessary; each provides a model for the other. The disciplinary pyramid constituted the small cell of power within which the separation, coordination and supervision of tasks was imposed and made efficient; and analytical partitioning of time, gestures and bodily forces constituted an operational schema that could easily be transferred from the groups to be subjected to the mechanisms of production; the massive projection of military methods onto industrial organization was an example of this modelling of the division of labour following the model laid down by the schemata of power. But, on the other hand, the technical analysis of the process of production, its 'mechanical' breaking-down, were projected onto the labour force whose task it was to implement it; the constitution of those disciplinary machines in which the individual forces that they bring together are composed into a whole and therefore increased is the effect of this projection.

The capitalist individualization of production, and the institutional individuation of subjects through discipline, are integrally connected processes. Indeed, both the experience of individualized production relations, and the experience of disciplinary power relations, can individuate subjects. It is important to remember that not all forms of wage labour are individualized. Clearly, the worker-capitalist relation is individualized in comparison with the peasant-landlord relation. However, capitalist labour processes are often fundamentally cooperative; indeed, the private appropriation of collectively produced surplus value is a defining feature of capitalist relations. Therefore, one cannot assume that wage labour experiences are sufficient to individuate the subjectivities of workers.

Fundamentally, relations of power and production individuate human subjects in a similar manner. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) argues convincingly for a dialectical understanding of the relationship between the material structures of social experience, and the mental

structures of human agents. Bourdieu (1977: 82-83) explains the non-conscious, dialectical mediation of social and mental structures through the concept of "habitus," understood as

a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perception, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks....

Bourdieu asserts that habitus "is an endless capacity to engender products - thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions - whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production" (Bourdieu, 1977: 95). The structure of social experience governs human practices "not by the processes of a mechanical determinism, but through the mediation of the orientations and limits it assigns to the habitus's operations of invention" (Bourdieu, 1977: 95). While I do not explicitly use the concept of habitus in this dissertation, I do assert that particular forms of subjectivity reflect and reproduce particular structures of social experience. Individuated forms of subjectivity are inculcated when people experience individualized forms of production and power relations.

Both individualized production relations, and disciplinary power relations, were integral to individuation processes in the Kitikmeot. Historically, two fundamental transitions occurred: the disorganization of aboriginal patterns of subsistence practices; and the construction of distinct fields of state organized intervention. Subsistence practices in the Kitikmeot were individualized through: the introduction of mechanized hunting technologies; the advent of mercantile exchange relations in the fur trade; the receipt of statutory transfer payments and welfare assistance; and the emergence

of wage labour activities. State formation in the Kitikmeot led to four major fields of intervention, each of which created distinctively individuating experiences: health and welfare; economic development; justice and the explicit regulation of conduct; and education. In Kitikmeot history, both individualized production relations, and individuating institutions of governance contributed to the creation of individuated forms of subjectivity.

To understand individuated subjects as products of power relations, one must conceptualize power as productive rather than repressive. Foucault (1980: 119) argues:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is quite simply the fact that it doesn't weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.

Power's productivity is exemplified by the constitution and objectification of individuated subjects:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it excludes, it represses, it censors, it abstracts, it masks, it conceals. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault, 1977: 194).

The creation of individuated subjects is not natural; this creation has a specific history, and involves a historically specific form of power. Individuated subjects are both presupposed and produced by disciplinary power relations.

Disciplinary power emerged in processes of transition from feudal to capitalist modes of production (Forbes, 1990; O'Neill, 1986), and in processes of state formation and the organization of

interventions into various fields of social life (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1979; Corrigan and Sayer, 1985). In the early modern period, discipline gradually superceded forms of power relations based upon sovereignty. This transition had a fundamental impact on the individuation of subjectivities. Foucault (1977: 192-193) argues:

In certain societies, of which the feudal regime is only one example, it may be said that individualization is greatest where sovereignty is exercised and in the higher echelons of power. The more one possesses power or privilege, the more one is marked as an individual, by rituals, written accounts or visual reproductions. The name and the genealogy that situate one within a kinship group, the performance of deeds that demonstrate superior strength and which are immortalized in literary accounts, the ceremonies that mark the power relations in their very ordering, the monuments or donations that bring survival after death, the ostentation and excess of expenditure, the multiple, intersecting links of allegiance and suzerainty, all these are procedures of an 'ascending' individualization.

Thus, in feudal societies, individuality was more strongly defined, marked, and celebrated among the lords than among the peasants. In the case of societies where disciplinary forms of power relations predominate,

individualization is 'descending': as power becomes more anonymous and more functional, those on whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized; it is exercised by surveillance rather than ceremonies, by observation rather than commemorative accounts, by comparative measures that have the 'norm' as reference rather than genealogies giving ancestors as points of reference, by 'gaps' rather than deeds....The moment that saw the transition from historico-ritual mechanisms for the formation of individuality to the scientific-disciplinary mechanism, when the normal took over from the ancestral, and measurement from status, thus substituting for the individuality of the memorable man that of the calculable man, that moment when the sciences of man became possible is the moment when a new technology of power and a new political anatomy of the body were implemented (Foucault, 1977: 193).

In societies such as ours, individuality is measured and documented among all citizens. In contrast to sovereign forms of power

relations, disciplinary power both presupposes and produces individuated subjects with objectively knowable characteristics.

Disciplinary power relations expanded into diverse institutional settings. In the case of criminal justice, Breuer (1989: 236) suggests that modern, codified legal processes offer

citizens a new degree of security: power is bound by rules, the individual is recognized as a juridical subject, punishment is transformed into a means to restore the status of the legal subject. On the other hand, however, these same measures permit an extreme refinement, a perfecting of the process of disciplining and subjugation. Corresponding to subjugation is an increasing individualization of punishments and an objectivization of crimes and the criminal. The juridical subject becomes the focal point of a classifying and objectifying mode of perception, which recruits the individual into a complex framework of justiciable characteristics and evidential facts. The individual is examined, judged, registered, so that each of his characteristics can be documented by a series of codes and their correlations. Through the multiple practices of surveillance and control, of classification and co-ordination, there emerges what Foucault calls the other, 'dark' side of the juridical subject: the 'disciplinary individual' who is created by these new techniques of power.

Discipline and subjection were not isolated to the criminal justice system. Breuer (1989: 236) suggests that "in all areas of social life, the classical age is the scene of an unprecedented concentration of discourses and identification mechanisms, all of which share a single goal: the production of the transparent, and thus controllable, individual." Since the Enlightenment, forms of disciplinary power have expanded to define, and prescribe interventions in, fields such as madness, sexuality, illness, poverty, education, justice, demography, and economic production.

Specific institutional settings emerged to organize the disciplining of populations. Breuer (1989: 244) notes that since the eighteenth century, the classic total institutions -

cloisters and military barracks - have been joined by a host of others: institutions for protective care, such as homes for the blind and the aged, for orphans and the poor; institutions for isolative care, such as hospitals and psychiatric clinics; institutions for separation and enclosure, such as prisons and penitentiaries, labour and concentration camps.

Total institutions are not the only sites of discipline; corporations, factories, state agencies, political parties, schools and even recreational organizations all use disciplinary techniques. In such dispersed sites of disciplinary power, individuated subjects are both presupposed and produced (Breuer, 1989: 237).

Disciplinary forms of power relations both objectively position human beings as individuals, and create subjective experiences of individuality. James Marshall (1989: 111) suggests:

In the disciplines, there are found certain views of the individual as a moral agent, sexual being, learner, or whatever. In the normalising procedures of examination and confession, people are classified as objects and the truth about themselves revealed to themselves. In constituting the subject in these ways, modern power produces governable individuals; the rationally autonomous person is governable.

Autonomous, rational individuals are governable because they can be objectively "known" by state agents, subjectively "know" themselves, and act predictably based upon that self-knowledge. Both forms of knowledge are produced through three basic techniques: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination (Foucault, 1977: 170-192). Paternek (1987: 108) argues:

As a general rule, disciplinary technology can be seen to function in accordance with the principle divide and conquer taken to its extreme....Constant observation, hierarchically organized, produces the knowledge needed to penetrate, divide, and classify each individual subject.

Individuated subjects are constituted and regulated through ongoing experiences in which they are divided from other people, and

objectified as individuals with identifiable attributes. Record keeping techniques used in various institutions make each human being an objective case, whose history can be stored in a dossier, retrieved, and compared to other such cases.

In broad terms, we construct and regulate ourselves as individuated subjects through a multitude of practices in dispersed social fields. These fields are currently structured by capitalist forms of production, and disciplinary forms of power. Ultimately, individuated patterns of subjectivity both reflect and reproduce definite structures of social and material experience. Neither individuated patterns of subjectivity, nor structures of social and material experience, can be abstractly defined; they must be specified through empirical research. At this point, I have simply made the general assertion, based upon existing sociological literature, that individuated subjects are constituted through particular relations of power and production. Such relations structure people's material experiences of social life, so that they subjectively know themselves as individuals, and become objectively known as individuals. The next section of Chapter One examines formal schooling as an important site for the social construction of individuality. Chapter Two analyzes the individualization of Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices, and situates adult education practices within a historical and contemporary set of individuating projects of governance. Chapters Three through Five present a detailed case study of how adult educational practices contributed to the individuation of Kitikmeot Inuit.

I.4 Schooling and Individuated Subjects

The construction of individuated subjects is integral to contemporary practices of formal education. Corrigan, Curtis, and Lanning (1987: 23) argue that

schooling attempts to construct political selves through the operation of definite techniques, tactics, and practices. We emphasize that schooling operates not simply through 'ideology' - that is cerebral or attitudinal transformations - but through a much more extensive and intensive process of subjectification and embodiment. Schooling seeks to make selves.

How do material experiences of formal education structure human individuality and subjectivity? Stephen Ball (1990: 4) suggests that in "the processes of schooling the student is compiled and constructed both in the passive processes of objectification, and in an active, self-forming subjectification...." In a two-sided process of individuation, schooling constructs: an objectively specifiable individual, known to others through a historically cumulative dossier of report cards, examination results, and registration forms; and a subjectively coherent individual, known to him or herself through progressively habituated patterns of practices and consciousness.

In addition to individuating students, educational practices objectify the putative inadequacies of those students. Bruce Curtis (1988: 17) suggests:

The "schoolchild" is, by definition, a flawed entity in need of discipline and training, an incomplete social subject which must submit to the process of schooling for its 'own' good. This, I argue repeatedly, is an accomplishment of the Educational State and not a fact of nature.

Many of the same practices which individuate students, also objectify those students' putative deficiencies. In Chapters Three through Five, I analyze in detail how adult education, as an organized field

of intervention in the Kitikmeot, both presupposed and produced individuated subjects, and assigned specific learning needs to those subjects. At this point, I locate my analysis within existing literatures on the subjective impact of educational practices. I begin by problematizing contemporary notions of "learner-centred" education, and then analyze three sets of practices which individuate students: administrative practices, such as registers, attendance logs, and cumulative student files; evaluative practices, such as examinations, report cards, and performance reviews; and pedagogical practices aimed at the alleviation of putative individual needs.

I.4.1 Adult Education as Meeting Individual Needs

Throughout Europe and North America, adult basic education (A.B.E.) programs have been increasingly directed towards identifying and meeting the putative learning needs of individual adults. In educational discourse, "learner-centred" and "needs-based" programming is typically presented as a progressive movement away from conventional approaches. Richard Edwards (1991: 89-90) problematizes the political implications of this seemingly benevolent movement toward learner-centred A.B.E.:

Learning has always been a political act, a contested notion and practice, the control and outcome of which is an aspect of the wider power struggles of the social formation. How we view ourselves and the world shapes what we view as possible and the forms of activity in which we engage. In various dimensions - personal, educational, vocational, social, recreational - learning is about transforming a person in some way. Through learning, we change. However, the way in which we are transformed is specific to our experience of learning and the meanings we give to it....This is not simply a question of political values being inherent in learning processes. It is more fundamentally about the construction of the learner's

identity. In learning, we do not only learn content, we inscribe meaning to the world and to ourselves, we become who we are.

Material experiences of A.B.E. help structure particular forms of individuality. Programs and practices which endeavor to meet the needs of individual students presuppose and produce specific forms of individuality, and specific constellations of needs.

Contemporary A.B.E. practices systematically individuate participating adults. In presuming that learners are individuals with objective learning needs, A.B.E. administrators and instructors engage in material practices which construct and sediment such forms of individuality and subjectivity. As a result, the direct experience of A.B.E. programs both individuates participating adults, and attaches seemingly objective deficiencies to them. Edwards (1991: 90) writes that

in becoming a particular subject - an individual - we are subject to particular regimes of power. Thus, in meeting the needs of individual learners - particular needs met in particular ways - while making certain outcomes possible, we are also fundamentally restricting the possibilities for personal and social development within existing structures of exploitation and oppression. In meeting the needs of individuals, we are inevitably subordinating persons to the power relations which ideologically construct the individual as the primary identity of persons in social formations.

A.B.E. practices and programs do not merely individuate subjects; they also systematically assign putative inadequacies to such subjects. The assumption that learners have identifiable needs

suggests a pathological view of the learner. We discover what is wrong with learners, what they need to become better individuals, and then provide the relevant balms. In working with persons to discover learning needs, we are encouraging them to name certain of their experiences as needs - ie. learning requirements which are fundamental to them - and then to give names to those needs. More importantly, we are encouraging them to view their needs as belonging to them as individuals, decontextualised from the

social relations which frame their life possibilities (Edwards, 1991: 95).

Contemporary learner-centred and needs-based programs tend to ignore the social and historical contexts in which needs and individuals are defined, and personal capacities developed. Learning needs do not exist objectively, waiting around to be identified like elements in the earth's atmosphere. The construction of learning needs depends upon the existence of: particular forms of social relations, within which specific abilities are inherently valuable; and particular forms of individuality, within which people are vessels characterized by the possession of specific abilities and deficiencies.

Clearly, the political and social context of Kitikmeot adult education is substantially different from that of British A.B.E. Capitalist relations of production are not prevalent in the Kitikmeot, and the fragmentation of social experience associated with post-modern Britain contrasts sharply with the homogeneity of social experience among Kitikmeot Inuit. However, adult educational practices which objectify individuated and deficient subjects have substantial political impacts in the Kitikmeot. As Meadmore (1993: 71) observes in the case of standardized testing and psychological guidance in Australia, "the liberal progressive discourse of catering for individual differences becomes an individuation practice in the cause of governance." Discursive regimes of truth about individual learning needs help organize and legitimate educational practices that create and objectify such individuals and needs. These practices can be usefully summarized within the categories of administration, evaluation, and pedagogy.

I.4.2 Administrative Practices

Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in the 1980's were typically oriented toward identifying and meeting individuals' putative learning needs. The success of such programs was usually evaluated in terms of attendance figures and the academic progress demonstrated by students on standardized examinations. Concern with individual needs and academic progress presupposed particular administrative techniques through which individuals could be identified, and their abilities measured. In Chapter Five, I analyze eight administrative practices which monitored student involvement with Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs: application for admission; registration in a program; placement within a curriculum; attendance records; performance reviews; counselling statistics; termination or withdrawal reports; and annual follow-up surveys. Through such administrative practices, adult educators objectified both individuals and learning needs.

Completing bureaucratic forms is a major component of A.B.E. administrative practices. Some forms are completed by students themselves, thus actively contributing to their subjective sense of individuality. Some forms are completed by educators or administrators, thus contributing to the objectification of students as individual dossiers. In both cases, completing bureaucratic forms helps construct particular patterns of individuality. Corrigan (1990: 55) asserts that filling out forms structures reality

in quite common, ordinary, mundane, in a word, obvious ways and in large cosmological ways also. Mundanely, think first of the blank forms that we constantly fill in, have to fill in, answering stated specific questions which often require dichotomous choices and fix us. Such forms often begin with naming ourselves both in ways which are supposedly unique (first

other and last names) and supposedly universal (male or female, married, single, divorced, separated, widowed; parents' names and occupations; address...and so on). Much teaching work is formalised in this straightforward and taken-for-granted way.

In many contemporary contexts, completing forms is accepted as a natural aspect of one's involvement with formal organizations. However, such forms have a sociological significance which should be problematized in order to understand how schooling constructs individuated subjects.

Fiona Paterson (1988) narrates the history of individuating administrative practices in Scottish elementary schools. She (1988: 278) argues that

in the 1850's and 1860's an official priority of social order began to give way to the importance of a concern with individual achievement. The preconditions for this discursive shift can be found in the institutionalization of school registers and individual written examinations.

The emergence of individuating administrative practices must be located within the historical emergence of state regulation of education. Paterson (1988: 282) suggests that, during the early nineteenth century, schooling in Scotland was a diverse activity:

A pattern of schooling as part of a hierarchy of instruction, and therefore as antecedent to other activities, similar to that which is today considered as normal, was at this time merely one of a number of patterns which co-existed. The space given to schools and the time allocated to them was largely dependent on the local way of life.

Beginning in the 1830's and 1840's however, governments began regulatory interventions with the aim of controlling the form and content of elementary schooling.

School inspections were used as a technique to gather data about schools' effectiveness, and encourage conformity to official

regulations. Initially, schools, teachers, or classes were inspectors' basic unit of observation. Paterson (1988: 283) writes:

Inspectors, as state agents, were to collect data about schools, in terms of what it was officially defined as relevant to know. In the early stages of inspection, knowledge of individual pupils was not encompassed within this definition of relevant. In assessing schools inspectors would select pupils from each class in order to examine them, as examples of their class. The performance of these pupils would enable the inspector to assess the efficiency of the teacher and therefore that of the school.

Eventually, new and more precise techniques were used to facilitate consistent and accurate surveillance of local schools. Over several decades, attendance registers and standardized exams became the principle sources of data with which to evaluate the effectiveness of schooling (Paterson, 1988: 284-291). Teachers initially opposed such panoptic techniques, and it was not until the 1860's that accurate attendance registers were actually kept.

A significant implication of the institutionalization of school registers was the construction of the individual pupil as a unit of official concern and intervention. Paterson (1988: 291) argues that

the focus on the precision with which data about schools were gathered made possible the emergence of the individual whose institutional profile could immediately be seen from the school record. For the basic unit of data was no longer to be the class, but the individual pupil. The Register of Admission, Progress and Withdrawal made visible an individual's school career (date and age of admission, previous instruction, duration of previous instruction, date of admission to each class in this school, age and date of withdrawal, duration of attendance, reason for withdrawals).

Administrative practices facilitated centralized control over local educational activities, and directly individuated children. These administrative practices were coupled with new evaluative techniques which judged the effectiveness of schooling in terms of individual

students' performance on standardized tests. Paterson (1988: 280) asserts that the institutionalization of standardized exams for Scottish schoolchildren

involved the positioning of individual pupils in an official hierarchy of standardized forms of achievement and the normalization of the local pupils at particular levels within the hierarchy at given stages in their school career.

Processes of student examination are integrally related to the administrative construction of individuated subjects. Given that individuals, and their putative needs, are the primary unit of intervention for Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs, the effectiveness of those programs is measured by the number of individuals participating, and the progress made by those individuals on standardized tests of academic ability.

I.4.3 Evaluative Practices

While administrative practices systematically create objectively individuated subjects, evaluative practices are powerful means through which students subjectively experience themselves as individuals. Evaluative practices in schools both individuate students, and objectify their putative learning needs and abilities. Following Foucault, Ball (1990: 4) argues that dividing practices are

central to the organizational processes of education in our society. These divisions and objectifications are achieved either within the subject or between the subject and others. The use of testing, examining, profiling, and streaming in education, the use of entry criteria for different types of schooling, and the formation of different types of intelligence, ability, and scholastic identity in the processes of schooling are all examples of such dividing practices. In these ways, using these techniques and forms of organization, and the creation of separate and different curricula, pedagogies, forms of teacher - student relationships, identities and subjectivities are formed,

learned, and carried.

Formal examinations are at the heart of evaluative practices in Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs. In Chapter Five, I document and analyze the standardized examinations used during the 1980's by Kitikmeot adult educators. The material experience of writing and being evaluated by such examinations directly individuates students, and objectifies their putative learning needs.

Formal examinations are an integral technique in modern forms of disciplinary power. Foucault (1977: 184) writes that the

examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify, and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth. At the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected.

Written examinations are a powerful technique of individuation.

Examinations make people objectively visible, construct them into cases and create cumulative archives of individual performances that can be compared against statistically normal performances (Ball, 1990: 159-160). Subjectively, people writing examinations experience themselves as autonomous individuals.

Formal examinations are now commonplace features of schooling. However, individualized written exams are a relatively recent invention. Foucault (1977: 192) locates the emergence of formal examinations within the overall transition from sovereign to disciplinary forms of power:

The examination as the fixing, at once ritual and scientific, of individual differences, as the pinning down of each individual in his own particularity (in contrast with the ceremony in which status, birth, privilege, function are manifested with all the spectacle of their marks) clearly indicates the appearance of a new modality of power in which each individual receives as his status his own individuality, and in which he is linked by his status to the features, the measurements, the gaps, the marks that characterize him and make him a case.

Examination procedures, and the documentary practices which surround examinations, represent the essence of disciplinary power relations:

It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. And the examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting the signs of its potency, instead of imposing its mark on subjects, holds them in a mechanism of objectification. In this space of domination, disciplinary power manifests its potency, essentially, by arranging objects. The examination is, as it were, the ceremony of this objectification (Foucault, 1977: 187).

Obviously, examinations are far more than simply value-free instruments with which to measure individuals' academic abilities and needs. Examinations individuate subjects, and objectify certain of their social characteristics as personal attributes.

Daphne Meadmore (1993) provides a historical case study of formal examinations as practices of individuation. She analyzes the emergence and evolution of a "State Scholarship Examination," and standardized psychological testing in Queensland, Australia. The State Scholarship Examination was used from 1873 to 1963 in order to select those grammar school students who would obtain free tuition for secondary education (Meadmore, 1993: 63-66). This examination helped stream students into various vocational programs, and evaluate teachers' performances. Besides these official intentions, State Scholarship Examinations helped produce and structure student

individuality. Meadmore (1993: 65) writes that "the percentage one gained in this examination came to be seen as a measure of one's intelligence and was central to the formation of one's scholastic identity." In addition to the formation of subjective identities, results on State Scholarship Examinations created an objective measure of individual academic ability:

the percentage one gained in Scholarship was viewed by teachers, administrators, parents, students themselves, employers and the general public as a specific reliable measure of a person's worth in things academic. In other words, examinations such as the Scholarship introduced a new principle of individual accountability by affording a numerical 'objective' judgement on the person.

After many years of criticism from teachers, intellectuals, opposition politicians, and parents, State Scholarship Examinations were abolished in 1963 (Meadmore, 1993: 64-66). However, other standardized tests were already in use, and had similar individuating and objectifying effects.

Beginning in the 1930's, psychological tests were used in order to stream Australian schoolchildren into vocational and academic programs (Meadmore, 1993: 67-68). These standardized tests, administered during the senior years of elementary school, endeavored to identify individual levels of intelligence in order to most efficiently use educational resources, and to help schools "cater to individual differences" (Meadmore, 1993: 68). Meadmore (1993: 71) writes:

Hierarchical observation and normalising judgement have become practices which parents, students and teachers welcome in the 'child's best interests' since they believe that the treatment of the uniqueness of the individual child can be enhanced by standardized tests.

The fact that such standardized tests actually help produce individuality is not recognized in Australia due to the hegemonic discourses of psychology and liberal individualism (Meadmore, 1993: 68). In the context of A.B.E. programs in the Kitikmeot, the individuating impact of evaluative practices is more visible, because formal education programs have only existed for thirty years, and the individuated subject is not yet taken for granted.

I.4.4 Pedagogical Practices

Given that Kitikmeot A.B.E. administrative and evaluative practices focus upon individuals and their supposed learning needs, pedagogical techniques are also typically oriented toward individual learners. In Chapter Five, I review three A.B.E. curricula used during the 1980's, and analyze the individualized pedagogical techniques that accompanied them. In general, these educational programs combined academic evaluation with confessional techniques to identify learning needs in academic and life skills areas, encourage students to recognize such needs, and encourage students to engage in activities designed to alleviate such needs. Individualized programming and pedagogical techniques were facilitated by policies of continuous student intake, small class size, and allowing students to progress at their own pace. Individualized pedagogical practices presumed the abstract existence of individuated subjects, and created material experiences which sedimented people's understanding of themselves as individuals. Directing pedagogical practices toward individuals also implied that learning needs inhered to such

individuals, rather than being produced through those individuals' involvement in particular forms of social relations.

To understand the individuating effect of pedagogical practices, one must distinguish between the content and form of educational experiences. Bourdieu (1977: 94-95) identifies the importance of such distinctions: "The whole trick of pedagogic reason lies precisely in the way it extorts the essential while seeming to demand the insignificant." In a passage concerning educational practices in nineteenth century Ontario, Curtis (1988: 378) argues:

Habituation was at the core of educational practice. Pedagogy sought to lay hold of the selves of the population, to selectively develop individual forces, to regularize this development, to transform certain principles of social existence into dimensions of individual psychology. Thus, while students at school in Canada West read lessons in schoolbooks which clearly expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie as the interests of society as a whole, the success or failure of pedagogy did not depend upon their belief in or disbelief of these lessons. The success or failure of pedagogy depended rather upon the presence of students for such lessons, upon the inculcation in students of a particular attitude towards themselves and others in the process of being exposed to such lessons.

While the political context and pedagogical practices of Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs contrast sharply with those described by Curtis, the distinction between form and content is equally important to my dissertation. Adult educators' pedagogical practices varied greatly in terms of content, but they were consistently structured so that students experienced themselves as inadequate individuals.

In an analysis of modern elementary schools, Valerie Walkerdine (1986: 60) indicates how specific pedagogical practices create "sites for the production of modern forms of government and modes of individuality." Walkerdine argues that particular regimes of truth

about education organize specific pedagogical practices which position and regulate women within definite power relations. She (1986: 62) locates the emergence of modern pedagogies within larger transformations of power relations in Europe:

Historically, it is possible to understand the position of compulsory schooling (introduced towards the end of the nineteenth century) as important in the aim to produce 'good habits' in the population....These habits of thrift, industriousness, good living as so forth, would help prevent the possibility of criminality (the criminal personality) and poverty, (bad habits) which would fuel the feared rebellion. However, while at the time of Empire, hard work and overt surveillance were seen as good methods of regulation, it was later felt that overt forms of government, for example practices in the school based on coercion, were likely to precipitate rather than inhibit rebellion. This is because children might appear to learn their lessons but secretly harbour resistance. To counteract this resistance, a mode of covert surveillance was introduced, based on love and not fear which meant that the lessons were to be learnt apparently by free will this time.

With modern pedagogies based upon love rather than fear, elementary teachers in this century have been predominantly women. Walkerdine (1986: 62) asserts that originally,

infant school teachers had been men. But 'love' was felt to be the province of women as opposed to the stern and frightening authority of men. Thus women, with their capacities for maternal nurturance, began to be recruited into the teaching profession.

In modern families and schools, women have been positioned as persons responsible for developing children's inherent potentialities for freedom and individuality (Walkerdine, 1986: 63-64).

Discursive regimes of truth which claim that schooling should be based upon the cultivation of individual autonomy, rather than the coercion of conformity, encourage particular pedagogical practices. Walkerdine (1986: 66-67) asserts that contemporary elementary schools both produce and regulate children as individuals:

If we examine aspects of modern primary school practice, from the organization of time and space to the details of curriculum and pedagogy itself, it becomes clear that every aspect of schooling is premised upon a notion of 'the nature of the child.' The difference from the old pedagogy, with its overt regulation, is marked in a variety of ways. The architecture and arrangement of the school itself, as well as the seating arrangements in the classroom, are designed for flexibility and for a pedagogy centred upon a unique and individual child. The organization of time, too, permits and celebrates individual, and not class, activity.

Teachers use various techniques to monitor the academic and social development of each individual child in their classes. Such techniques include report cards, anecdotal records, work cards, one on one conferences between pupil and teacher, skills inventories, and developmental progress checks (Walkerdine, 1986: 66-69).

Within elementary school pedagogies based upon love rather than fear, teachers are facilitators of the cognitive and moral development of individual children. Walkerdine (1986: 69) asserts:

The notion of the school and the classroom, and indeed the teacher, as an environment to facilitate development, understands the pedagogical space as being set up for a set of individuals, whose development has to be monitored. In no sense, then, is such a space a class room - that is, one which has any sense of the class as a social unit. The teacher, as we have already examined, becomes facilitating; it is she who must be sensitive, watch, observe and monitor development.

Pedagogical practices which construct individuated subjects are not inherently emancipatory. Paradoxically, while such pedagogies are based on discourses that speak of the liberation of children from coercive educational practices, "it is clear that never before have children been so monitored, so regulated" (Walkerdine, 1986: 70).

Walkerdine illustrates how pedagogical practices can produce and regulate particular forms of individuality. The specific practices of Kitikmeot adult educators are substantially different from those

of elementary school teachers. However, as I reveal in Chapter Five, A.B.E. programs are structured so that participants experience themselves as individuals, and understand learning needs as inherent components of their individuality. Contemporary A.B.E. pedagogies in the Kitikmeot are structured as a form of secular confession.

Writing about discourses of sexuality, Foucault (1978: 61) states:

The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile; a ritual in which the truth is corroborated by the obstacles and resistances it has had to surmount in order to be formulated; and finally, a ritual in which the expression alone, independently of its external consequences, produces intrinsic modifications in the person who articulates it.

Confessional techniques are central to various institutional settings, including schools. Pedagogical practices in Kitikmeot A.B.E. are structured so that students first recognize their learning needs, and then act to alleviate those needs. Confessional pedagogical practices are most evident in life skills programs, but they can also be seen in the individualized structure of mathematics and English programs. The very act of enrolling in an A.B.E. program often constitutes a confession of academic or social inadequacy, and a desire to resolve one's learning needs.

How do educational practices individuate subjects, and objectify learning needs? I have outlined administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices which create cumulative experiences that both objectively position individuals as inadequate subjects, and make

people subjectively understand themselves as individuals with inherent learning needs. The objectification of individuality is based upon a long series of practices which document people's unique particularities, and compare them to supposedly normal characteristics. Through documenting such things as admission, academic level, attendance, examination performance, work accomplished, and termination, a "chronicle of the person" is compiled (Ball, 1990: 160). Each individual becomes an objective case, whose dossier can be consulted, and whose learning needs can be specified. The subjective sense of individuality is based upon another long series of experiences, in which people learn to identify themselves as autonomous individuals. Filling out forms, taking exams, working on individualized programs of studies, and confessing one's learning needs, all encourage people to experience themselves as individuals, and to interpret learning needs as inhering to their individuality.

I.5 Conclusions: From Abstract Concepts to Empirical Analysis

To summarize the current chapter, I have: located my dissertation within sociological literatures on the relationship between power and subjectivity; problematized the sociality of individual subjects, by reviewing ethnographic and historical literatures which challenge the notion that individuality is a natural dimension of the human condition; theorized individuality, by suggesting that individuated subjects are produced through historically specific forms of social relations; and investigated

formal schooling as an important site for the social construction of individuated subjects. In Chapters Two through Five, I provide a detailed historical case study which argues that adult education, as a state organized field of intervention, individuated Kitikmeot Inuit, and attached seemingly objective inadequacies to them. At this point, I want to address several methodological issues which connect the preceding abstract concepts with the subsequent empirical analysis.

To structure my discussion, I review Foucault's (1986a) "methodological precautions" for studying power relations. Foucault (1986a: 232) suggests that an appropriate investigation of power

should not concern itself with the regulated and legitimate forms of power in their central locations, with the general mechanisms through which they operate, and the continual effects of these. On the contrary, it should be concerned with power at its extremities, in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions. Its paramount concern, in fact, should be with the point where power surmounts the rules of right which organize and delimit it and extends itself beyond them, invests itself in institutions, becomes embodied in techniques, and equips itself with instruments and eventually even violent means of material intervention.

This methodological precaution precludes studying the history of power relations in the Kitikmeot simply in terms of legal statutes, parliamentary debates, military occupations, and the direct enforcement of Euro-Canadian laws. I have chosen to study an institutional setting which constitutes a complex site of capillary power relations. I have chosen adult education in part because of my personal experiences in the field, and in part because it is less associated with organized governance than other sites, such as justice, social welfare, local government, or public schooling.

Foucault's (1986a: 233) second methodological precaution is that, rather than study the conscious intentions of those who putatively "possess" power, one should study

power at the point where its intention, if it has one, is completely invested in its real and effective practices. What is needed is a study of power in its external visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there - that is to say - where it installs itself and produces its real effects....In other words, rather than ask ourselves how the sovereign appears to us in his lofty isolation, we should try to discover how it is that subjects are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts, etc.

In studying adult educational practices in the Kitikmeot, I have not focused upon the conscious intentions of adult educators, administrators, politicians, or bureaucrats. Indeed, most agents within this field would not consider their activities to constitute a project of governance. Adult education is generally considered to be a consensual endeavor, offered to help Inuit adjust to the changing realities of modern life. However, adult educational practices, as I demonstrate in Chapters Three through Five, clearly help construct individuated, inadequate subjects.

In an important sense, adult educators and administrators were themselves constrained within definite forms of power and subjectivity. These people did not go North to dominate or exploit; they themselves had been individuated through past experiences. As Foucault (1980: 156) suggests with respect to the system of surveillance and power symbolized by Bentham's Panopticon:

One doesn't have here a power which is wholly in the hands of one person who can exercise it alone and totally over the others. It's a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise

power just as much as those over whom it is exercised.

Rather than look for some conspiracy through which Euro-Canadian agents endeavored to oppress Inuit, my research looks at the symbolic regimes of truth, and material practices of power, which linked both educators and students in a structured field of social experience.

Third, Foucault (1986a: 233-234) suggests that, rather than existing as a possession of certain individuals or classes, power

is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation.... The individual, that is, is not the vis-a-vis of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.

When I initially began to research adult education, I looked at the ways in which educational practices changed or regulated individuals. Existing literature contained terms such as acculturation and economic integration, and investigated how education oppressed individuals and reproduced social relations. Eventually however, I became convinced that educational practices constituted part of wider forms of power relations which actually produced individuated subjects. Thus, I analyzed the ways in which educational practices constructed individuality, rather than upon simply repressive processes of acculturation or economic integration.

As a fourth methodological precaution in the study of power, Foucault (1986a: 234) suggests that

the important thing is not to attempt some kind of deduction of power starting from its centre and aimed at the discovery of the extent to which it permeates into the base, of the degree to which it reproduces itself down to and including the most molecular elements of society. One must rather conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be - invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended, etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination.

Since "anything can be deduced from the general phenomenon of the domination of the bourgeois class" (Foucault, 1986a: 236), one needs to investigate historically specific evolutions of capillary power relations. My own research process has been characterized by numerous cycles of induction - deduction. From direct experiences as an adult educator in Cambridge Bay, I formed a general impression that educational practices constituted a means through which the Euro-Canadian state could manage social change in the North. Upon reading theories of social change and ethnic relations, I deduced that empirical research would show that adult education actively regulated the subjectivities of Inuit students. When actually engaged in this empirical research, I recognized that the constitution of individuality, and the objectification of personal inadequacies, were the most striking features of Kitikmeot A.B.E.

It will become evident in Chapters Two through Five that my analysis concentrates upon local practices of power, rather than upon global forms of domination. I analyze symbolic, administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices, and not some presumed connection between these practices and the putative needs of capitalism, Canada, or the world system. This is not to say that

Kitikmeot adult education is somehow unique, or isolated from the outside world. Indeed, adult educational practices and discursive regimes of truth did not originate within the region; such practices were imported from educational philosophies and techniques developed in Europe and North America. While I do contextualize Kitikmeot adult education within more general Euro-Canadian activities in the North, my main objective is to understand how the practices of adult educators constructed particular forms of individuality, and objectified particular social characteristics as personal inadequacies.

Foucault's (1986a: 237) fifth methodological precaution involves the link between material practices and ideological constructs:

it is quite possible that the major mechanisms of power have been accompanied by ideological productions. There has, for example, probably been an ideology of education, an ideology of the monarchy, an ideology of parliamentary democracy, etc.; but basically I do not believe that what has taken place can be said to be ideological. It is both much more and much less than ideology. It is the accumulation of knowledge - methods of observation, techniques of registration, procedures for investigation and research, apparatuses of control.

Ideas and material practices cannot be separated, and then linked in terms of a unidirectional causation. Foucault (1980: 133) argues that a "regime of truth" is always "linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it." Rather than being ideological or superstructural, discursive regimes of truth inhere to particular material practices. In my dissertation, I have unpacked the history of Kitikmeot adult education into three basic chapters: official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult

education, and modernity; administrative structures and local programs; and administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices. This organization does not imply that material practices create ideological legitimations, nor that discursive regimes of truth generate practices which must conform to the internal logic of such discourse. Discursive and material practices are bound together within particular forms of power relations; these relations define the parameters of what it is conceivable to do and to say.

Given these five methodological precautions, it seems appropriate to discuss the fact that my history of adult education is exclusively a history from above. I analyze the practices through which educational agents individuated and objectified the needs of Kitikmeot Inuit; I do not investigate Inuit resistance, acceptance, or adaptation to these practices. Three factors account for my reluctance to write a history from below. First, my basic objective is to study organized projects of governance, and not to contribute to them. If I were to interview, observe, or survey Inuit students for the purpose of characterizing their resistance to or acceptance of adult education, I would surely contribute even further to their individuation and objectification. Second, my personal experiences as an adult educator in the Kitikmeot give me privileged insights into the connections between educational practices and projects of governance; such experiences however, do not prepare me to understand Inuit forms of individuality or subjectivity. Thus I am not prepared to speculate about how Inuit have accepted, resisted, or adapted to experiences which were structured to individuate them, and to attach

seemingly objective inadequacies to them. Third, my focus on the form rather than the content of adult education makes investigations of subjective Inuit experiences particularly difficult. If I had studied acculturation or economic integration, then surveys, interviews, and statistical observations would have provided accessible measures of the impact of educational interventions. However, pre-conscious processes of individuation are more difficult to quantify. Thus, for ethical, epistemological, and conceptual reasons, I do not investigate Inuit responses to educational practices.

While I do not study how Inuit have resisted, accepted, or adapted to adult educational practices in the Kitikmeot, I do not imply that such responses are unimportant. Such responses are indeed significant, and my reluctance to write a history from below should not be construed as a vote of support for: simplistic, social control models of governance; binary, ethnicized models of oppressor and oppressed; or academic debates about the North in which Inuit voices are never heard. The history from above which I have written is important, but it makes no claim to be the complete story of adult education in the Kitikmeot. I actively invite others to investigate how Inuit have resisted, accepted, or adapted to state organized interventions. In the case of Kitikmeot adult education, I can suggest two major points of departure for such an investigation. First, there are several empirical indicators of resistance to adult education practices. In most communities, adult educators consistently struggled to maintain adequate student registration in

A.B.E. programs. Attendance and punctuality were constant struggles for many educators, and community learning centres had to be temporarily closed on several occasions due to insufficient student participation. When students did attend A.B.E. programs, their behavior frequently did not meet official expectations. Students often attended A.B.E. programs simply to alleviate winter boredom, collect sponsorship money, play computer games, or interact with friends. Adult educators' monthly reports frequently lamented student attendance, punctuality, work habits, motivation, and lack of academic progress. In response to such problems, A.B.E. instructors and administrators introduced monetary and travel incentives, shortened academic years, endeavored to train Inuit adult educators, and developed culturally sensitive curricula.

Second, the history of Kitikmeot adult education has not simply been a drama of Euro-Canadian oppression and Inuit resistance. On the one hand, many Euro-Canadians have been deeply critical of educational practices in the North. Critics usually condemned either the "quality of education" or the "assimilation of Inuit." On the other hand, many Kitikmeot Inuit have been extremely supportive of adult education programs. Many Inuit have taken adult schooling, obtained skills and habits useful for wage employment, and attained full-time jobs. In each community, a Community Education Council provided input to existing adult education programs, encouraged young people to attend such programs, and lobbied for the expansion of local education programs. Regional and national Inuit organizations were typically very supportive of adult education as a means of

preparing for self-government. Over the past decade, formal adult education programs have been organized by Inuit agencies such as Atli, Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, and Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. Inuit responses to adult education programs were complex, and varied according to differences in age, education level, gender, and degree of involvement with wage employment and Inuit political organizations. A history from below which documents such responses would be a valuable contribution to the study of organized projects of governance in the Kitikmeot.

The methodological issues which I have discussed clarify the historiographic focus of the following chapters, and indicate how I develop my central argument. Ultimately, my argument is best understood through the empirical case study presented in Chapters Two through Five. In Chapter Two, I sketch the post - contact history of the Kitikmeot, in order to document how contemporary adult educational practices became possible. Chapters Three to Five narrate and analyze the construction and operation of Kitikmeot adult education as an organized field of intervention. I discuss: the emergence of a deficit learner regime of truth in official statements about Inuit adult education; the evolution of local adult education programs, and of administrative structures through which state personnel controlled such local programs; and the specific administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices which individuated students, and objectified learning needs.

CHAPTER TWO

MAKING ADULT EDUCATION POSSIBLE: THE DISORGANIZATION OF ABORIGINAL SUBSISTENCE PRACTICES, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ADMINISTERED SETTLEMENTS

No other Canadian citizens, I think, receive so much aid, or enjoy so many privileges, without contributing far more heavily to their cost. It is true that the Arctic is a hard region in which no white man would voluntarily set up a life-time home and bring up a family; that if the Eskimos moved away it would be totally uninhabited, save for the workers at such mines as we judge profitable to exploit, and at the airfields, weather stations, and scientific outposts that we believe useful to maintain. Some day, perhaps, we will hire Eskimos to operate the mines for us, and to man the weather and scientific stations; but at the present time they lack the education and training. Even now, however, their occupation of the region contributes to our security, because one of their settlements is as valid a symbol of sovereignty as an army afield; and it can discourage foreigners (who may not always be friendly) from seeking to gain a footing in what we consider our territory, just as effectively as a two-man police post.

Diamond Jenness, 1964
Eskimo Administration, Vol. II: Canada

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The traditions of all the dead generations weigh like a nightmare on the brain of the living.

Karl Marx, 1852
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte

II.1 INTRODUCTION

At the present time, formal adult education programs are common in most Kitikmeot communities. However, contemporary educational practices would have been difficult to conceive and impossible to deliver only eighty years ago. At that time, no Euro-Canadians resided permanently in the region, and Kitikmeot Inuit engaged in subsistence practices for which current forms of schooling would have been impractical and irrelevant. In this chapter, I analyze two historical developments which made contemporary adult educational practices possible in the Kitikmeot: the disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices; and the evolution of state organized interventions in the realms of economic management, welfare, health care, justice, and schooling. These two developments can be usefully periodized into four eras: first contacts (1771 to 1910); fur trade (1910 to 1950); creation of administered settlements (1950 to 1980); and contemporary. Since 1910, Euro-Canadian activities in the region have expanded greatly, and aboriginal forms of subsistence activity have been gradually disorganized.

I organize Chapter Two following these four chronological eras. First, I sketch aboriginal subsistence practices, and outline the "discovery" of the Kitikmeot by Euro-Canadian explorers and anthropologists. I do not provide an ethnographic narrative of traditional Inuit culture; readers wishing such information should consult Balikci (1984, 1989), Damas (1972a, 1984a, 1984b) and Jenness (1917, 1921). My objectives are to illustrate the fundamental impossibility of contemporary forms of adult schooling during the era

of first contacts, and thus to emphasize the constructed character of such forms. Second, I document the rise and fall of the fur trade. I discuss the activities of fur traders, missionaries, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, and outline specific changes to Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices. I argue that contemporary adult educational practices were still impossible during this era, given the structure of hunting and trapping economies, and the Canadian government policy of keeping Inuit out on the land. Third, I analyze the massive expansion of state organized interventions in the Kitikmeot following 1950. I describe the construction of administered settlements, where Inuit were eventually subjected to a range of political, economic, medical, legal, and educational projects of governance. In the creation of such settlements, and in the transformation of Kitikmeot Inuit from hunters and trappers to wage earners and recipients of government transfer payments, individualized educational practices became possible. Fourth, I describe the contemporary Kitikmeot economy, and analyze individuating projects of governance in domains such as health, welfare, economic activity, justice, and schooling. In this contemporary context, adult education programs are not only possible, but entirely logical and necessary.

In order to anticipate the overall evolution of Euro-Canadian interventions in the Kitikmeot, I summarize the region's recorded demographic history. As Table 2-1 indicates, Euro-Canadians were virtually absent from the Kitikmeot until the 1920's. Explorers, ethnologists, and a few whaling captains turned fur traders, were the

Table 2-1: Kitikmeot Population, 1911-1991**(by ethnic status, with Euro-Canadians as percentage of total)**

	<u>Coppermine District</u>	<u>Cambridge Bay District</u>	<u>Spence Bay District</u>	<u>Regional Total</u>
1911				
total	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Inuit	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
Euro-Cdn.	0	0	0	0 (0%)
1921				
total	unknown	unknown	unknown	1085 (est.)
Inuit	unknown	unknown	unknown	1075 (est.)
Euro-Cdn.	9 (est.)	1 (est.)	0	10 (est.) (1%)
1931				
total	500	290	434	1224
Inuit	438	282	430	1150
Euro-Cdn.	62	8	4	74 (6%)
1941				
total	265	410	460	1135
Inuit	229	402	448	1079
Euro-Cdn.	36	8	12	56 (5%)
1951				
total	655	306	481	1442
Inuit	624	295	462	1381
Euro-Cdn.	31	11	19	61 (4%)
1961				
total	514	554	577	1645
Inuit	485	477	549	1511
Euro-Cdn.	29	77	28	134 (8%)
1981				
total	920	1115	1205	3240
Inuit	860	880	1135	2875
Euro-Cdn.	60	235	70	365 (11%)
1991				
total	1112	1477	1772	4386
Inuit	1034	1170	1694	3920
Euro-Cdn.	78	307	78	466 (11%)

(Sources: for 1911, 1921, and 1931: RG 85, v. 64, f. 164-1, pt. 1; for 1941: RG 85, v. 64, f. 164-1, pt. 3; for 1951 and 1961: Canada, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre (1963: 4-5); for 1981 and 1991: N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics (1983: 1, and 1992: 4).

only Euro-Canadians to visit the region prior to 1915. In the 1920's, a boom in white fox fur trading created the first major influx of Euro-Canadians. In 1921, Euro-Canadians constituted less than 1% of the region's population, while in 1931 this figure reached 6%. Most of these Euro-Canadians were fur traders or trappers, and most of them lived in the Coronation Gulf region. From 1931 to 1951, the Euro-Canadian population of the Kitikmeot declined to 4% of the total population, as the number of fur trade posts in the region steadily declined. The second major influx of Euro-Canadians to the Kitikmeot occurred after 1951, as Canadian governments increased their activities in the North. From 1951 to 1981, the number of Euro-Canadians in the Kitikmeot increased by a multiple of six, and the ratio of Euro-Canadians to Inuit increased from one in twenty, to one in eight. These two waves of Euro-Canadian entry into the region fundamentally transformed aboriginal subsistence practices, and made contemporary forms of adult schooling possible.

II.2 Era of First Contacts

Kitikmeot territory was among the last populated areas of North America to be explored and occupied by European peoples. A severe climate, and an absence of open water throughout most of each year, made this region very difficult for Euro-Canadians to access. However, the search for a Northwest Passage linking Europe and Asia, and the quest for exploitable natural resources eventually led to explorations in the Kitikmeot. Table 2-2 summarizes the major expeditions of "discovery" which first brought Euro-Canadians into

Table 2-2: Expeditions of "Discovery" in the Kitikmeot

<u>Year(s)</u>	<u>Explorers</u>	<u>Main Area(s) Explored in the Kitikmeot</u>
1770-72	S. Hearne	Coppermine River;
1819-22	J. Franklin	Coppermine River, Coronation Gulf, and from Kent Peninsula to Contwoyto Lake;
1825-27	J. Richardson	Mackenzie River to Victoria Island and Coppermine River to Great Bear Lake;
1829-32	J. Ross	Boothia Peninsula and Pelly Bay;
1833-34	G. Back	overland from Great Slave Lake to the Back River and Chantry Inlet;
1838-39	T. Simpson and W. Dease	Coronation Gulf to west side of Boothia Peninsula;
1845-46	J. Rae	Pelly Bay, Boothia Peninsula, and Chantry Inlet to Repulse Bay;
1845-48	J. Franklin	King William Island;
1848	J. Rae and J. Richardson	Mackenzie River to Coppermine River, to Great Bear Lake;
1849-50	J. Rae	Victoria Island south coast, and the mainland coast beneath Victoria Island;
1850-54	R. McClure	north and west of Victoria Island;
1851-53	R. Collinson	Minto Inlet, Prince Albert Sound, and Cambridge Bay;
1854	J. Rae	Boothia Peninsula, Pelly Bay;
1859	L. McClintock	King William Island;
1902	D. Hanbury	Hudson Bay to Queen Maud Gulf, to Coppermine River, to Great Bear Lake;
1903-06	R. Amundsen	complete Northwest Passage: Boothia Peninsula to Queen Maud Gulf, to Coronation Gulf, to Amundsen Gulf.

(Note: refer to Map 2-1 to locate place names on this table)

(Sources: Neatby, 1984; Abrahamson, 1963; Jenness, 1921)

Map 2-1: Major Place Names in the Kitikmeot Region

(Source: Map Collection, University of Alberta)

contact with Kitikmeot Inuit. After Samuel Hearne's infamous 1771 encounter with Inuit at Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River, nearly fifty years passed before John Franklin explored the Coronation Gulf area. From 1825 to 1859, twelve different expeditions travelled to the Kitikmeot. Little Euro-Canadian exploration followed over the next four decades, until Roald Amundsen successfully navigated the entire Northwest Passage.

While nineteenth century explorers were mainly interested in navigating the Northwest Passage, and in finding one another's lost expeditions, ethnographers in the early 1900's explicitly set out to "discover" Kitikmeot Inuit. From 1908 to 1918, Vilhjalmur Stefansson spent several periods with Inuit at various places on Victoria Island, and on the mainland south of Victoria Island (Stefansson, 1988; Jenness, 1921). From 1914 to 1916, the Canadian Arctic Expedition stationed one of its two headquarters at Bernard Harbour. From this post, Diamond Jenness travelled throughout the western Kitikmeot, living with and observing Inuit (Jenness, 1917, 1921). From 1921 to 1924, Knud Rasmussen and the Fifth Thule Expedition endeavored to study Inuit over virtually the entire Arctic coast (Damas, 1988b; Remie, 1988). Stefansson, Jenness, and Rasmussen published their anthropological observations in a number of popular books and magazines, scholarly journals, and official reports. Their ethnographic "discoveries" helped construct enduring images of traditional Inuit life.

Contemporary Anthropological literature suggests that "Copper" Inuit bands traditionally inhabited the western Kitikmeot, while

"Netsilik" bands inhabited the eastern Kitikmeot (Balikci, 1984, 1989; Damas, 1972a, 1984a, 1984b, 1988b, Hickey, 1984; McGhee, 1972; and Remie, 1988). While this distinction may be useful when trying to reconstruct an image of traditional Inuit culture, it is not a distinction which I employ in this dissertation. Given that Inuit throughout the region shared fundamentally similar patterns of aboriginal subsistence practices, and histories of Euro-Canadian contact, I simply refer to all groups as Kitikmeot Inuit. This label does not suggest any form of identity or social organization at the regional level. As Table 2-3 indicates, pre-contact Kitikmeot Inuit associated within a large number of localized collectivities.

Virtually all groups shared a similar annual cycle of subsistence activities (Balikci, 1989; Damas, 1984b; Freeman, 1976). In the winter, Kitikmeot Inuit lived on the sea ice, and engaged in breathing hole sealing. In some areas, additional food was procured by hunting polar bears, and using supplies of caribou and fish which had been killed the previous summer. In the spring, the main activities were hunting seals on top of the sea ice, caribou hunting, and fishing through the ice on lakes and rivers near the coast. In the summer Kitikmeot Inuit moved inland, fishing and hunting caribou. Additional food was obtained in various areas by: hunting musk-oxen, birds, and small game; picking berries; and collecting eggs from birds' nests. In the fall, Kitikmeot Inuit prepared for their return to the sea ice, and survived on cached food and freshwater ice fishing.

Given the absence of guns, fish nets, or large boats, several

Table 2-3: Kitikmeot Inuit Collectivities in the Aboriginal Era

<u>Name</u>	<u>Main Pre-Contact Locations</u>	<u>Date of Sustained Euro-Cdn. Contact</u>
Puivlingmiut	Wollaston Pen. and Reid Island	1916
Nagyuktomiut	Richardson Islands	1916
Akulliakattakmiut	Stapylton Bay	1916
Noahognikmiut	Bernard Harbour to Coppermine R.	1916
Walliakmiut	Richardson Bay	1916
Kogluktomiut	Coppermine River	1916
Asiakmiut	Asiak River	1916
Pigangnaktomiut	Tree River	1916
Umingmaktomiut	North and East of Bathurst Inlet	1920
Kiluksuktomiut	South of Bathurst Inlet	1920
Nenitaktumiut	West of Bathurst Inlet	1920
Contwoyto Lake	Southwest of Bathurst Inlet	1920
Ekalluktomiut	Wellington Bay	1920
Ahiakmiut	Perry River and Ellice River	1920
Kiglinirmiut	Albert Edward Bay	1920
Kanghiryuachiakmiut	Minto Inlet	1923
Kanghiryuakmiut	Prince Albert Sound	1923
Qiqitarmiut	King William Island	1926
Iluillirmiut	Adelaide Peninsula	1926
Kukigurmiut	Simpson Strait	1926
Utkusikhalingmiut	Back River	1926
Ugjulingmiut	Queen Maud Gulf	1926
Kuuqruaqmiut	Perry River	1926
Arvilijjuarmiut	Pelly Bay	1935
Sinimiut	Ross Pen. and Harrison Islands	1935
Ittuagturvingmiut	Thom Bay and Lord Mayor Bay	1935
Netsilingmiut	Boothia Peninsula, west side	1935

(Note: refer to Map 2-1 to locate place names on this table)

(Source: Freeman, 1976)

key aboriginal subsistence practices were fundamentally collective (Damas, 1972b, 1984b; Balikci, 1989). First, breathing hole sealing was most effective when several hunters cooperated to cover as many

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

holes as possible in a given area. Second, caribou were most successfully hunted communally, when they could be driven by groups of hunters into small lakes, or ambushed at strategic locations. Third, the most profitable fishing periods were in the fall, when groups of Inuit would cooperate to build and repair stone weirs, and help spear the fish. Finally, although each household had its own private possessions, and made its own caches of skins, fat and food, formal and informal sharing practices characterized each season's activities. These practices included informal gift giving, communal eating, and institutionalized seal hunting partnerships.

My brief sketch of the early contact era in the Kitikmeot illustrates how contemporary forms of adult education were simply impossible. First, there were virtually no Euro-Canadians present in the Kitikmeot during this period. Most Euro-Canadian explorers in the nineteenth century were more dependent upon Inuit knowledge and survival skills, than able to instruct Inuit how to read and write. Second, aboriginal subsistence practices and settlement patterns made classroom schooling both irrelevant and logistically impractical. It would be difficult to imagine, let alone deliver, A.B.E. courses for small, semi-nomadic hunting groups spread over such a vast territory. Third, the individualized structure of contemporary adult education programs would have made little sense to people engaged in fundamentally collective subsistence practices. Contemporary adult educational practices only became possible through a long series of historical changes in which aboriginal subsistence practices were disorganized, and Euro-Canadian fields of intervention established.

II.3 Fur Trade Era

Sustained Euro-Canadian activities in the Kitikmeot began in the second and third decades of this century. These activities were structured by the rise and fall of white fox fur trading. Such trading began just prior to 1910, boomed in the 1920's, and virtually collapsed in the late 1940's. Throughout this era, Canadian governments were relatively inactive in the Kitikmeot; state organized interventions were generally limited to: using R.C.M.P. patrols to enforce laws, collect vital statistics, survey health and welfare conditions, and symbolize Canadian sovereignty; creating regulations to govern hunting, trapping, and trading practices; and providing medical supplies to missions for distribution to sick Inuit. Over this forty year period, Kitikmeot Inuit continued to live on the land, and to subsist primarily from hunting and fishing. However, fox trapping and the introduction of new technologies such as guns, fish nets, and boats, significantly altered aboriginal economic practices. By 1950, both Euro-Canadian activities, and Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices, were fundamentally different from what they had been in 1910.

II.3.1 Euro-Canadian Activities

The first fur traders in the Kitikmeot were ex-whalers who wintered their boats in the Coronation Gulf area (Jenness, 1921). These "floating posts" included those operated by C. Klengenberg (1905-1906), W. Mogg (1907-1908), and J. Bernard (1910-1914). Floating posts continued to operate into the 1920's, but their share

of the Kitikmeot white fox market was quickly overshadowed by the emergence of permanent fur trade posts. In 1916, the Hudson's Bay Company opened the first such post at Bernard Harbour. Tables 2-4 and 2-5, along with Map 2-2, document the number and location of permanent fur trade posts which operated in the region from 1916 to the present. Of the 67 total posts, 29 were operated by the Hudson's Bay Company, 19 by independent traders, 8 by the Canalska Trading

Table 2-4: Summary of Kitikmeot Fur Trade Posts

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number of Active Locations</u>			<u>Number of Active Posts</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Western</u>	<u>Eastern</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Western</u>	<u>Eastern</u>
1916-1919	5	5	0	6	6	0
1920-1924	9	7	2	9	7	2
1925-1929	25	18	7	35	25	10
1930-1934	21	17	4	34	28	6
1935-1939	19	16	3	28	21	7
1940-1944	14	10	4	17	11	6
1945-1949	12	6	6	13	7	6
1950-1954	9	4	5	9	4	5
1955-1959	10	4	6	11	4	7
1960-1964	10	5	5	10	5	5
1965-1969	8	3	5	9	4	5
1970-present	6	2	4	6	2	4
Grand Total	39	28	11	67	48	19

(Source: Usher, 1971)

(Notes: The number of active posts is equal to or greater than the number of active locations, because at any active location, more than one post could have operated during a given time period. "Western" refers to posts in the Coronation Gulf area, to the west of Cambridge Bay. See Map 2-2 for the exact location of this boundary.)

Table 2-5: Location of Kitikmeot Fur Trade Posts

<u>Location of Post(s)</u>	<u>Years of Operation</u>	<u>Number of Posts</u>	<u>Code for Map 2-2</u>
Inman River	1927-1932	2	4B1
Stapylton Bay	1921-1943*	4	4B2
Bernard Harbour	1916-1932	1	4B3
Cape Krusenstern	1926-1946	5	4B4
Basil Bay	1934-1938	1	4B5
Richardson Bay	1935-1938	1	4B6
Coppermine	1928-present	2	4B7
Asiak River	1926-1930	2	4B8
Kugaryuak River	1927-1940	2	4B9
Tree River	1917-1929	2	4B10
Agiak	1917-1918	1	4B11
Detention Harbour	1927-1928	1	4B12
Kater Point	1927-1929	1	4B13
Banks Peninsula	1926-1937	2	4B14
Arctic Sound	1931-1934	1	4B15
Hood River	1936-1941	1	4B16
Burnside River	1930-1964	1	4B17
Western River	1925-1927	1	4B18
Bay Chimo Harbour	1964-1970	1	4B19
Kent Peninsula	1920-1927	1	4B20
Wilmot Islands	1925-1941	1	4B21
Richardson Island	1926-1943*	3	4B22
Mackenzie River	1946-1948	1	4B23
Rhymer Point	1919-1936*	2	4B24
Read Island	1929-1962	4	4B25
Prince Albert Sound	1923-1928	1	4B26
Holman	1939-present	1	4B27
Walker Bay	1928-1939	2	4B28
Cambridge Bay	1923-present*	3	4C1
Ellice River	1926-1927	1	4C2
White Bear Point	1926-1927	1	4C3
Perry River	1926-1967	4	4C4
Sherman Inlet	1947-1955	1	4C5
Terror Bay	1940-1944	1	4C6
Simpson Strait	1923-1927	1	4C7
Gjoa Haven	1927-present	2	4C8
Spence Bay	1949-present	1	4C9
Oscar Bay	1928-1930	1	4C10
Pelly Bay	1947-present*	3	4C11

(Source: Usher, 1971)

(Note: dates marked with * indicate discontinuous operation of posts)

Map 2-2: Location of Kitikmeot Fur Trade Posts

(Source: Usher, 1971)

Company, 7 by aboriginal traders, 2 by Roman Catholic missions, and 1 each by the Northern Trading Company and the Koomiut Co-operative of Pelly Bay (Usher, 1971). Several trends may be noted. First, the number of active fur trade locations expanded rapidly in the 1920's, declined steadily from 1930 to 1950, and then leveled off at ten or less. Second, the Coronation Gulf area developed both a higher density of fur trade posts than the eastern Kitikmeot, and an earlier concentration of such posts. Third, virtually every significant inhabited area of the Kitikmeot became an active site of white fox trapping and trading. As Map 2-2 clearly indicates, fur trade posts were scattered along the coastline throughout the region. The large number of fur trade posts in operation from 1916 to 1950 instigated major changes in both state organized interventions, and Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices.

Prior to the fur trade boom of the 1920's, Canadian government personnel were virtually absent from the Kitikmeot. The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1914 to 1916 was the first significant official presence in the region. In a report dated July 18, 1916, Diamond Jenness (Ethnologist, Canadian Arctic Expedition) wrote to the R.N.W.M.P. Commissioner:

I have the honour of forwarding the following information concerning the so-called Central or Copper Eskimos, trusting that it may be of value should they be brought more directly under administrative control (RG 85, v. 571, f. 244, pt. 1).

Jenness' report provided a basic ethnography of Coronation Gulf and Victoria Island Inuit, and recommended that the spread of disease into these areas be inhibited by requiring all outsiders to pass medical examinations before entering the region. Measures to

"protect" Kitikmeot Inuit were also recommended by one of the first R.N.W.M.P. patrols to the Coronation Gulf. On August 1, 1916, C.D. La Nauze (Inspector in Charge of Patrol) wrote to the R.N.W.M.P. Commissioner: "We who have just left that country [ie. Coronation Gulf] and its stalwart inhabitants, and now see the weak-looking Eskimos of the West, deplore the advent of civilization amongst them" (RG 85, v. 571, f. 244, pt. 1).

R.C.M.P. officers were the first state personnel to reside in the Kitikmeot. Initial patrols occurred in 1916 and 1917, to investigate the 1912 murder of Euro-Canadians Radford and Street near Bathurst Inlet, and the 1913 murder of Roman Catholic missionaries Rouvier and Le Roux near Coppermine (Diubaldo, 1985). The first R.C.M.P. post in the region opened at Tree River in 1919, moved to Bernard Harbour in 1926, and moved to Coppermine in 1931 (Abrahamson, 1963: 4). A second post opened in Cambridge Bay in 1926, and a third in Spence Bay in 1949. From these posts, constables conducted regular patrols of Inuit camps, and fur trade posts in outlying areas. Until the 1950's, R.C.M.P. officers were the Canadian government's only direct representatives in the Kitikmeot. Officers maintained federal and territorial laws and game restrictions, collected vital statistics, supervised Inuit health and welfare initiatives, and symbolized Canadian sovereignty (Diubaldo, 1985).

In addition to the general activities of R.C.M.P. officers, Canadian governments during the fur trade era engaged in three major projects of intervention: preserving the caribou population; regulating fur traders' activities; and supervising assistance given

to indigent, sick, and aged Inuit. All three of these projects explicitly tried to keep Kitikmeot Inuit living on the land, and "protect" them from the impact of civilization. With respect to preserving caribou populations, several actions were taken. By 1923, game preserves prevented non-natives from hunting or trapping on Victoria Island and the Back River area (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1). These restrictions did not apply to the operation of trading posts. By 1924, R.C.M.P. officers were reporting an "unprecedented scarcity" of caribou in the Coronation Gulf, and attributing that scarcity to the presence of fur trade posts. In a report dated February 15, 1924, Officer S.J. Wood (Tree River Detachment) wrote that "if the caribou scarcity continues, there are bound to be instances of death from starvation..." (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1). Wood recommended that the Canadian government take five actions: ban trading posts from the Coronation Gulf to Repulse Bay; provide rations for destitute Inuit; encourage Inuit to use nets for fish and seal; ration the sale of ammunition to Inuit, in order to restrain caribou hunting; and prohibit the Hudson's Bay Company from buying caribou skins in the Coronation Gulf region, and selling them in the Mackenzie Delta region. The basic concern, in this and other reports of 1924, was that coal smoke from fur trade posts along the Arctic coast, combined with rifle use by Inuit, was inhibiting the semi-annual caribou migration between the mainland and Victoria Island (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1).

Reports of caribou scarcity were taken quite seriously by bureaucrats in Ottawa. On October 16, 1924, W.W. Cory (Commissioner

of the N.W.T.) wrote letters to two representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company:

From time to time reports are received in this office advising us of the disappearance of caribou and other game in the western Arctic, and the privation of the natives and their want through lack of food and clothing.

It is reported that, to a large extent, these conditions are brought about by reason of the establishment of trading posts of your company and others and I thought it advisable to inform you of these reports, in order that you might have an opportunity of replying....

There are trading posts established at Bernard Harbour, Coppermine River, Kugaruk River, Tree River, Kent Peninsula, and Cambridge Bay. They are not all your posts but they are established at strategic points and seem to have been the means of preventing the caribou from making their usual migration to and from Victoria Island. The smell of the coal smoke also seems to have been a factor in driving them away. It is estimated that eight hundred Copper Eskimo will be affected by the shortage in caribou this year, while the entire dependance of all natives on this animal for food, clothing, bedding, and summer shelter, lends a very serious aspect to the situation....

I wish also to refer to the alleged exorbitant prices charged in many cases for supplies to the natives...The consequence is, in the native villages there seems to be a great many instances of actual want and privation and in some places they are actually boiling old deer skins from which the hair has been scraped, for food. This is naturally very severe on the children and is the result, in some cases, of infanticide and the destruction of the old and infirm. As evidence of the lack of food it is stated your Tree River detachment ordered frozen Reindeer to be shipped in this summer from Point Barrow. No doubt the introduction of modern firearms by traders has much to do with this deplorable condition.

It is possible that the Department may consider setting apart an area on the Arctic coast, including the Arctic Islands, on which trading posts would not be allowed (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1).

Concern over game scarcity led to several administrative interventions in the 1920's. First, on March 30, 1925, the following addition was made to N.W.T. Game Regulations:

No trading post within the meaning of this Act or the Regulations thereunder shall be established or maintained in any part of the North West Territories without a special permit of the Commissioner of the North West Territories (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1).

Permit requirements allowed government officials to regulate the location and number of fur trade posts in the Kitikmeot. Second, in 1926 existing game preserves were expanded to include all of the Arctic Islands, and most of mainland eastern Kitikmeot (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1). Third, in 1927, due to government pressure, the Hudson's Bay Company closed its posts at Ellice River, Perry River, and the Kent Peninsula. Fourth, the N.W.T. Council prohibited the export of caribou skins, and in an effort to decrease predation, placed a bounty on wolves (Jenness, 1964: 34). In spite of these conservation efforts, mainland caribou completely stopped migrating to Victoria Island in the late 1920's (Abrahamson, 1963: 119).

In addition to measures taken to conserve caribou populations, Canadian governments in the 1920's and 1930's occasionally acted to mitigate the perceived exploitation of Kitikmeot Inuit by fur traders. In 1924 and 1925, a number of R.C.M.P. reports and Department of the Interior memoranda expressed concern with the "ruthless exploitation" of Inuit in the Coronation Gulf region (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 257-1, pt. 1). On March 10, 1925, O.S. Finnie wrote a detailed report to W.W. Cory entitled, "Synopsis of reports received during 1924-25 concerning certain members of the H.B.C., in their dealings with the natives of the Far North" (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1). In this report, Finnie made six specific charges against the H.B.C., three of which dealt with activity in the Coronation Gulf and Victoria Island. First, Finnie alleged that H.B.C. traders pressured Kitikmeot Inuit to sell caribou skins, which were quickly transported to the Mackenzie District for a large

profit. Second, Finnie alleged that H.B.C. post managers used "extortionate methods" in their white fox trading practices: "It is reported that taking advantage of their practical monopoly of the trading business in the Coronation Gulf District, unfair advantage is taken of the simplicity of the natives." Finnie provided specific examples of such exploitation including: exchanging a second-hand canoe (\$75 value) for 50 white fox pelts (\$2050 value); exchanging \$100 worth of H.B.C. trade goods for 240 white fox pelts (\$9,600 value); and maintaining unreasonable prices for goods. Third, Finnie alleged that the H.B.C. post in Cambridge Bay illegally employed two white trappers in a native game preserve during 1923-24.

The Department of the Interior actively explored means through which to regulate the fur trade. On Feb. 23, 1925, O.S. Finnie received a memorandum from a Department of the Interior solicitor. The memorandum summarized the charges made against H.B.C. traders, and asserted:

As I see it the whole matter resolves itself to this - our officials have charged that the Company is not dealing fairly with the natives. We report this to the Company and ask them what they have to say about it, conducting any investigation that may be necessary ourselves, and if we are satisfied that the Company cannot or will not deal fairly with the natives, we have absolute power to forbid them to deal with the natives in any way, shape, or form, and can establish a Government protectorate similar to that established in Greenland, in spite of the Company's charter, which cannot be paramount to the interests of the native Canadian Eskimo (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1).

The Department of the Interior did indeed confront the H.B.C. with various allegations of exploitative fur trade practices in the Coronation Gulf. On April 10, 1925, Edward Fitzgerald of the H.B.C. wrote to W.W. Cory and systematically defended his company against

each of the allegations raised by O.S. Finnie in his March 10, 1925 memorandum. Ultimately, the Department of the Interior used moral suasion, and systems of game preserves and trading permits, to regulate the practices of the H.B.C. and other fur traders.

An example of this regulation occurred from 1934 to 1937 in the control of prices in the Coppermine Area. On April 25, 1934, J.H. MacBrien (R.C.M.P. Commissioner) wrote to the Deputy Minister of the Interior, with a report of exploitative prices at Coppermine (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1). MacBrien alleged that Inuit trappers were paid roughly fifty per cent less than Euro-Canadian trappers for white fox pelts, and that Euro-Canadian trappers were charged less for food and equipment. Over the next three years, the R.C.M.P. and the Department of the Interior conducted a number of investigations and pressured the H.B.C. to change its pricing structure. This pressure seems to have had an impact. On June 1, 1934, the average amount paid in Coppermine for white fox pelts was \$12.00 to Inuit and \$22.00 to Euro-Canadians. On March 27, 1936, Department of the Interior correspondence indicated "little variation in the prices charged natives and white trappers for supplies or in the amount allowed them for supplies given in exchange for prime furs" (RG 85, v. 1069, F. 251-1, pt. 1).

The final major project of Canadian state representatives in the Kitikmeot during the fur trade era was to supervise the distribution of welfare assistance (known as "relief") to indigent, sick, or aged Inuit. Elsewhere in the Arctic, Canadian government expenditures on relief became significant in the 1920's (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1,

pt. 2). In the Kitikmeot, relief expenditures were not significant until the 1930's. In a May 23, 1933 memorandum to H.H. Rowatt (Deputy Minister of the Interior), H.E. Hume (Department of the Interior) made the following assessment of government relief expenditures in the Coppermine area:

the gathering of destitute natives and widows at this post since the establishment of the Missions and Government Services indicates that certain of the natives are becoming indolent, which, experience has shown, often is the case, when our institutions become established in native settlements. The natives are attracted to such points and it is difficult to persuade them to return to their hunting grounds.

Prior to the establishment of trading posts in Coronation Gulf, which took place about ten years ago, the Department was not called upon to provide relief for the natives of that district. Congregation of the natives at such points is detrimental to their health and it is apparent that it will become necessary to increase our appropriation for relief purposes in the Coppermine area. In light of experience it seems desirable that the policy of the Department which restricts trading to three points in the Arctic Islands Preserve, be rigidly adhered to. This will prevent the traders extending their activities to the east of the Coppermine area (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1).

Restricting and regulating fur traders was seen as the best option for reducing government relief expenditures in the Kitikmeot.

Through the 1920's and 1930's, Canadian governments minimized relief expenditures by preventing Inuit from congregating at fur trade posts, and by requiring fur traders to pay relief costs for Inuit with whom they traded. O.S. Finnie summarized this policy in a June 22, 1928 letter to C.H. French of the H.B.C. Finnie stated that the company, rather than the government, was responsible for the maintenance of fur trading Inuit during "periods of stress." He stated that the H.B.C. and Government had a common interest:

to keep the native strong and healthy and to make him a self-reliant and independent citizen and I am satisfied that if we work together wholeheartedly along these lines, the amount of

relief which will be necessary to grant will be reduced to a minimum and the condition of the native greatly improved (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2).

Through the 1930's, Canadian governments used systems of permits and game preserves to control the number of posts in the Kitikmeot, and force trading companies to pay the costs of relieving destitution.

An excellent example of this form of government intervention during the fur trade era occurred in the mid-1930's. In 1927, the H.B.C. was forced to close its post at Perry River. On May 6, 1936, the N.W.T. Council debated an H.B.C. application to re-open its Perry River post. The Council decided

that the H.B.C. be permitted to reopen their post at Perry River for 2 years, providing they will agree to look after any necessary relief to the native population; that the Police are to keep in touch with the situation and the matter is to be reviewed in two years (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 251-1, pt. 1).

A year later, the H.B.C. applied for a permit to move its post to a new location at Flagstaff Island, at the mouth of Perry River. On April 22, 1937, R. A. Gibson (N.W.T. Deputy Commissioner) wrote to Ralph Parsons (H.B.C. Fur Trade Commissioner):

As you are aware, the Department is not asked to provide any relief for natives in this district at the present time. If the establishment of your company's post at Flagstaff Island is to mean an outlay on the part of the Department for relief of the destitute, there seems to be little chance of the N.W.T. Council favorably considering the application (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1).

On April 29, 1937, Parsons replied to Gibson, and confirmed that the H.B.C. would indeed "assume the responsibility for any Eskimo relief it might be necessary to provide during the coming year at the new location on Flagstaff Island, to which we wish to move our buildings" (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1). As this exchange of

correspondence suggests, Canadian governments in the 1930's and 1940's used game regulations and trading permits to ensure that fur traders provided relief and credit to Inuit trappers.

While fur trade companies were responsible for ensuring the welfare of "able-bodied" trappers and their dependents, the federal government acknowledged responsibility for the care of aged, ill, or disabled Inuit. "Destitute rations" were regularly distributed to Kitikmeot Inuit who were aged, widowed, or "physically unable to assist themselves" (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1a). These rations were administered through either R.C.M.P. or trading posts. In addition, medical supplies were shipped annually in the 1930's and 1940's to several missions in the Kitikmeot (RG 85, v. 228, f. 630/145-2, pt. 2; RG 85, v. 1063, f. 630/190-3, pt. 1). Table 2-6

Table 2-6: Establishment of Missions in the Kitikmeot

<u>Year</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>
1915	Bernard Harbour	Anglican
1929	Cambridge Bay	Anglican
1929	Coppermine	Anglican
1929	Coppermine	Roman Catholic
1935	Pelly Bay	Roman Catholic
1935	Bathurst Inlet	Roman Catholic
1939	Holman	Roman Catholic
1950	Thom Bay	Roman Catholic
1951	Gjoa Haven	Roman Catholic
1952	Cambridge Bay	Roman Catholic
1954	Spence Bay	Roman Catholic
1955	Spence Bay	Anglican
1956	Gjoa Haven	Anglican
1959	Perry River	Roman Catholic
1962	Holman	Anglican

(Sources: RG 85, v. 1337, f. 600-1-1, pt. 11;
Abrahamson, 1963; Villiers, 1968)

summarizes when missions were established. In most locations, missionaries received medical supplies from the federal government, and provided dispensary and medical services until health stations were established in the 1950's and 1960's. The only hospital ever operated in the Kitikmeot was in Coppermine from 1929 to 1931. For these two years, a federally employed doctor was appointed to deal with epidemics of tuberculosis and influenza in the Coronation Gulf region.

Government correspondence from the 1930's reveals a consistent effort to minimize expenditures on relief. On July 13, 1933, the N.W.T. Commissioner wrote to all fur trade companies with posts in the N.W.T.:

As a matter of Departmental Policy very little, if any, relief will be advanced in cases where there seems to be no reason why the half-breed or native should not be able to maintain himself and family...It is not desired that any steps should be taken that would lessen in any way the sense of responsibility on the part of the natives towards their aged and helpless brethren, and we do not wish to encourage these natives to congregate in settlements away from hunting and trapping areas.

The necessary relief will be distributed sparingly and in such fashion that those capable of earning sustenance otherwise (for themselves and their dependents) will not be encouraged to settle down comfortably under relief conditions and continue to live on charity (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1).

In order to enforce this parsimonious relief policy, the Department of the Interior endeavored to maintain Inuit aboriginal subsistence practices. On Jan. 13, 1934, J. Lorne Turner (Director, Dominion Lands Branch) received a memorandum which summarized government strategies for minimizing Inuit relief costs. The memo described how trading posts were required to provide relief for Inuit, and suggested:

The large game preserves already created in the N.W.T. for the sole benefit of the Indian and Eskimo, and the increased licence fees and similar restrictions placed upon white trappers and traders, have already shown beneficial results and the native is following his traditional means of earning a livelihood. Both traders and missionaries are co-operating with the Department to prevent the Eskimo becoming a public charge and are using their best endeavors to keep him a respectable and responsible citizen (RG 85, v. 1129, f. 253-1, pt. 1).

In the 1930's, Canadian governments endeavored to spend as little as possible on Kitikmeot Inuit relief, with the apparent belief that hunting and trapping economies would continue indefinitely.

In the 1940's, Canadian governments became increasingly active in providing relief to Kitikmeot Inuit. In 1940-41, the entire federal outlay for direct relief in the region was \$307.76. Table 2-7 summarizes rising government expenditures on relief:

Table 2-7: Federal Relief Expenditures for Kitikmeot Inuit, 1945-1955

<u>Year</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>	<u>Cambridge Bay</u>	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Total</u>
1945-46	-	32.50	388.74	421.24
1946-47	-	140.36	869.13	1,009.49
1947-48	-	145.93	684.21	830.14
1948-49	-	1,790.68	1,580.23	3,370.91
1949-50	2,009.00	3,191.65	4,393.44	9,594.09
1950-51	2,360.57	1,175.85	4,590.58	8,127.00
1951-52	3,214.71	1,407.70	2,880.89	7,503.30
1952-53	2,863.78	2,609.61	5,616.01	11,089.40
1953-54	6,561.98	15.75	5,604.94	12,182.67
1954-55	5,913.81	10,330.71	9,161.09	25,405.61

(Sources: RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2, pt. 4;
RG 85, v. 1475, f. 253-1, pt. 6)

In addition to this remarkable expansion of direct relief costs in the late 1940's, the federal government also began paying Family Allowances and Old Age Pensions to Kitikmeot Inuit. Family Allowances quickly became an important source of credit at fur trade posts. Although Family Allowances were initiated in 1945, Kitikmeot Inuit did not begin to receive them until 1948. These transfer payments were paid in kind; Inuit received credit at fur trade posts, for which they could obtain articles from an "authorized list of food, clothing, and equipment" (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2).

Increases in government relief expenditures can be attributed to three main factors: declining terms of trade for white fox trappers; increasing reliance of Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices upon Euro-Canadian equipment; and an overall increase in Canadian government interventionism after 1945. Table 2-8 summarizes the cyclical, yet downward trend of white fox prices from 1919 to 1954. During the 1920's, the average price per white fox pelt in Canada was \$39.79; this figure declined to \$18.36 for the 1930's, \$20.59 for the 1940's, and \$9.92 for the first five years of the 1950's. During the same period, the prices charged for trade goods, and the dependence of Kitikmeot Inuit on such trade goods, increased substantially.

Government officials were aware of the problem of declining terms of trade for Inuit trappers. In the interim report for the Eastern Arctic Patrol of 1940, Major McKeand wrote that

Increased freight rates mean an increased cost of trade goods to the native. Ammunition is one of the articles which has become necessary to the native hunter. Gasoline is another to a more limited extent. The cost to the native is rising and with low fur prices the situation is becoming acute. Unless something is done to reduce freight rates particularly during periods of low

Table 2-8: Annual Fur Trade Data, 1919-1954

<u>Fur Season</u>	<u>Average Price for White Fox Pelt (\$)</u>		<u>Total Number of White Foxes Traded</u>		<u>Active Trade Locations in Kitikmeot</u>
	<u>Canada</u>	<u>N.W.T.</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>N.W.T.</u>	
1919-1920	39.92	-	-	-	5
1920-1921	34.62	35.26	21,416	13,788	6
1921-1922	39.70	40.60	40,927	25,692	6
1922-1923	39.09	-	77,135	-	9
1923-1924	37.26	38.76	34,717	17,719	7
1924-1925	33.91	32.93	44,316	30,624	8
1925-1926	31.15	31.43	35,026	24,469	16
1926-1927	43.64	44.70	51,262	40,777	20
1927-1928	45.16	42.00	33,822	19,000	19
1928-1929	53.48	-	18,572	-	17
1929-1930	32.94	-	37,617	-	17
1930-1931	23.23	22.18	71,877	58,768	15
1931-1932	20.38	-	67,416	-	15
1932-1933	20.46	-	33,385	-	15
1933-1934	17.89	-	61,400	-	16
1934-1935	15.24	-	68,360	-	16
1935-1936	15.25	-	47,743	-	17
1936-1937	13.71	-	22,191	-	16
1937-1938	12.52	-	55,907	-	15
1938-1939	12.01	-	56,396	-	14
1939-1940	8.66	-	32,535	-	14
1940-1941	18.38	-	48,411	-	13
1941-1942	25.74	25.85	62,534	50,970	11
1942-1943	28.37	28.00	74,190	60,521	11
1943-1944	32.83	32.25	30,332	28,310	9
1944-1945	35.58	36.00	17,969	16,765	8
1945-1946	22.83	21.50	27,169	20,854	9
1946-1947	13.49	13.50	67,314	57,750	10
1947-1948	11.12	11.00	55,423	53,227	10
1948-1949	8.91	8.80	33,126	31,317	10
1949-1950	8.45	6.50	19,775	9,989	10
1950-1951	13.02	11.47	52,566	39,739	9
1951-1952	8.16	-	53,654	-	9
1952-1953	8.86	-	40,710	-	9
1953-1954	11.10	-	36,371	-	9

(Sources: RG 85, v. 1389, f. 405-6, pt. 1 and 2; RG 85, v. 1497, f. 405-6, pt. 3; RG 85, v. 1215, f. 405-6, pt. 5; Usher, 1971: 110-117)

(Note: Dashes indicate where no data have been found)

fur cycles and prices, it will be necessary to issue relief to prevent starvation because the hunter cannot buy ammunition and gasoline at exorbitant prices (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 1b).

Through the 1940's, various federal correspondence speculated about the possibility of regulating the prices of fox pelts and trade goods, but there is no evidence that such regulation ever occurred.

By the late 1940's, sharply declining fur prices and rising relief costs created a sense of crisis, and led to the development of specific procedures to control the issuance of Inuit relief. On March 22, 1948, R.A. Gibson distributed a "Circular Letter to Traders, R.C.M. Police, Missionaries and Doctors respecting the Issue of Relief Rations to Eskimos." Gibson wrote:

Recognized as one of the most difficult tasks facing local administrators in the field is the handling of relief rations. To allow too much assistance to any one individual has a tendency to encourage indigence, whereas allowing too little may result in impairment of health. The policy that has been followed in the past in this respect has been based upon the principle that the officer in the field is in the most favorable position to decide what help should be given to each family. It is considered that this policy is sound but, at the same time, a review of the relief invoices being forwarded for payment indicates the necessity for some assistance and general guidance to the local administrators (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2).

Gibson went on to specify: the monthly rations to be distributed to destitute Inuit; the official role of Family Allowance as a supplement for children's diet; the continued responsibility of trading companies for the care of able-bodied hunters; the administrative procedures to be followed when issuing relief to different categories of Inuit; and the need to maintain accurate records of all relief invoices and recipients. This circular letter was also accompanied by a set of application forms to be completed before providing relief to Inuit. Between April and August, 1948,

copies of this circular letter and application form were sent to R.C.M.P. officers, missionaries, and H.B.C. post managers across the Kitikmeot (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2).

In 1948 and 1949, both the H.B.C. and the federal government expressed concerns "about the welfare of the Eskimos and the effect on them of the virtual collapse of the White Fox market" (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 3; Letter from Chesshire to Gibson, May 13, 1949). The basic presumptions of correspondence from these years were that: fur prices would recover; Inuit would still obtain their subsistence from hunting and trapping; during periods of low fur prices, the H.B.C. would continue to support efficient trappers; and the government would provide subsistence relief to inefficient trappers, and Inuit unable to provide for themselves. A circular letter of Oct. 24, 1949 summarized official policy:

The Eskimos have always been independent and characteristically dependent upon each other. There is no reason for this custom to be discontinued. Every encouragement should be given these people to live upon the resources of the land and sea, and relief should not be issued unless it is definitely established that it is necessary to do so. Particular care should be given when considering issuing assistance to able-bodied, inefficient trappers - they should be encouraged as much as possible to rely on their own efforts rather than upon Government assistance (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 3).

This policy statement was consistent with the overall policy of Canadian governments toward Inuit in the 1910-1950 era. In the words of one Canadian bureaucrat, this policy amounted to "keeping the native native" (Diubaldo, 1989).

In summary, before 1950 the policies and practices of Canadian governments with respect to Kitikmeot Inuit were consistently aimed at minimizing expenditures and keeping Inuit out on the land. Few

state personnel were ever consistently present in the region, although both missionaries and fur traders acted in some cases as government representatives. Major state projects in the Kitikmeot prior to 1950 were limited to routine R.C.M.P. patrols, preserving caribou herds, regulating the fur trade, and supervising the provision of medical care and welfare assistance. In the late 1940's however, senior officials began to sense a profound crisis in the fur trade economy, given the collapse of the white fox market, and the availability of statutory transfer payments. In a June 28, 1948 letter, R.A. Gibson listed nine fundamental principles of the "Sustenance of Hunters." The first eight principles were consistent with previous policies: (1) Inuit should not be allowed to starve; (2) able bodied hunters should be pressured to hunt, rather than rely on relief; (3) fur traders and the government share financial responsibility for Inuit relief; (4) family allowances are to be issued in the form of approved supplies; (5) rations for children should follow Department of National Health and Welfare guidelines; (6) where traditional foods are abundant, good hunters must provide for others; (7) relief charges can sometimes be adjusted for the receipt of family allowance; and (8) relief should always be insufficient to discourage lazy hunters from becoming permanently dependent. However, the ninth principle anticipated new forms of government intervention which would emerge in the the 1950's and 1960's: "Consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing useful industries at some of these centres where people are likely to congregate anyway" (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 253-1, pt. 2).

II.3.2 Inuit Subsistence Practices

Given the significant immigration of Euro-Canadian fur traders in the 1920's, and those traders' explicit objective of building mercantile relations with Kitikmeot Inuit, one would suspect that aboriginal patterns of subsistence practices were substantially changed in the fur trade era. Indeed, by 1950 Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices had been altered considerably through: inclusion of white fox trapping as a significant economic activity; technological changes in hunting, especially the use of guns, fish nets and boats; consumption of foreign goods, such as food, tobacco, clothing, and canvas; and access to statutory transfer payments and government relief. While Kitikmeot Inuit still lived on the land, and subsisted mainly from hunting and fishing, the nature of their subsistence practices had changed dramatically since 1910.

Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices were not static prior to the appearance of fur traders in the region. McGhee (1972) uses archaeological evidence to argue that Inuit patterns of migration and production evolved gradually over the centuries in response to both climatic changes and intercultural contact. In the nineteenth century, Kitikmeot Inuit likely adapted their subsistence practices in response to direct contact with explorers, and to the presence of whalers to the west and east of the region. While I do not wish to speculate about the specific changes which may have occurred, it seems likely that subsistence practices were modified in response to: the large quantity of wood and metal available from abandoned vessels at Thom Bay (1832 Ross expedition), King William Island (1848

Franklin expedition), and Mercy Bay (1853 McClure expedition); indirect access to Euro-Canadian trade goods obtained through contact with Inuit to the southeast and west of the Kitikmeot; and direct contact with whalers on the northwest coast of Hudson Bay (Hickey, 1984; Balikci, 1984).

Changes to Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices are easier to document for the fur trade era (Balikci, 1989, 1984, 1964; Damas, 1988a, 1988b, 1984a, 1972b; Freeman, 1976; Remie, 1983). White fox trapping and trading began gradually, and there was much local variation in the speed and intensity with which trapping was adopted. Generally, trapping was adopted earlier, and more extensively, in the Coronation Gulf than elsewhere in the region (see Tables 2-2, 2-3 and Map 2-2). Initially, floating posts supplied Inuit with steel traps, iron tools, and a few guns. During the trading boom of the 1920's, Inuit acquired fairly regular supplies of ammunition, rifles, steel traps, fish nets, and boats. The introduction of trapping into annual cycles of subsistence activities, combined with the technological changes introduced through fur trading, eventually transformed Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices. Even in areas where trapping never became a primary activity, the introduction of rifles and fish nets was a substantial technological change. For a detailed discussion of local variations in regional patterns of economic change in the fur trade era, see Freeman (1976).

With respect to annual cycles of subsistence activities, several broad changes occurred during this era. First, trapping foxes became a significant economic activity during fall and early winter.

Fox furs were traded for: productive equipment, such as traps, guns, ammunition, metal knives, fish nets, sewing needles, and boats; and consumable goods, such as tobacco, tea, flour, clothing, and canvas tents. Trapping required greater winter mobility than did breathing hole sealing; Inuit thus began keeping larger dog teams in order to cover trap lines and travel to trading posts. Second, the timing and organization of seal hunting changed. Use of rifles allowed surface sealing along wide ice cracks, or the floe edge, and summer sealing on open water from boats. Third, rifle use made caribou hunting possible in all seasons. Caribou harvesting was intensified, and the need to engage in winter sealing decreased. Fourth, net fishing replaced the use of leisters and stone weirs. The intensification of seal, caribou, and fish harvesting allowed Inuit to subsist for longer periods of the fall and winter on cached food. It also enabled them to keep larger dog teams. Rifle use may have contributed to changing game distributions in the region. Musk-oxen were exterminated from the eastern Kitikmeot, and the number of caribou declined throughout the region. Mainland caribou stopped migrating to Victoria and King William Islands. Finally, trapping and the use of new productive technologies created a fundamental change in settlement patterns. Instead of winter sealing communities and summer hunting groups, semi-permanent hunting-trapping base camps emerged. Such camps were often located on the coast, or near good sites for fishing or caribou hunting. Families remained at the camp for most of the year, with occasional excursions for fall fishing, spring sealing, or visits to trading posts.

The cumulative impact of these basic changes was a significant disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices. By the end of the fur trade era, economic production and consumption had been significantly individualized. Use of guns and nets ended the need for collective caribou hunting and weir fishing. Collective breathing hole sealing declined, and fox trapping was done either individually or in small groups. Thus, large aggregations became less common. Consumption became more privatized within the household. Goods acquired by guns, nets, and trading furs were generally private property. Seal sharing partnership systems declined, and although gift exchange and communal eating persisted, they were modified given the reduced size of social collectivities.

Individualization of economic life was one cornerstone of a fundamental disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices. The other cornerstone was the emerging dependency of Kitikmeot Inuit upon Euro-Canadians. For centuries, Inuit had depended for survival upon the resources of land and sea, and upon the social cooperation of larger collectivities of Inuit. With the entrenchment of fur trading, they gradually depended upon Euro-Canadian equipment and consumer goods, and upon fluctuations in white fox prices. Over time, Kitikmeot Inuit became dependent upon trade for the very means with which they produced their subsistence. Earnings from trapping were converted into productive equipment. Such equipment needed regular income for its maintenance and use, so Kitikmeot Inuit entered a cycle of dependence upon commercial exchange. Dependency intensified as changes in technology, skills, and social organization

prohibited Inuit from relying upon traditional subsistence practices. Unfortunately for Kitikmeot Inuit, the fur trade was characterized by both cyclical variations in fox catches, and an overall decline in the terms of trade for trappers.

Although Kitikmeot Inuit were still living on the land in 1950, their subsistence practices had changed substantially since 1910. Fur trading was the most obvious change. Table 2-9 provides H.B.C. estimates of income derived from trapping in the western Kitikmeot during the mid-1940's:

Table 2-9: H.B.C. Statement of Inuit Fur Earnings, 1942-1947
(gross number of white foxes trapped per post,
with mean family income in parentheses)

	<u>Holman</u>	<u>Read Island</u>	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Bathurst Inlet</u>	<u>Cambridge Bay, Gjoa Haven, Perry River</u>
1942	1,277 (\$762)	1,937 (\$597)	554 (\$166)	2,045 (\$687)	6,929 (\$599)
1943	3,006 (\$2,079)	5,716 (\$2,026)	423 (\$141)	2,171 (\$836)	12,025 (\$1,249)
1944	462 (\$418)	792 (\$362)	208 (\$116)	993 (\$503)	3,242 (\$407)
1945	494 (\$406)	702 (\$299)	198 (\$99)	867 (\$354)	2,910 (\$291)
1946	1,763 (\$1,226)	3,740 (\$1,357)	638 (\$311)	1,459 (\$583)	10,706 (\$1,021)
1947	3,744 (\$1,978)	3,272 (\$329)	661 (\$152)	1,483 (\$457)	10,635 (\$751)
number of families	23	46	55	43	175

(Source: Rg 85, v. 98, f. 252-1-2, pt. 1;
Letter from R.H. Chesshire to R.A. Gibson).

From this table, it is evident that: fox trapping had become a significant activity by the 1940's; fox catches at each locale varied widely from year to year; and mean family incomes from fur were substantial, but extremely variable.

"Western Arctic Inspection Flight" reports from 1949 and 1950 indicate that Kitikmeot Inuit still lived in dozens of dispersed hunting-trapping camps, and still obtained most of their food from caribou, fish, and seal (RG 85, v. 1127, f. 201-1-8, pt. 2 and 2a). However, in order to procure such food, Kitikmeot Inuit now needed cash income to maintain equipment such as rifles, fish nets, and outboard motors. By the late 1940's, such cash income was derived from a mixture of activities. Table 2-10 summarizes these sources of income. Four aspects of this table should be emphasized. First, fur trading was the most important source of cash income (59% of two year total), while Family Allowance payments were also quite significant (17% of two year total). Second, income from furs dropped radically from one year to the next, largely because the white fox price fell substantially; the national average price in 1950-51 was \$13.02, while the mean price in 1951-52 was only \$8.16. Third, virtually all cash income came from individualized activities or entitlements. Fourth, all cash income was obtained from Euro-Canadians, and the vast majority of it was held in trade accounts by the H.B.C. By 1950, aboriginal subsistence practices were strongly individualized, and dependent upon relations with Euro-Canadians.

Table 2-10: Kitikmeot Inuit Cash Income by Source, 1950-1952

<u>Earned Income</u>	<u>1950-1951</u>		<u>1951-1952</u>	
	<u>gross</u>	<u>per capita</u>	<u>gross</u>	<u>per capita</u>
Furs	231,909	167.08	74,897	53.96
Other produce, wages, and credit balances				
on H.B.C. account	4,759	3.43	50,625	36.47
on other accounts	10,796	7.78	18,802	13.54
in cash	6,886	4.96	4,742	3.42
Total earned income	254,350	183.25	149,066	107.39
<u>Unearned Income</u>				
Family Allowances	49,656	35.77	47,399	34.15
Old Age Allowances	206	.15	185	.13
Government Relief	5,204	3.75	7,246	5.22
H.B.C. Relief	405	.29	827	.60
H.B.C. unpaid debts	531	.38	5,513	3.97
Total unearned income	56,002	40.34	61,170	44.07
<u>Total cash income</u>	310,352	223.59	210,236	151.46

(Source: RG 85, v. 1234, f. 251-1, pt. 2;
Report from J. Cantley, Arctic Services)

The Kitikmeot of 1950 was substantially different from the Kitikmeot of 1910. Fur traders, missionaries, and R.C.M.P. officers had established a direct Euro-Canadian presence in the region. Inuit subsistence practices had been transformed by fur trading and technological change. Both Euro-Canadian activities, and changes to aboriginal subsistence practices, created forms of social experience which increasingly individuated Kitikmeot Inuit. Subsistence production was individualized through the adoption of trapping and the use of new hunting techniques. Consumption was increasingly

privatized within households, as institutionalized sharing systems declined, and income from furs and transfer payments became more important. Finally, R.C.M.P. administrative practices, such as collecting vital statistics and controlling the disk list system of identification (Smith, 1991), specifically positioned each Inuk as an individuated subject of Canadian legal and administrative systems.

During the fur trade era, formal adult education programs did not exist in the Kitikmeot. However, such programs did become conceivable during these years. Several changes were critical for creating this possibility: establishment of Euro-Canadian agents in the region; expansion of fur trade practices for which basic literacy and numeracy skills were arguably relevant; engagement of missionaries in educational activities; and a general individualization of subsistence practices. These developments made contemporary forms of adult education thinkable, but it was not until the construction of administered settlements that such forms were actually possible.

II.4 Construction of Administered Settlements and Wage Economies

With the collapse of the fur trade, Kitikmeot history entered a new era. Between 1950 and 1980, state organized interventions in the region increased massively, Kitikmeot Inuit settled into permanent communities, and hunting and trapping subsistence practices were superceded by wage earning and the receipt of government transfer payments. In this section, I narrate the history of state formation and the transformation of Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices.

II.4.1 Government Activities

Canadian governments dramatically increased their activities in the Kitikmeot after 1950. Diubaldo (1985: 163), commenting on the lack of government activity in the Arctic prior to 1945, states that administrative "parsimony and the relative inaccessibility of the North were determining factors, but just as important were the prevailing laissez-faire philosophies regarding government intervention, and the view that Inuit should rely almost exclusively on the land and its resources." In the decade after World War Two, several factors combined to end this laissez-faire orientation toward Inuit and the North (Diubaldo, 1985, 1989; Morrison, 1986; Neatby, 1984; Zaslow, 1988). First, there was a growing perception that the fur trade economy had collapsed, and that Inuit were suffering as a result. Second, concern for asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic was heightened by American military presence during and after World War Two. Third, changing technologies gave the Arctic greater strategic significance during the Cold War. Fourth, government intervention increased throughout Canadian society. Fifth, a popular notion emerged that Northern resources would be the engine of Canada's future economic growth. Finally, improvements in communication and transportation made Arctic regions more accessible.

This changing orientation toward the North did not immediately transform either the policies or practices of Euro-Canadian state personnel in the Kitikmeot. In the early 1950's, government activities were still aimed at preserving hunting and trapping

lifestyles. Official correspondence from this period frequently lamented the tendency for Inuit to congregate near posts, where Family Allowances and relief could be obtained (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1a). For example, in a January 16, 1952 memorandum for the N.W.T. Commissioner, F. Cunningham (N.W.T. Deputy Commissioner) wrote that a "major problem" in "Eskimo affairs" was

the reaction of Eskimo to relief and family allowances. In particular, it appeared that the knowledge that relief and family allowances was available results in many cases in decreased effort by Eskimo to make a living by hunting and trapping, and that an attempt was being made to overcome this difficulty by refusing relief where the Eskimo was not doing all that he could to support himself and his family, and by restricting as far as possible the benefits of family allowances to the children for whose benefit they are intended. It also appeared that these efforts were not wholly successful, the amounts expended in relief have increased from \$14,000 in 1946-47 to \$112,000 in 1950-51, although approximately \$250,000 was paid in family allowance in 1950-51.

Cunningham went on to suggest that all sources and uses of Inuit income should be regulated by either the N.W.T. Council, or the H.B.C. Frustration with the impact of Family Allowance payments and low fur prices was widespread. On November 23, 1951, J.G. Wright (Chief, Arctic Division) wrote:

Apart from the rising cost of relief there is the even more important problem of stopping the drift of Eskimos towards general indigence. If they feel they can be fed without working, why trap foxes at present low prices?...Practically every informed person who has come in contact with the Eskimos in recent years agrees that the present situation is unsatisfactory and that the Eskimo economy should be controlled in some way (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1a).

The sense that something needed to be done about Inuit economic activities created a series of studies, policies, and projects that began in the 1950's and never relented (RG 85, 251-1-4 series).

On October 27, 1949, the N.W.T. Council discussed "the depressed

state of the long-haired fur trade," and recommended that a complete investigation be undertaken to analyze the feasibility of five specific government interventions to improve the Inuit economy: opening government stores or co-operatives at points where fur trade posts had closed; introducing new industries or handicrafts for Inuit; subsidizing fur prices; "taking over all trading in Eskimo territory"; and supervising H.B.C. operations more closely (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 1a). In 1950, J. Cantley investigated economic conditions in the Mackenzie and Kitikmeot regions. He concluded:

The economic problems of the North arise mainly from a lack of diversification of the means by which the native populations can earn a cash income. On the Arctic coast, the economy is based almost entirely on the white fox and in the Delta on the muskrat. Wide fluctuations in the numbers of these animals, or in the market prices from year to year, create cycles of "booms and busts" which do not make for a stable economy. With an improvident population living from hand to mouth, a failure in either of these two resources, or a marked decline in the prices of skins, can and does lead to widespread distress. This has been particularly evident during the past few years among the coastal Eskimos throughout the Arctic as a result of a collapse of the market for white foxes (RG 85, v. 1234, f. 251-1, pt. 2).

Official dissatisfaction with Inuit dependence upon fur trading led to economic diversification initiatives in the 1950's and 1960's.

Government initiatives to stimulate Northern economic development in the 1950's combined old policies aimed at the improvement of hunting and trapping practices, with new policies aimed at promoting Inuit wage employment. On May 19 and 20, 1952, a major meeting on "Eskimo Affairs" was held in Ottawa, with representatives from five federal departments, N.W.T. Council, H.B.C., Anglican missions, and Roman Catholic missions (RG 85, v. 1234, f. 251-1, pt. 2; RG 85, v. 1072, f. 254-1, pt. 2). This

meeting, called by the N.W.T. Commissioner, signalled a departure from previous policies of minimizing government intervention and keeping Inuit out on the land. From this meeting, an "Eskimo Affairs Committee" and a "Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education" were formed. The summary of the proceedings from the May, 1952 meeting indicates four key discussions. First, "recent changes in Eskimo economy" were discussed, including: local declines in game availability; low white fox prices; increased prices of trade goods; increased relief costs; and advent of statutory transfer payments. The participants stated:

Although there are reported declines in some food resources in certain areas, most Eskimo groups can still obtain a large part of their living within their own country. All, however, have now passed the primitive stage when they were wholly self-sufficient and they could not survive without much of the supplies and equipment they obtain from the trade stores. The drastic decline in white fox prices during recent years, accompanied by greatly increased prices of store goods, has therefore had a very adverse effect on the economy of most groups. The least affected have been the more remote settlements where hunting has remained the principle occupation.

Thus, by 1952 there was an official perception that Inuit could no longer subsist on their own, without some form of cash income.

The second theme discussed in the proceedings was the "cumulative effects of government aid." The perceived impact of such aid included: a tendency for Inuit to congregate around posts; a decline in Inuit "morale and independence;" and an Inuit awareness of alternative sources of income. Participants asserted:

The decline in fur revenue has been off-set in part since 1945 by issue of family allowances and direct relief, amounting in all to some \$1,687,000. While these issues have done much to assist the Eskimos over this difficult period, the effect on morale has not been all that could be desired. It has now become apparent that in many instances the natives are coming to depend on such issues rather than on their own efforts for a living. There has been a decided tendency, particularly among the poorer groups, to

forsake their former hunting way of life and to congregate in larger groups near the settlements where they can obtain this assistance more regularly. This trend raises the question as to whether present policy and arrangements for issuing family allowances and relief should not be carefully revised.

This passage echoed widespread frustration about the unintended impact of transfer payments upon Inuit subsistence practices.

Third, "suggestions for improving the situation" were discussed, including: subsidizing fur prices; appointing "Eskimo agents;" forming a government trading organization; "closer co-operation with the H.B.C.;" managing Inuit income and spending; and establishing a "trust fund" for Inuit economic development. The participants came to "no definite conclusions" for improving the Inuit economy, but education and economic diversification were seen as obvious requirements.

Fourth, "policy on employment of Eskimos" was discussed, including: the need to formulate a long-term policy, given Inuit population growth; the debate over whether Inuit should be encouraged to remain as hunters and trappers, or be encouraged to enter wage employment; and various possibilities for Inuit employment, including military service, handicraft production, fisheries, reindeer herding, building and maintaining Arctic settlements, airports, and radio and weather stations. The participants asserted that employment opportunities in the Arctic were extremely limited, and therefore "the immediate need was to assist the natives to continue to follow their traditional way of life as hunters." Assistance was to be provided through programs to relocate hunters to better hunting areas, and provide them with sufficient equipment. However, the

emphasis placed upon hunting

did not mean the Eskimos should be discouraged from accepting any suitable employment that may be offered so long as they could be assured that it would be reasonably permanent or that by following it they would not become wholly incapable of returning to their native way of life if it should fail.

The participants concluded that Inuit employees should be rotated, and given ample time off for hunting, in order to help them maintain their ability to live off the land. Within a few years, the official policy of tolerating Inuit wage employment had developed into a policy which actively encouraged such employment. This policy change reflected factors such as: the persistence of low prices for white fox furs; the rising costs of Inuit relief payments; the perception that Inuit would not return to hunting and trapping once they became accustomed to receiving transfer payments; the need for labourers at government military, transport, and communication facilities in the North; and the desire to establish effective levels of administration and sovereignty over the Arctic.

Tolerance and then encouragement of Inuit wage employment constituted a basic policy reversal from the fur trade era. This reversal was accompanied by equally fundamental reversals on fur trade era policies with respect to settlement patterns. In opposition to long-standing policies which discouraged Inuit from congregating near fur trade posts, some officials in the 1950's began to argue for the creation of centralized Inuit settlements where wage labour could be obtained, and health and welfare could be closely supervised. On August 4, 1954, L.H. Nicholson (R.C.M.P. Commissioner) wrote to F. Cunningham:

I firmly believe that in order to serve and help the Eskimo now, small Eskimo villages should be planned and set up at certain locations. First at places where the Eskimos already are in the habit of congregating, and if the experiment proves useful and practicable, others should be started....Buildings should be erected to house the people, and cold storage facilities, as well as a reasonable form of sanitation should be supplied (RG 85, v. 1234, f. 251-1, pt. 3).

This suggestion eventually became official policy, and by 1970, six administered settlements had been constructed in the Kitikmeot.

Beginning in 1954, the D.N.A.N.R. placed Northern Service Officers in Arctic communities in order to administer an increasing number of government programs related to Inuit employment, welfare, education, and sedentarization. In a letter dated September 10, 1957 R.G. Robertson described the role of a Northern Service Officer (N.S.O.) in the following terms:

to assist in co-ordinating Government activities and helping the Eskimos in meeting the changes affecting their livelihood and economic outlook. We are searching most earnestly for ways to guide the Eskimos effectively through the tremendous disruptions to the fabric of their culture brought on by this overwhelming activity of the white men. One temporary solution has been the availability of gainful wage employment which is being supervised by the N.S.O.'s to ensure that the Eskimos will benefit to the greatest extent possible (RG 85, v. 1348, f. 1000/150, pt. 2).

Given the persistent reality of low white fox prices, N.S.O.'s were assigned to implement economic diversification initiatives, and to administer an expanding array of social welfare programs.

In the 1950's, another fundamental policy of the fur trade era was changed: fur trade companies were no longer required to provide relief to Inuit trappers. On March 2, 1953, J. Cantley wrote:

While the H.B.C. accepted a share of responsibility for Eskimo welfare for many years, there is actually no reason why they should. They cannot possibly make money in the Arctic at present price levels and whatever they give out in relief, or fail to collect in credits extended to Eskimos, adds to their losses.

While it is for the Company to decide what 'debt' and relief they will continue to give out, I agree that we should cease to require them to pay any part of the relief issued to Eskimos (RG 85, v. 1475, f. 253-1, pt.5).

In light of the depressed white fox market, the federal government began to administer an increasing variety of welfare services to Kitikmeot Inuit.

In 1956, a "Welfare Section" was added to the D.N.A.N.R. (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 6). On July 3, 1958, R.A.J. Phillips (Chief, Arctic Division) outlined existing "Welfare Programs for Residents of the N.W.T." These programs were: Categorical Assistance Schemes, including Family Allowance, Old Age Security, War Veteran's Allowance, Old Age Assistance, Blind Person's Allowance, Disabled Person's Allowance, Workmen's Compensation, and Unemployment Insurance; Relief, Supplementary Tuberculosis Rations and Work-Relief Projects; Services to Neglected Children, and Children in Need of Foster Home Care and Adoption; Correctional Services; Hospital and Rehabilitation Services; and Eskimo Correspondence, Translation, and Liaison Services (RG 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt. 6). Rather than looking to missionaries and fur traders to provide social services, the federal government had, by 1960, assumed "direct responsibility for Eskimo welfare:"

In general terms, the policy followed in discharging this responsibility reflects the legal status of Eskimos as Canadian citizens, and the duty of the community to provide an acceptable standard of services for all its members. One objective is therefore to provide opportunities for Eskimos to choose between alternative ways of life. Another objective is to develop social services towards the standard taken for granted in other parts of Canada.

Continuing change in Eskimo culture seems inevitable, and a third objective is to ease as much as possible the effects of this change. No attempt is made to determine for individual

Eskimos the decisions which are properly theirs. An individual who wishes to maintain his traditional life is perfectly entitled to do so, and will be helped where possible to minimize the hazards involved. Another who seeks to adopt more of the southern pattern of life can receive assistance in the transition.

In practical terms, this all means expanded education facilities, improved health services, the development of local industries which provide alternative sources of income, and related programs (Rg 85, v. 1069, f. 251-1, pt.6; Report by R.G. Robertson, March 28, 1960).

Clearly, social welfare policies had changed as radically as had policies with respect to Inuit wage employment and sedentarization. From a policy of minimizing relief expenditures through keeping Inuit out on the land in the 1940's, the federal government in the 1960's explicitly endeavored to provide a range and quality of welfare services comparable to those established in southern Canada.

Social services were not intended to make Inuit dependent upon welfare. Indeed, an important objective of such services was to "rehabilitate" Inuit, and make them self-sufficient once more. On June 26, 1958, B.G. Sivertz (Director, Welfare Section) wrote to F. Cunningham:

The various pilot projects with which our welfare staff have been experimenting are designed for one main purpose; namely, to reduce as much as possible the high cost of relief and hospital care (well over four million dollars each year to the taxpayer) by a comprehensive rehabilitation programme. This programme is designed to enable Eskimos to become self-supporting by diversifying the economy in the North, and by opening up avenues for wage employment. The anticipated end result of this process is higher standards of living which means better housing and nutrition and a lower incidence of tuberculosis, infant mortality, and economic dependence (RG 85, v. 1274, f. 251-1-4, pt. 1).

Policies with respect to social welfare, settlement patterns, wage employment, and economic diversification were all designed to contribute to a renewal of Inuit self-sufficiency, and an eventual

reduction in government expenditures. Together, these new policies amounted to a major reversal; from policies of discouraging Inuit wage employment, sedentarization, and welfare payments, the Canadian government began encouraging education, employment, and the creation of permanent settlements where health and welfare could be closely supervised. Adult education became a fundamental component of government policies and practices to encourage wage employment. Indeed, education in general was an important field of expanding government activity in the 1950's and 1960's. This field will be analyzed in detail in Chapters Three and Four.

Within the Kitikmeot, administered settlements were constructed at Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, Holman, Gjoa Haven, Spence Bay, and Pelly Bay. Cambridge Bay and Coppermine were the region's first administered centres. In 1946 Cambridge Bay was the northern terminus of the Canadian Army's "Operation Musk-Ox," while from 1947 to 1951 the Canadian and American militaries operated a LORAN navigational beacon. In 1951, the Department of Transport took over some of the LORAN buildings for a weather station and radio communications. From 1951 to 1957, the Royal Canadian Air Force ran a northern survival school. In 1955, a Distant Early Warning (D.E.W.) line site was built; this site (CAM-MAIN) became sector headquarters for twelve sites, built at fifty mile intervals, between King William Island and Bernard Harbour. A Northern Service Officer was appointed in 1954, and a Federal Day school was built in 1957. In Coppermine, a nursing station was built in 1949, a Federal Day school opened in 1950, and a Northern Service Officer arrived in

1954. By the early 1960's, Coppermine and Cambridge Bay both had resident area administrators, nurses, teachers, R.C.M.P. officers, and Department of Transport personnel. Various economic development initiatives were instituted, including the Eskimo Loan Fund, a Low-Cost Housing Program, Eskimo Small Boat Assistance, a Fuel Oil Subsidy, and fisheries projects at Cambridge Bay and Contwoyto Lake (RG 85, v. 518, f. 251-8/150, pt. 1; RG 85, v. 1893, f. 251-1/150, pt. 2 and 3; Abrahamson, 1963). Administered settlements developed more slowly elsewhere in the region. D.E.W. line sites were built across the Kitikmeot in the mid-1950's. In Spence Bay a Federal Day School opened in 1958, an Area Administrator was appointed in 1962, and a nursing station opened in 1962. In the early 1960's, schools were built in Gjoa Haven, Holman and Pelly Bay. By 1970, all communities had nursing stations and low-cost housing units.

The expansion of state organized activities in each community is summarized in Tables 2-11, 2-12, and 2-13. These tables indicate the number of Euro-Canadians working for various agencies in the Kitikmeot in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. I briefly discuss each chart, and then summarize the overall trends from 1956 to 1976. From Table 2-11, one sees that the Euro-Canadian presence in most Kitikmeot communities in 1956 was basically limited to fur traders, missionaries, and police officers. Of the 47 Euro-Canadian workers in the region, fur trade era personnel accounted for 31. Coppermine and Cambridge Bay were the only settlements to have new government representatives stationed in 1956. Pacific Western Airlines operated a navigation and communications complex at Bathurst Inlet. In

Table 2-11: Euro-Canadian Personnel in the Kitikmeot, 1956

<u>employers</u>	<u>Copper- mine</u>	<u>Cam. Bay</u>	<u>Hol- man</u>	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>	<u>Pelly Bay</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>Total</u>
H.B.C.	2	3	1	1	2	-	2	11
Missions	4	2	1	1	3	1	2	14
R.C.M.P.	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	6
D. of T.	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	10
D.N.H.W.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Fed. School	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
P.W.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
<u>Total</u>	16	13	2	2	7	1	6	47

(Sources: RG 85, 630 series; RG 85, v. 1072, f. 254-1, pt. 2)

Table 2-12: Euro-Canadian Personnel in the Kitikmeot, 1960's

<u>employers</u>	<u>Copper- mine</u>	<u>Cam. Bay</u>	<u>Hol- man</u>	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>	<u>Pelly Bay</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>Total</u>
H.B.C.	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	7
Missions	2	3	2	-	2	2	1	12
R.C.M.P.	2	3	-	-	2	-	-	7
D. of T.	9	35	-	-	-	-	-	44
D.N.H.W.	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	6
D.N.A.N.R.	3	12	-	3	5	1	-	24
<u>Total</u>	19	56	3	4	12	3	3	100

(Note: for Gjoa Haven, Spence Bay, and Pelly Bay, these numbers refer to 1967. For all other locations, numbers refer to 1962-63.)

(Sources: Abrahamson, 1963; Villiers, 1968)

Table 2-13: Euro-Canadian Personnel in the Kitikmeot, 1976

<u>employers</u>	<u>Copper-</u> <u>mine</u>	<u>Cam.</u> <u>Bay</u>	<u>Hol-</u> <u>man</u>	<u>Gjoa</u> <u>Haven</u>	<u>Spence</u> <u>Bay</u>	<u>Pelly</u> <u>Bay</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Territorial</u>								
<u>Departments</u>								
Executive	1	*	-	-	1	-	-	2*
Local Gov't	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	1*
D.P.W.	1	*	1	-	1	-	-	3*
Soc. Dev't	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	0*
Econ. Dev't	1	*	-	1	1	-	-	3*
Education	13	*	4	5	6	4	-	32*
<u>G.N.W.T. Total</u>	17	34	5	6	9	4	-	74
<u>Federal</u>								
<u>Agencies</u>								
N.C.P.C.	3	*	1	1	1	-	-	6*
R.C.M.P.	2	*	-	-	2	-	-	4*
Health-Welfare	4	*	3	4	4	3	-	18*
M. of T.	4	*	-	-	-	-	-	4*
C.N.T.	1	*	-	1	-	1	-	3*
<u>Fed. Total</u>	14	54	4	6	7	4	-	89
<u>Grand Total</u>	31	88	9	12	16	8	-	163

(Note: In the case of Cambridge Bay, numbers of Euro-Canadian personnel are not broken down by department. Therefore, departmental totals reflect the numbers from the other five communities.)

(Sources: G.N.W.T. unorganized records, Cambridge Bay; Taunton and Fenton, 1977: 21, 27.)

addition to these 47 workers, approximately 200 Euro-Canadians were involved in DEW Line construction, mostly around Cambridge Bay. From Table 2-12, one sees that by the 1960's, Cambridge Bay had become an important transportation and communications centre. Coppermine and Spence Bay both had schools, nursing stations, and area administrators, while the only government personnel in Gjoa Haven and Pelly Bay were welfare teachers employed by D.N.A.N.R. From Table 2-13, one sees that by 1976 there had been a major expansion of government activities in all communities. The territorial government had assumed many responsibilities from the federal government, and Euro-Canadian personnel had abandoned their activities in the "other" posts (ie. Thelon Bay, Perry River, Bathurst Inlet, and Read Island). In 1976, government personnel actively organized projects in the fields of education, welfare, health, housing, policing, public infrastructure, local government, and economic development.

This set of charts indicates a significant transformation of Euro-Canadian activities in the Kitikmeot. In 1956, most of the Euro-Canadians in the region were those typical of the fur trade era: missionaries, traders, and police officers. By 1976, they had been joined by a large number of government personnel; 164 Euro-Canadians worked for state agencies in the region, while the total number of missionaries and fur traders did not exceed twenty. Adult education was one field of intervention organized by these new Euro-Canadians in the Kitikmeot. Indeed, adult education became possible through the intensification of state organized activities, and the related transformation of Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices.

II.4.2 Inuit Subsistence Practices

In 1950, Kitikmeot Inuit lived in dozens of hunting-trapping camps dispersed throughout the region. Although they met most of their material needs through hunting and fishing, income from furs, family allowances and relief was needed to purchase food, clothing, and hunting equipment. By the mid-1970's, virtually all Kitikmeot Inuit spent most of the year in one of six permanent settlements. Hunting and fishing were still important subsistence activities, but wage employment and statutory transfer payments had become essential sources of income. The following pages narrate the settlement of Kitikmeot Inuit into permanent communities, and the corresponding transformation of their subsistence practices.

After 1950, Kitikmeot Inuit slowly began to abandon their hunting-trapping camps, and settle into permanent communities. There were significant local variations in the timing of sedentarization. Some groups, particularly around Cambridge Bay and Coppermine, moved off of the land in the 1950's. Most groups moved into one of the six administered settlements in the 1960's, when low-cost housing units were built. Some groups, including those of Thom Bay, Perry River, Back River, and Bathurst Inlet, did not move into permanent communities until the late 1960's or early 1970's. Four major factors structured the movement of Kitikmeot Inuit into settlements: persistent health problems, and the increasing availability of medical services in the settlements; recurring food shortages, and the increasing availability of welfare assistance in the settlements; closure of fur trading posts, and the persistence of low white fox

prices; and increased availability, in settlements, of wage employment, heated housing, and facilities for health, welfare, recreation, and education. While I do not intend to recount why each particular group of Kitikmeot Inuit moved into permanent settlements, I shall briefly review these four major factors.

Tuberculosis was the most persistent health problem in the 1950's and 1960's. Table 2-14 indicates the number of tuberculosis cases diagnosed among Kitikmeot Inuit:

Table 2-14: Annual Number of Kitikmeot Inuit Tuberculosis Diagnoses, 1946-1962

	<u>Cambridge Bay District</u>	<u>Coppermine District</u>	<u>Spence Bay District</u>	<u>Regional Total</u>
1946	-	4	-	4
1947	-	1	-	1
1948	1	6	1	8
1949	2	12	3	17
1950	6	9	2	17
1951	1	9	3	13
1952	7	8	6	21
1953	4	26	11	41
1954	4	11	4	19
1955	5	7	4	16
1956	2	9	5	16
1957	4	20	14	38
1958	1	18	7	26
1959	3	11	5	19
1960	5	15	7	27
1961	2	12	10	24
1962	6	24	8	38
Total	53	202	90	345

(Source: RG 85, v. 1276, f. 251-1-4, pt. 5;
Department of National Health and Welfare Report, Aug. 8, 1963)

Given a total Inuit population of 1,511 in 1961, tuberculosis obviously affected a high proportion of Kitikmeot households. Eighty-three per cent of these 345 tuberculosis cases were respiratory. Many Kitikmeot Inuit were removed to sanatoria in Southern Canada, and many households experienced periods of dependence upon government "rations" because hunters were unable to provide food.

Tuberculosis cases were not new in the 1950's. For several decades, Canadian governments were aware of deplorable health conditions among Kitikmeot Inuit, but did very little to ameliorate those conditions. On March 5, 1942, J.F. Doyle wrote:

For many years reports received from the R.C.M.P., Missionaries, traders and others have shown the unfavorable health conditions of the natives in the Coronation Gulf area. This has been brought about by various causes including--

- a) Depletion of the game resources;
- b) Contact with white men;
- c) Lack of medical and hospital facilities; and
- d) Isolation.

Epidemics have taken their toll but at present tuberculosis is probably the most prevalent disease. There are also a number of widows, cripples, and aged infirm who are no longer able to care for themselves. (RG 85, v. 228, f. 630/145-2, pt. 2).

While medical problems due to contact with Euro-Canadian diseases had plagued Kitikmeot Inuit since the 1920's, it was only in the 1950's that major health services became available in the region. By 1962, nursing stations were operated at Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, and Spence Bay, while medications were dispensed by lay personnel from small health stations at Holman, Read Island, Bathurst Inlet, Perry River, Gjoa Haven, and Pelly Bay (RG 85, v. 1359, f. 164-1, pt. 7).

Besides tuberculosis, periodic epidemics ravaged Kitikmeot Inuit in the 1950's and early 1960's. An R.C.M.P. report dated Feb. 1,

1960 gave the following grim statistics for the Spence Bay district during the period of Jan 1, 1958 to Dec. 31, 1959: of 60 live births, 26 infants died in their first year of life; six people starved to death in the Chantry Inlet area; measles killed five people; pneumonia and undetermined illnesses killed six people; one woman died in childbirth; four people drowned; and five died of "old age" (RG 85, v. 678, f. A252-5/165, pt. 1). In early 1960, an influenza epidemic killed eight Inuit between Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, and caused 22 others to be evacuated to Churchill and Cambridge Bay (RG 85, v. 678, f. A252-5/165, pt. 1). In a March 17, 1960 memorandum about this epidemic, the Director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch asserted that out of 135 Inuit examined by medical personnel, none were healthy enough for hunting, trapping, or even "to care for themselves" (RG 85, v. 746, f. A1000/165, pt. 1). In several cases, epidemics helped push Inuit toward settlements.

While persistent health problems reduced Kitikmeot Inuit ability to hunt and trap, the depressed fur market and periodic game scarcities meant that such activities no longer adequately guaranteed subsistence. Throughout the 1950's, R.C.M.P. reports frequently referred to the issuance of emergency relief to Kitikmeot Inuit (RG 85, v. 1475, f. 253-1, pt. 5 and 7; 252-5 series; 1000 series). Relief issues included standardized rations, various staple goods, and several special projects, including the delivery of: 1,474 pounds of margarine in 1953; 4,000 pounds of buffalo meat in 1954; massive quantities of dog food in 1956; and 40 cartons of warm clothing in 1957.

Critical shortages of food were reported from 1954 to 1956 near Perry River (RG 85, v. 1119, f. 1000/150, pt. 1) and from 1957 to 1961 near Contwoyto Lake (RG 85, v. 1266, f. 1000/145, pt. 5). On June 4, 1954, the Deputy Minister of N.A.N.R. summarized the fragility of the Inuit economy:

At present they have a choice of a bare subsistence level at the posts, but with no fear of starving, as against a possibly slightly less bare subsistence level away from the posts with a possibility of real hardship (RG 85, v. 1234, f. 251-1, pt. 3).

Undoubtedly, periodic food shortages, combined with the recognition that subsistence goods would be provided to them in the settlements, contributed to the sedentarization of Kitikmeot Inuit.

Reports from 1959 and 1960 indicate just how fragile the hunting and trapping economy had become. On April 30, 1959, the Coppermine R.C.M.P. detachment submitted a report which asserted that the only self-supporting families in the Coppermine area were those who lived in the settlement and earned wages (RG 85, v. 1266, f. 1000/145, pt. 5). This report listed families in seven categories: five families who supported themselves from Old Age Allowances; four families who obtained rehabilitation rations; four families who received destitute rations; seven families who needed assistance to move inland and hunt; three families who needed assistance to return to their camps and engage in spring sealing; eleven families who needed various forms of relief assistance in order to hunt; and ten families who earned wages. The R.C.M.P. officer wrote that, apart from the wage-earning families, "the rest are being or will be largely dependent on some form of government assistance."

Economic conditions in the eastern Kitikmeot were equally poor.

On March 17, 1960, a D.N.A.N.R. report on the Spence Bay and Pelly Bay areas asserted that the 500 Inuit in the area "have been in nearly as dire circumstances this winter as they were 2 years ago when 6 people starved to death" (RG 85, v. 746, f. 1000/165, pt. 1). The report suggested building a nursing station at Spence Bay, keeping an emergency plane in Cambridge Bay, and establishing "Emergency Camp Units" with radios and emergency food and medical supplies. The report went on to suggest:

The facilities outlined above seem to us the minimum necessary to avoid catastrophe when disasters recur, as they will. These provisions are still somewhat negative in that they do not provide any economic base for a standard of living which will make starvation obsolete, and medical crises rare.

By 1960, subsistence activities based upon hunting and trapping had become precarious. It is difficult to judge whether Kitikmeot Inuit could no longer subsist on the land as hunters and trappers, or whether they freely chose to take advantage of transfer payments, social services, and wage opportunities available in the emerging settlements. In either case, it seems clear that evolving possibilities for subsistence activities helped move Kitikmeot Inuit into permanent communities.

In the 1950's and 1960's, wage labour and transfer payments began to eclipse fox trapping as the main source of Kitikmeot Inuit cash income. In 1950, ten trading posts were open in the region. Over the next twenty years, posts closed at Sherman Inlet (1955), Read Island (1962), Perry River (1965), and Bathurst Inlet (1970), leaving only one post open at each of the six main settlements (Usher, 1971: 110-117). In the eight trapping seasons between 1954

and 1962, a grand total of 68,386 white foxes were traded into posts at Perry Island, Read Island, Holman, Coppermine, Bathurst Inlet, and Cambridge Bay (Abrahamson, 1963). Thus, in the western Kitikmeot, an average of 8,548 foxes were traded each year. In the nine trapping seasons between 1958 and 1967, a grand total of 24,682 white foxes were traded into posts at Spence Bay, Gjoa Haven, and Pelly Bay. Thus, in the eastern Kitikmeot, an average of 2,742 foxes were traded each year. Fox catches varied between localities and years, but prices remained low. From 1961 to 1967, the average price for a white fox pelt in the eastern Kitikmeot was \$12.17 (Villiers, 1968).

Despite the significant number of foxes trapped, low prices meant that trapping became a secondary source of income for most households. Table 2-15 documents the top source of income for households in the Kitikmeot, while Table 2-16 specifies the sources of gross community income. These tables clearly indicate that, by the 1960's, a "fur trade economy" no longer dominated the Kitikmeot. Only one in five Inuit households relied on trapping and handicraft production as its main source of income; such activities accounted for only 21% of gross income in the west, and only 14% of gross income in the east. Wages and transfer payments were the main source of cash income for nearly 80% of households. Hunting and fishing still accounted for most of the food consumed by Kitikmeot Inuit, but cash incomes were becoming increasingly important to supply and maintain equipment needed to hunt and fish, and to purchase food, clothing, and merchandise needed for life in permanent houses.

Tables 2-15 and 2-16 reveal important local variations in

Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices in the 1960's. Cambridge Bay and Pelly Bay residents relied mainly upon wages for their cash income. Inuit in Coppermine, Gjoa Haven, and Spence Bay also depended upon wages, but social entitlements and welfare assistance were substantial components of gross cash income. Holman and Thom Bay were the only areas where Kitikmeot Inuit still derived most of their cash income from furs. Even at Bathurst Inlet and Perry River, where fur traders and missionaries were the only Euro-Canadians present, transfer payments accounted for more gross income than did fur trapping. Despite these local variations, it is clear that

Table 2-15: Main Source of Cash Income for Kitikmeot Inuit, 1962-1967
(Number and Percentage of Households)

	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Furs and Handicrafts</u>	<u>Transfer Payments</u>	<u>Total Households</u>
Coppermine	29 (37%)	14 (18%)	36 (46%)	79 (100%)
Holman	0 (0%)	16 (70%)	7 (30%)	23 (100%)
Gjoa Haven	12 (33%)	2 (6%)	22 (61%)	36 (100%)
Spence Bay	22 (37%)	14 (24%)	23 (39%)	59 (100%)
Pelly Bay	24 (71%)	4 (12%)	6 (18%)	34 (100%)
Total	87 (38%)	50 (22%)	94 (41%)	231 (100%)

(Notes: Coppermine and Holman data refer to 1962, others to 1967)

(Sources: Abrahamson, 1963; Villiers, 1968)

Table 2-16a: Western Kitikmeot Sources of Cash Income, 1962-1963

	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Cambridge Bay</u>	<u>Holman</u>	<u>Bathurst Inlet</u>	<u>Perry River</u>	<u>Western Total</u>
Casual Wages	31,439 (23%)	19,175 (11%)	2,626 (6%)	2,134 (12%)	648 (4%)	56,022 (15%)
Permanent Wages	29,523 (22%)	104,200 (61%)	- (0%)	- (0%)	1,200 (7%)	134,923 (35%)
Social Legislation	25,363 (19%)	16,800 (10%)	6,441 (15%)	5,040 (28%)	6,049 (33%)	59,692 (16%)
Relief (Assistance)	23,416 (17%)	12,500 (7%)	10,019 (24%)	3,248 (18%)	3,779 (22%)	52,962 (14%)
Furs Traded	17,458 (13%)	17,650 (10%)	19,369 (46%)	5,247 (30%)	5,262 (31%)	64,986 (17%)
Handicrafts Produced	9,329 (7%)	- (0%)	4,106 (10%)	2,060 (12%)	- (0%)	15,495 (4%)
Grand Total	136,528 (100%)	170,325 (100%)	42,561 (100%)	17,729 (100%)	16,937 (100%)	384,080 (100%)

Table 2-16b: Eastern Kitikmeot Sources of Cash Income, 1967

	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>	<u>Pelly Bay</u>	<u>Thom Bay</u>	<u>Total</u>
Wages	61,559 (58%)	84,890 (58%)	44,597 (68%)	7,357 (35%)	198,403 (59%)
Social Legislation	14,364 (14%)	22,251 (15%)	11,190 (17%)	3,202 (15%)	51,007 (15%)
Relief (Assistance)	15,178 (14%)	21,302 (15%)	4,989 (8%)	1,124 (5%)	42,593 (13%)
Furs Traded	10,595 (10%)	16,483 (11%)	2,454 (4%)	9,244 (44%)	38,766 (12%)
Handicrafts Produced	4,026 (4%)	863 (1%)	1,940 (3%)	115 (1%)	6,944 (2%)
Grand Total	105,722 (100%)	145,789 (100%)	65,170 (100%)	21,042 (100%)	337,723 (100%)

(Sources: Abrahamson, 1963; Villiers, 1968)

Kitikmeot Inuit received a substantial amount of cash income in the 1960's. To recall from Table 2-10, Kitikmeot Inuit gross income in 1951-52 was \$210,236, of which 37% came from furs. By 1962 (west) and 1968 (east), gross annual income had risen to \$721,803, of which only 14% came from furs. Using 1951 and 1961 census figures, these figures correspond to an increase in per capita cash income from \$152.23 to \$477.70.

If wage employment had become an important form of subsistence practice for Kitikmeot Inuit, then what kinds of jobs were they involved in? First, a few Inuit in each settlement were employed by government agencies, in positions such as janitor, cook, clerk, teaching assistant, special constable, and community health worker. Second, many Inuit were employed at D.E.W. Line stations located across the region. Third, the H.B.C. or the Co-operative store in each community generally employed several Inuit as clerks, cashiers, and stock keepers. Fourth, many Kitikmeot Inuit were employed as seasonal laborers for projects such as handling freight and building roads, houses, and government buildings. While hunting and fishing remained central subsistence activities, casual and permanent employment became significant means of financing these activities, and of directly purchasing food, clothing, and merchandise.

Obviously, both Euro-Canadian activities and Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices changed substantially following World War Two. Canadian government policies with respect to Inuit changed dramatically, as permanent settlements and wage economies were constructed. Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices also changed, as

hunting and trapping were replaced by hunting, working, and receiving transfer payments. In the transition from the fur trade era to the administered settlement era, contemporary forms of adult education became truly possible. Inuit moved from dispersed hunting and trapping camps into six permanent communities; their subsistence practices came to depend upon wage labour and social assistance. A variety of state organized interventions began to manage diverse fields such as health, welfare, justice, education, political development, and economic growth. Many of these interventions actively individuated Kitikmeot Inuit. As Chapters Three and Four reveal, adult education programs and practices emerged as an integral component of these interventions.

II.5 Contemporary Era

To this point in Chapter Two, I have structured my narrative of each historical era in terms of Euro-Canadian interventions and Inuit subsistence practices. The contemporary Kitikmeot has become so complex however, that this dualistic structure is no longer appropriate. Kitikmeot Inuit now hold many of the political and administrative positions which had, until the 1970's, been occupied only by Euro-Canadians. It would be simplistic to suggest that contemporary state interventions are simply a matter of ethnic domination. In addition, Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices are now so completely interconnected with Euro-Canadian activities that it would be misleading to discuss the "Inuit economy" as if that economy could somehow be abstracted from its links to Euro-Canadian

practices. In this section, I analyze the contemporary context within which adult educational practices individuate Kitikmeot Inuit, and objectify putative learning needs. Two features of this context are most significant: patterns of economic activity; and individuating projects of governance.

II.5.1 Economic Activities

People in the Kitikmeot are currently engaged in a complex mixture of economic activities. Table 2-17 summarizes the participation rates for different activities during 1988.

Table 2-17a: Kitikmeot Economic Activities, 1988
(by percentage of population age fifteen and over)

	<u>Wage Labour</u>		<u>Hunting or Fishing</u>		<u>Trapping</u>	
	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Euro-Cdn.</u>	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Euro-Cdn.</u>	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Euro-Cdn.</u>
% active in 1988	60	95	61	23	12	0
% active > 26 wks	25	84	5	1	1	0
% active 13 - 26 wks	11	6	7	0	2	0
% active 4 - 12 wks	13	5	21	6	3	0
% active < 4 wks	9	0	25	16	5	0
% weeks not provided	2	1	3	0	1	0

(Note: people 15 years and over: natives: 2,136, non-natives: 322)

(Source: N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1990b: 23,26,49,52,69,72)

Table 2-17b: Kitikmeot Traditional Crafts Activity, 1988
 (by percentage of population age fifteen and over)

	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>Euro-Canadian</u>
% did traditional crafts during 1988	32	6
% involved on a full-time basis	3	0
% involved on a part-time basis	29	6

(Note: people 15 years and over: natives: 2,136, non-natives: 322)

(Source: N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1990b: 89)

These tables reveal substantial ethnic differences in economic activities. Euro-Canadians were almost universally and exclusively engaged in wage labour; 95% worked for wages, and 84% did so for more than half of the year. With respect to other activities, no Euro-Canadians trapped nor were involved full-time in traditional crafts, and only 7% hunted or fished for more than four weeks. Kitikmeot Inuit were involved in a wide variety of economic activities. Only one-quarter of Inuit were employed for more than half of the year, while substantial numbers hunted, fished, and did traditional crafts. Inuit economic activities continued to have a seasonal pattern. Wage labour was most common from July to September. Hunting and fishing peaked from May through August. Trapping occurred mostly from November to April.

When gender differences are considered, non-wage activities appear even more important for Inuit. Hunting, fishing, and trapping were very common for Inuit men. 76% hunted or fished during 1988,

and almost one-half of Inuit men did so for more than four weeks. 22% of Inuit men trapped. For Inuit women, traditional crafts were a significant area of economic activity, with 44% of them involved. These numbers suggest different patterns of subsistence for Inuit and Euro-Canadians in the Kitikmeot. Euro-Canadians worked for wages in offices, schools, stores, and other institutions. Most Inuit had less regular employment patterns, and mixed a variety of activities in order to subsist. Hunting, fishing, trapping, and handicraft production were combined with periods of employment or dependence upon government transfer payments. Wage and non-wage economic activities were interdependent. Cash income was needed to buy equipment for non-wage activities, while hunting and fishing provided subsistence goods which reduced the need to labour.

Different levels of wage labour participation for Inuit and Euro-Canadians corresponded to these groups' different levels of formal education. Table 2-18 summarizes education levels and labour market participation rates in the Kitikmeot during 1989. Ethnic differences in education were enormous. Most Euro-Canadians in the Kitikmeot were well educated professionals or tradespeople, who were recruited to the region for their vocational skills. An amazing 90% of Euro-Canadians had at least a high-school diploma. In contrast, only 16% of Kitikmeot Inuit had any form of educational certificate or diploma. Low education levels ensured that, despite official affirmative action policies, most Inuit were excluded from occupations requiring formal credentials.

Table 2-18: Kitikmeot Education Levels, 1989
(with rates of labour market participation and unemployment)

<u>Education Level</u>	<u>Inuit (%)</u>	<u>Particip. Rate (%)</u>	<u>Unem. Rate(%)</u>	<u>Euro-Cdn. (%)</u>	<u>Particip. Rate (%)</u>	<u>Unem. Rate(%)</u>
< grade 8	69	41	51	1	100	0
grade 9-11	11	64	33	8	96	4
high school diploma	2	80	49	13	88	0
certificate or diploma	14	84	13	37	98	3
university degree	0	-	-	40	93	1
not provided	4	-	-	0	-	-
Totals	100% (2,136)	50%	39%	100% (322)	94%	2%

(Source: N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1990a: 60)

In the 1980's, wage employment in the Kitikmeot was divided between a number of sectors: government services (25%); wholesale and retail sales (16%); education (12%); other services (12%); transportation and communications (9%); resources (9%); construction and manufacturing (6%); food and accommodations (2%); and miscellaneous (4%) (N.W.T., D.E.D.T., 1989: 13). Certain jobs were common throughout the Kitikmeot, including: government jobs with schools, nursing stations, and administrative offices; municipal services such as trucking water, sewage, or garbage, and maintaining houses; retail services in the Co-op or Northern stores, small convenience stores, or restaurants; transport jobs such as taxi driver or airline agent; summer labour building houses or maintaining

roads; and tourism work with hunting outfitters, fishing lodges, or the Co-op hotel. Two important aspects of wage labour in the Kitikmeot must be noted. First, since only one-quarter of Inuit worked for wages for more than half of the year, non-wage economic activities were also important. Second, governments either directly employed, contracted, subsidized, or funded almost all wage workers in the region. The importance of government spending to the economy was even greater when one considers the role of statutory income transfers, welfare payments, and food, fuel, and shelter subsidies.

Regional economic characteristics varied considerably between the Kitikmeot's different communities. Tables 2-19 and 2-20 summarize some local differences.

Table 2-19: Community Labour Force Activity, 1989

<u>Community</u>	<u>Persons Over 15</u>	<u>Participation Rate(%)</u>	<u>Unemployment Rate (%)</u>
Bathurst/ Bay Chimo	51	10	20
Cambridge Bay	671	71	18
Coppermine	598	47	37
Gjoa Haven	394	54	52
Holman	214	59	13
Pelly Bay	200	58	45
Spence Bay	329	46	32
KITIKMEOT:	2457	56	31

(Source: N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1989: 16)

Table 2-20: Community Personal Income Estimates, 1984 (\$ '000)

Part I: Sources Of Cash Income

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>PRIVATE WAGES</u>	<u>GOV'T WAGES</u>	<u>TRAPPING</u>	<u>FEDERAL TRANSFERS</u>	<u>N.W.T. TRANSFERS</u>	<u>TOTAL CASH</u>
Bathurst/ Bay Chimo	43.5 71%	n11	12.0 20%	n11	5.5 9%	61.0 100%
Cam. Bay	3967.8 35%	6947.2 61%	54.1 0.5%	279.4 2.5%	150.0 1%	11398.5 100%
Coppermine	603.1 27%	1002.2 45%	112.5 5%	355.0 16%	164.4 7%	2237.2 100%
Gjoa Haven	1135.4 47%	846.7 35%	32.9 1%	179.9 7%	206.1 9%	2401.0 100%
Holman	892.0 63%	274.4 19%	63.2 4%	159.8 11%	36.4 3%	1425.8 100%
Pelly Bay	775.0 59%	358.8 27%	24.5 2%	116.0 9%	50.4 4%	1324.7 100%
Spence Bay	768.6 39%	804.3 40%	43.9 2%	159.3 8%	217.9 11%	1994.0 100%
KITIKMEOT	8185.4 39%	10233.6 49%	343.1 2%	1249.4 6%	830.7 4%	20842.2 100%

Part II: Non-Cash and Total Incomes

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>ESTIMATED VALUE OF COUNTRY FOODS</u>	<u>TOTAL INCOME</u>	<u>TRAPPING AND COUNTRY FOODS AS % OF TOTAL</u>	<u>INCOME /CAPITA</u>
Bathurst/ Bay Chimo	271.2	332.2	85%	4.0
Cam. Bay	1383.3	12781.8	11%	14.2
Coppermine	1556.5	3793.7	44%	4.2
Gjoa Haven	1639.2	4040.2	41%	6.6
Holman	1189.5	2615.3	48%	7.6
Pelly Bay	558.2	1882.9	31%	6.6
Spence Bay	1141.4	3135.4	38%	6.7
KITIKMEOT	7739.3	28581.5	28%	8.0

(Source: N.W.T., D.E.D.T., 1985: 116, 147)

With respect to labour force activity, Pelly Bay, Gjoa Haven, Coppermine, and Spence Bay had extremely high unemployment rates. Given its position as regional headquarters of the N.W.T. government, Cambridge Bay had high rates of wage labour participation, and low rates of unemployment. With respect to incomes, several points deserve mention. First, wages provided almost two-thirds of all income in the region, even when the value of country foods was considered. Second, private sector wages formed large components of community income in Holman, Pelly Bay, and Gjoa Haven. Arts and crafts production may explain this high percentage for Holman and Gjoa Haven, while for Pelly Bay the lack of government activity gave greater weight to private wages. Third, government wages were very high in Cambridge Bay, and fairly high in Coppermine and Spence Bay. Fourth, transfer payments to individuals formed a substantial proportion of incomes in all communities. Such transfers were especially important in Coppermine and Spence Bay. Fifth, the importance of hunting, fishing, and trapping varied from 11% of total income for Cambridge Bay, to 85% of total income for the Bathurst Inlet / Bay Chimo area. Trapping accounted for only 2% of regional cash income, but in most communities the value represented by country foods and trapping amounted to between one-third and one-half of all income. Finally, per capita incomes were substantially higher in Cambridge Bay than in the other communities. Over half of all cash income in the region was earned in Cambridge Bay. In the 1980's, the Kitikmeot had a complex mixed economy, and the importance of different activities varied between communities.

Two qualifications should be made concerning the data presented in tables 2-19 and 2-20. First, the price of food and consumer goods also varied between communities (Heming, 1986). Cambridge Bay and Coppermine were relatively inexpensive communities, with food prices about 50% higher than Yellowknife, and consumer goods prices about 75% higher than Edmonton. In more expensive communities such as Pelly Bay and Spence Bay, food prices were on average 100% higher than Yellowknife, and consumer prices were 125 - 135% higher than Edmonton. Second, inequality existed not only between communities, but also between individuals. Income tax returns indicate this inequality. In 1986, there were 2,340 people over the age of fifteen in the Kitikmeot. Of these: 24% filed no personal income tax return; 41% claimed incomes between \$1 and \$10,000; 10% earned between \$10,001 and \$20,000; 9% earned between \$20,001 and \$30,000; 5% earned between \$30,001 and \$40,000; and 11% earned more than \$40,000 (N.W.T., D.E.D.T., 1989: 16). Substantial income inequality reflected differential access to high paying, stable jobs. Most Euro-Canadians and a minority of Inuit held such jobs, while a large majority of Inuit did not. Such inequality suggests that non-wage income was indeed very significant for Kitikmeot Inuit.

Clearly, government wages and transfers are the cornerstones of the contemporary Kitikmeot economy. Without such wages and transfers, neither private employment nor hunting could continue at their present levels. The region lacks internally generated economic activities that could sustain its population. Currently, this lack of self-sufficiency is offset by maintaining a regional trade

deficit. Table 2-21 summarizes the Kitikmeot commodity flow deficit using data from 1984:

Table 2-21a: Community Commodity Exports, 1984 (\$ '000)

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>ARTS / CRAFTS</u>	<u>FISH</u>	<u>FUR</u>	<u>TOTAL EXPORTS</u>
Bathurst/ Bay Chimo	nil	nil	12.4	12.4
Cam. - Bay	160.4	180.2	21.0	361.6
Coppermine	134.3	nil	67.7	202.0
Gjoa Haven	85.1	nil	21.1	106.2
Holman	182.2	nil	33.9	216.1
Pelly Bay	13.3	nil	4.2	17.5
Spence Bay	45.1	nil	19.0	64.1
KITIKMEOT	620.4	180.2	179.3	979.9

Table 2-21b: Community Net Commodity Imports, 1984 (\$ '000)

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>TOTAL IMPORTS</u>	<u>TOTAL EXPORTS</u>	<u>NET IMPORTS</u>	<u>NET IMPORTS PER CAPITA</u>
Bathurst/ Bay Chimo	386.8	12.4	374.4	4.7
Cam. - Bay	6559.5	361.6	6197.9	7.3
Coppermine	3184.6	202.0	2982.6	3.7
Gjoa Haven	2438.4	106.2	2332.2	4.4
Holman	1507.9	216.1	1291.8	4.4
Pelly Bay	1104.5	17.5	1087.0	4.2
Spence Bay	3204.9	64.1	3140.8	7.2
KITIKMEOT	18386.6	979.9	17406.7	5.4

(Source: N.W.T., D.E.D.T., 1985: 73, 116)

Arts and crafts accounted for 63% of all exports, while fur trapping and the Cambridge Bay commercial fishery each accounted for slightly less than 19%. Coppermine exported the most furs, while Holman was the most important arts and crafts centre. For the region as a whole, imports were distributed in the following general categories: fuel (48%); food (16%); vehicles and equipment (16%); building supplies (15%); and general merchandise (5%). A very large regional trade deficit existed, with net imports of \$5,400 worth of goods per capita. These figures do not include the value of services, such as transportation and tourism. However, if data were available for the flow of services in and out of the Kitikmeot, the trade deficit quoted above would grow substantially.

Clearly, the Kitikmeot economy is dependent upon external sources of goods, services, and income. A huge trade deficit exists, and two forms of income transfers are important. Government to government transfers provide wages, services, and subsidies for the region. Government to individual transfers are a significant source of income in most communities. In both cases, the government providing the transferred income receives the overwhelming majority of its resources from outside the Kitikmeot. Thus, the Kitikmeot economy depends, at this point in history, upon the continued willingness of governments to collect resources from elsewhere in Canada, and redistribute them into the Kitikmeot.

In summary, the dominant features of the contemporary Kitikmeot economy are: dependence upon state transfer payments; absence of internally sustainable economic activities; plural sources of

household income, the most important of which are working for wages, harvesting animal resources, and collecting transfer payments; and substantial income inequality and differentiation of activity based upon ethnicity, gender, and community of residence. These features reveal a remarkable transformation of economic activities over the past century. While contemporary forms of adult education would have been completely irrelevant within aboriginal patterns of subsistence practices, these forms are extremely relevant within a complex wage economy. While individualized educational practices would have been impossible in semi-nomadic hunting groups, such practices parallel the structure of many administrative interventions in today's permanent settlements.

II.5.2 Individuating Projects of Governance

Contemporary forms of adult education exist within a wider set of individuating projects of governance. In the 1980's, there were four key state organized fields of intervention in the Kitikmeot: health and welfare of the population; economic activity and development; justice and other explicitly regulatory projects; and education. Each field compiled cumulative dossiers which documented the lives of Kitikmeot citizens. While this surveillance was done for administrative and managerial purposes, the outcome was individuation. Organized fields of intervention objectively positioned each Inuk as a unique subject, and frequently structured practices which encouraged Kitikmeot Inuit to subjectively experience themselves as individuals.

To outline these four state organized fields, I review the data gathered about individuals in each field. Projects of surveillance and the construction of knowledge about people are deeply individuating. Aggregate statistics are generally the result of individualized processes of registration, application, and the filling out of various forms. Every three months since 1979, the N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics has published *Statistics Quarterly* as a source of quantitative information on the N.W.T. *Statistics Quarterly* provides a series of tables and charts, organized under the following headings: Population; Education; Health; Social Services; Income Security; Law Enforcement; Income and Employment; Prices; Business Activity; Investment; Transport and Communications; Energy and Mining; Gross Domestic Product; and Renewable Resources. This document's content has remained very consistent since 1979, and allows one to recognize the individuating practices which inhere to the collection and organization of territorial data.

In the management of health and welfare, several individualized statistics are gathered. First, certificates are issued and vital statistics collected for each birth, death, marriage, and divorce. Expectant mothers must travel to Yellowknife to deliver their babies. Migration in and out of the Kitikmeot is monitored by the issuance and control of health care cards, and by the census. Adoptions are monitored by specific processes of legal application and registration. These statistics are aggregated to maintain accurate community population figures. Second, each person's use of hospital services and medical care is documented, and aggregated into

community and regional statistics. Nursing station records document not only when and how often each patient accesses medical services, but also the specific nature of care provided. Third, each citizen's receipt of social assistance and statutory entitlements is carefully documented. These individual documents are aggregated into community and regional data on social assistance payments, Family Allowance payments, Canada Pension Plans, and Federal Old Age / N.W.T. Seniors' Allowances. Finally, applications and allocations for various forms of housing are carefully documented. In the Kitikmeot, most people live in either public housing, government employee housing, or private housing that was built or purchased through an N.W.T. Housing Corporation initiative. Therefore, the Housing Corporation maintains data on the number and variety of housing units presently occupied and applied for, the number of residents in each unit, and the gross income of residents in each unit. Clearly, data gathered about vital statistics, health, welfare, and housing imply a cumulative series of individualized surveillance, and individuating experience.

In the management of economic activities and development, some data (ie. price levels, mining activity, gross domestic product) are gathered which are basically collective. However, several forms of economic data presuppose individualized practices of surveillance. First, social insurance numbers are issued to each person entering the labour force. Second, each worker must file an income tax return, the results of which are aggregated into community and regional data on incomes and investment earnings. Third, each employee is documented through a personnel file, and must have

specific amounts deducted from each pay cheque. Fourth, the receipt of unemployment insurance benefits and workers' compensation is carefully documented in each case. Fifth, through hunting licenses and the compulsory registration of furs trapped and traded, non-wage economic activities are documented. Finally, through systems of commercial licenses, building permits, and corporate registries, self-employment is regulated. In short, most contemporary economic practices are documented at a personal level.

In the explicit regulation of conduct, each citizen's relationship to the political and legal system is individually documented. First, law enforcement statistics are gathered on crimes, offenses, jail terms, juveniles on probation, and children as wards of the state. Second, citizens over the age of eighteen are registered on voters' lists, and in the case of Kitikmeot Inuit, on official lists of persons holding Inuit status. Third, at the community level, several councils are explicitly elected or appointed to help regulate areas such as local by-laws, education, health, welfare and recreation. These councils gather data about the activities of particular individuals and households. Finally, transport and communication activities are regulated through systems of vehicle registration, driving licenses, telephone accounts, and mandatory registration of air travel. Thus, individualized administrative practices and surveillance procedures explicitly endeavor to regulate several aspects of Kitikmeot social activity.

As an organized field of intervention, education is connected to the other three fields outlined above. By law, each child must

attend school between the ages of six and sixteen. It is widely presumed that this mandatory schooling helps ensure the health and welfare of each child, and prepares them to engage in productive economic activities upon leaving school. Detailed statistics are kept with respect to each child's enrollment, attendance, punctuality, progress through the grade system, and eventual termination or graduation. Adult schooling is also characterized by individualized processes of data gathering. I document Kitikmeot adult educators' individuating practices in Chapter Five.

At this point, it should be evident that adult education is one state organized field of intervention among several others. It would be ludicrous to suggest that adult education practices alone could objectively and subjectively individuate Kitikmeot Inuit. However, adult education programs exist in the context of a plurality of other individuating practices of administration and surveillance, and an increasingly individualized set of economic practices. The cumulative weight of these practices create social experiences which individuate Kitikmeot Inuit. Contemporary patterns of economic structures and organized fields of intervention make adult education not only possible, but seemingly necessary. Adult education programs seem entirely logical in communities where few people succeed in the school system, yet all people must: obtain cash income for subsistence; interact with state representatives such as nurses, social workers, renewable resource officers, teachers, and police officers; and send their children to school.

II.6 Conclusions: From Making Adult Education Possible, to Making Adult Education

In Chapter Two, I organized my historical narrative into four main eras: early contact; fur trade; creation of administered settlements; and contemporary. Prior to the 1800's, Kitikmeot Inuit engaged in subsistence practices based primarily upon the harvest of seal, caribou, and fish. In the nineteenth century, these aboriginal subsistence practices were modified in response to irregular contacts with Euro-Canadians and their material implements. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Kitikmeot Inuit began to mix the trapping and trading of white fox furs with their subsistence hunting practices. From the 1920's to the 1940's, commercial trapping became an increasingly regular and important economic activity, although hunting remained the primary source of food. In the late 1940's and 1950's, the white fox fur market collapsed, and the hunting and trapping economy of the Kitikmeot was undermined. Since the 1950's, wage employment and government transfer payments have become essential to subsistence in the region; Kitikmeot Inuit still hunt and fish, but cash income is needed to maintain hunting equipment, and to purchase the materials required for life in permanent houses. Over the past two hundred years, aboriginal patterns of subsistence practices were fundamentally disorganized. Kitikmeot Inuit constantly adapted their subsistence activities in response to the opportunities created, and constraints imposed, by Euro-Canadian activities and changing game distributions. By the 1980's, Kitikmeot economic practices were significantly individualized, sedentarized,

and dependent upon resources external to the region.

The transformation of Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices was integrally connected to the evolution of Euro-Canadian interventions in the region. From 1771 to 1905, Euro-Canadians explored the coastline of the Kitikmeot while looking for a Northwest Passage, and searching for one another's lost expeditions. From 1905 to 1920, anthropologists explored Kitikmeot Inuit culture, while fur traders, missionaries, and R.C.M.P. officers gradually entered the region. Between the 1920's and the 1950's, missionaries and traders conducted their respective businesses, while R.C.M.P. officers were the only direct government representatives in the region. In broad terms, Euro-Canadian activities were structured by the rise and fall of fur trade profits, and by politically driven concerns over asserting Canadian sovereignty in the North. A fundamental government policy reversal occurred in the 1950's, when previous measures taken to "keep the native native" (Diubaldo, 1989), were replaced by a series of measures to modernize Inuit, and integrate them into Canadian political, economic, and cultural projects. Since the 1950's, state personnel have constructed administered settlements, wage economies, and a diverse range of individuating projects of governance.

Contemporary forms of adult education became possible in the Kitikmeot through the disorganization of aboriginal subsistence practices, and the organization of permanent settlements, wage economies, and administrative fields of intervention. At an obvious level, adult schooling would have been logistically difficult and materially irrelevant during both the early contact and fur trade

eras. Permanent settlements and the entry of state personnel into the region solved the logistical problems, while the growth of wage labour activities made the content and form of adult education programs relevant to subsistence practices. Less obviously, individualized educational practices would have been difficult to deliver prior to the growth of a wider context of individuating administrative projects, and individualized subsistence activities. Kitikmeot Inuit subsistence practices were individualized first by the introduction of trapping and new hunting technologies, and second by the introduction of wage labour and transfer payments. Individuating projects were organized in the fields of health, economic activity, justice, and education. Individualized educational practices only became possible in the context of this dual historical transformation of life in the Kitikmeot.

The political-economic developments narrated in Chapter Two made contemporary forms of adult education possible in the Kitikmeot, but they did not ensure that such forms actually were constructed. Even within the context of these historical developments, adult education programs did not emerge naturally or inevitably. Chapters Three and Four document how adult education was symbolically conceived and materially constructed. Political-economic changes made adult education possible, but the construction of particular regimes of truth, administrative structures, and local programs, actually made contemporary forms of adult education.

CHAPTER THREE

MAKING ADULT EDUCATION (I): OFFICIAL REGIMES OF TRUTH ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INUIT, ADULT EDUCATION, AND MODERNITY

There is the further question as to what use could be made of the Copper Eskimos in the future development of the country. At the present time the only asset which the country possesses is fur. These Eskimos should be as successful trappers as any in the North, once they have learned the value of the different kinds and qualities of fur. It is not improbable that the copper deposits in the region may eventually prove of great value, but little can be expected from a purely hunting people in the way of labor for mines. Nevertheless it might be possible to utilize them in other ways, as in the handling of freight and in transport generally.

Diamond Jenness, 1917
"The Copper Eskimos"

Individually Prescribed Instruction: To provide maximum flexibility, Job Readiness Training courses should generally be of the continuous entry and exit type, and each trainee's activities should be guided by prescriptions prepared to meet his individual needs. Individually prescribed instruction allows trainees to progress at their best rate of learning and to participate only in activities that meet their specific requirements.

Employment and Immigration Canada, 1979
"Job Readiness Training,
Explanatory Notes"

III.1 Introduction

Constructing adult education as an individuating field of intervention in the Kitikmeot involved developing: symbolic regimes of truth about the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity; administrative structures through which state personnel could supervise and control adult educational practices; and local programs in which Inuit could participate. Empirically, these developments were interwoven. Analytically, I separate them in order to unpack the complex historical practices which made adult education in the Kitikmeot. My historical narratives in Chapters Three and Four follow the same periodization: pre-history of adult education (before 1960); emergence of adult education as a distinctive field of intervention (1960 to 1978); and existence of adult education as an important set of social experiences (1979 to 1991). During these eras, changing official representations of the connections between Inuit, adult education, and modernity both reflected and helped organize particular educational structures and practices.

Regimes of truth about Inuit, adult education, and modernity evolved substantially over the past sixty years. Prior to the 1940's, education was not a significant element in official discourses on Inuit and modernity. Inuit were portrayed as being destined to remain hunters and trappers, collectively insulated from the advance of civilization. The educational role of the Canadian government was limited to helping Inuit conserve game resources and become more efficient fur trappers. In the 1950's, official discourses changed rapidly, claiming that Inuit would inevitably

become modern, and that the Canadian government was obligated to provide educational programs to facilitate this process. In the 1960's, distinctive notions about the education of adults emerged within official discourses on Inuit and modernity.

Initially, official discourses concerning the role of adult education in Inuit modernization constituted a "cultural deprivation" regime of truth. Given their cultural history and traditions, Inuit were seen as collectively unable to autonomously adapt to the modern world. Adult education was portrayed as a means to help Inuit adjust to emerging realities of permanent settlements and wage employment. Both adult education and modernization were understood as explicitly collective and problematic processes. In the 1970's, the collective and problematic process of Inuit modernization was redefined as an individual and natural process of personal development. Official discourses constituted a "deficit learner" regime of truth, in which abstract individuals replaced Inuit collectivities as the basic unit of intervention for adult education programs. Adult education was portrayed as a means for individuals to meet their personal development needs. By the 1980's, modernity had become a taken-for-granted feature of the social landscape, and adult education had become a self-evident component of the institutional landscape. The relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity was no longer explicitly theorized in official discourses. Instead, adult educators' basic objective was to meet the learning needs of individual citizens, regardless of the social context.

III.2 Before 1960: From Protecting Traditions to Facilitating Modernity

In the early decades of this century, there was very little official discourse on the relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity. The Canadian government was not directly involved in Inuit education, and it was widely assumed that Inuit were collectively destined to remain in a pre-modern form of social life. Official disinterest in Inuit education was reflected in the following passage from a June 27, 1919 letter by Duncan Scott (Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs):

As yet no very large financial aid has been allotted for the education of the Eskimos. The establishment of schools has been left to those interested in the evangelization of the people (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1).

Schooling was left to missionaries, and the federal government role in Inuit affairs was basically to "protect" Inuit from the raw edges of modernity.

The notion that Canadian governments were protecting Inuit from civilization is clearly reflected in the following two passages.

First, the Department of the Interior stated in 1930:

During the last few years the activities of civilization have been extended to reach the most isolated outpost, and their influence on the Eskimos have been correspondingly increased. Few Eskimos have not seen an aeroplane and many have travelled in them....The ways of civilization are more and more influencing and replacing primitive customs, and imported articles are taking the place of those of native manufacture. In its advance northward, civilization is considering the resources in the land of the Eskimo. Those resources of sufficient value will be developed as conditions warrant. During this transition stage, the rights of Eskimos must be protected, and they must be assisted in adjusting themselves to their changing environment, and altered manner of life (Blanchet, 1930: 75).

Second, the Department of Mines and Resources (1943: 18) suggested

that the federal government wanted to preserve Inuit self-reliance:

For generations the Eskimos of Canada have wrested a living, mated, and reared a family in a country where only a hardy and intelligent race could survive. They are slowly assimilating a certain amount of civilization while still retaining their independence, pride, and ability to care for themselves. Most of them now appreciate the value of conserving the natural resources of the country in which they live and co-operate in that work to a marked degree. Even though they may not always quite understand the meaning and purpose of the law, the natural tendency of the Eskimos is to obey it. Their communal life has taught them that the wishes of the individual must be subordinated to the good of the majority and this has made them especially easy to deal with. For a number of years the Government of Canada has been paying special attention to its Arctic citizens, in order to keep them independent, self-reliant, and self-supporting, and with this object in view has put forth continuous and unremitting efforts to preserve the natural resources of the country so that the Eskimos may continue to be the admirable race of people they now are.

In these passages, Inuit were clearly positioned as a distinct social collectivity, and modernity was seen as a problematic development. Rather than promoting education as a means of facilitating modernity, these passages suggested that the Canadian government should protect Inuit natural resources and rights, in order to preserve semi-traditional forms of Inuit society.

Until the 1940's, formal education programs were not an official priority in the Canadian administration of the Arctic. However, the possibility that education should prepare Inuit for the modern world was conceivable even in the 1920's. Diamond Jenness (National Museum of Canada) submitted proposals for the vocational training of Inuit to the N.W.T. Council in 1925 and 1934 (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1). On Nov. 26, 1925, Jenness wrote:

Conditions in the Arctic are changing rapidly. Within the last ten years fur traders and police have extended to every inhabited corner, and although little except furs are now exported, other developments, such as mining, may follow in the not distant

future. The Eskimos, the only natives in the region, are changing also. Rifles have replaced their bows and arrows, and tools of iron their old implements of horn, bone and ivory. But with no knowledge of the outside world, with no education or training except what they can acquire from a rare missionary, or from association with traders and police, they are ill-adapted to meet the changed conditions, to assist in the development of their country, or to aid in its exploration and exploitation. They can trap white foxes and barter the furs at a trading post, but they can initiate no industry, and supply no skilled labour for any industry that may one day arise. Yet the future of Arctic Canada rests entirely with the Eskimos, for no other people will live there permanently. With training and guidance from Europeans, they have greatly enhanced the value of Greenland and Alaska to the nations that own those countries, and with similar guidance they could develop our own Arctic domain. But their training should commence immediately, to enable them to breast the changed economic conditions and inaugurate a new and more prosperous era.

Jenness proposed vocational training programs in naval navigation, mechanics, carpentry, metal-working, health care, and wireless telegraphy. On May 11, 1934, Jenness submitted his proposal again. While protecting Inuit from modernity was the dominant theme of official discourses prior to World War Two, Jenness' proposals indicate that such discourses were contested.

Several officials from the Department of the Interior directly opposed Jenness' proposals (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1). They declared that education was unnecessary for Inuit. On Aug. 7, 1934, J. Lorne Turner (Director, Lands, N.W.T. and Yukon Branch) received a memorandum which argued:

At the present time, I do not think it at all necessary to educate these people along the lines of a white man's education. These people are a nomadic race and must live in small communities in order that sufficient food can be obtained. Their natural diet is meat and although they augment this with imported foods, the cost of such is in many cases prohibitive and they thus rely on their hunting at practically all times.

Education was seen as not only irrelevant to Inuit lifestyles, but

actually dangerous. On May 22, 1934, Turner received a memorandum criticizing Euro-Canadian models of education:

The chief fault with this system of education and training, as applied to a primitive race of hunters is that in practically all cases, the boys at least, when leaving school at the age of fourteen to sixteen years, are not content to return to the primitive mode of life of their parents. They have been taught to speak and write English and may have made a fair progress in their school work. Some may even have studied history and geography, but they have not been taught how to hunt and trap or how to travel and, as a future provider for a family, are vastly inferior to the youths that have not been to school.

Despite Jenness' proposals, official discourses through the 1930's did not acknowledge a significant relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity. Inuit were considered a pre-modern people, for whom education was unimportant. This official position was succinctly stated in another memorandum to Turner, dated June 28, 1934: "the fact remains that the well-being of the Eskimo depends entirely on the supply of game. The rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic can be taught as occasion permits."

The absence of official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity was consistent with general government policy during the fur trade era. In the 1940's, when hunting and trapping economies seemed precarious, and relief expenditures increased, official statements began to define this relationship much differently. On Dec. 4, 1945, R.A. Gibson wrote:

there have been many discussions in the past on the expediency of educating the Eskimos beyond a certain point for fear they would become dissatisfied with or unsuited to their mode of life in a region where the natural resources are limited and where there is little choice of location offered. However, the view is held by an increasing number of people, as the north becomes better known, that we should be doing more to give our Eskimo a sufficient knowledge of English and Arithmetic to enable them to transact their business with the traders more efficiently (RG 85,

v. 1505, f. 600-1-1, pt. 2).

Growing official concern with Northern education in the 1940's was reflected in the commission of three major studies, and in the creation of two special committees under the N.W.T. Council. In 1944, Andrew Moore reported on education in the Mackenzie District (RG 85, v. 1505, f. 600-1-1, pt. 2). In 1948, H.R. Lamberton reported on education in the eastern Arctic (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1a). In 1949, Carter Storr reported on education for the Inuit (RG 85, v. 532, f. 600-1-4, pt. 2). All three reports surveyed the educational practices of missionaries, and recommended the development of a state organized education system. From 1947 to 1950, the N.W.T. Council operated a "Sub-Committee on Education" (RG 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 6). In 1952, a "Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education" was appointed to report to the N.W.T. Council's Eskimo Affairs Committee.

Increased official interest in Inuit education reflected a basic change in official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, modernity, and education. Inuit were no longer seen as destined to remain collectively insulated from modernity; education became relevant and beneficial, whether to assist Inuit in their trading of furs, or to prepare them for modern futures. On Nov. 19, 1946, J.G. Wright wrote to R.A. Gibson, with the following recommendations:

- (1) Education of the Eskimo should be designed to equip him to meet changing conditions in the north but should not make him discontented.
- (2) He should be taught English, as opportunity offers, so that he can read published matter.
- (3) He should learn simple arithmetic, hygiene, animal conservation, and the use and care of such white man's equipment as he needs.

- (4) His morale must be sustained and the development of any race inferiority complex avoided (Rg 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 2a).

In these recommendations, the relationship between Inuit and modernity was an ambivalent one; education was seen as necessary, given the impact of existing Euro-Canadian activities.

Ambivalence toward modernity, and a positive attitude toward education, also characterized Lamberton's report of 1948. Under the heading "Need For Educational Facilities," Lamberton asserted:

For the present the natives in the Eastern Arctic must continue to live off the country. Consequently it is admittedly more important that the Eskimo youth become expert at hunting and trapping than that he acquire much of the information and training generally associated with elementary education in Canada. However the rate of development in the Eastern Arctic is such that an educational program for the Eskimo should now be formulated in order that the children may be prepared for the changed living conditions which will inevitably ensue as industry moves north.

In addition, there is much that an adequate educational program can do to improve the Eskimo's present mode of living, and to alleviate many of the hardships and uncertainties with which their life is associated. For instance, there is a tremendous health problem among the native population, and its solution is mainly educational. Moreover under present conditions the natives are entirely at the mercy of the fur cycle, the fluctuations of the fur market, and the bountifulness of nature. It is the task of education to mitigate this dependence.

As it becomes more and more difficult for the Eskimo to follow the traditional native way of living, due to the inroads of the white man, they must have assistance in making the necessary adjustments. It is the responsibility of the Government of Canada to provide this assistance (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1a).

Whether as fur traders or as modern citizens, Inuit were positioned as collectively in need of education. This new discursive position was reflected in a new education policy undertaken by the N.W.T. Council. Rather than leave schooling to missionaries, the N.W.T. Council decided to actively construct federal schools, and a formal

school system. On Nov. 20, 1947, R.A. Gibson directed J.G. Wright to prepare a press release outlining this new policy:

the outstanding feature of the policy discussed is the attempt to train the people of the N.W.T., both young and old, to earn and live a more abundant and healthy life through their own efforts, utilizing the resources of the country to best advantage. Equal opportunity is to be afforded to all Indian, Eskimo, and white children, and those of mixed blood who, regardless of creed, are to be fitted for the life which they will have to fare in a rapidly changing world. Modern methods will be used. Day schools will be built and well qualified teachers engaged (RG 85, v. 1874, f. 600-1-4, pt. 1).

In the late 1940's, the Inuit world was acknowledged to be "rapidly changing," and Canadian governments assumed responsibility to provide education to help Inuit adjust to new circumstances.

Through the 1950's, official discourses located modernity as an increasingly inevitable feature of Inuit life. As modernity became more certain, education became more essential. In 1951, an anonymous federal official wrote:

The real problem facing the Northwest Territories Administration in connection with the transition of the native peoples from their nomadic, hunting and especially neolithic existence to a modern life consonant in most of its forms with that of the more settled parts of Canada is the necessity of controlling the change in such a way that the native peoples will not lose their natural virtues in acquiring the forms and advantages of modern life (RG 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 3).

A similar understanding of the relationship between Inuit and modernity was expressed by J.V. Jacobson (D.N.A.N.R. Superintendent of Education) in August, 1953:

Civilization is now advancing into the Arctic areas at such a rapid pace that it is impossible for the Eskimo not to be affected. It is therefore essential that they should be assisted in every possible way to face the future in a realistic manner and in a way which will result in their becoming true Canadian citizens while at the same time maintaining their racial pride and independence of spirit (RG 22, v. 805, f. 40-8-9, pt. 1).

Thus, earlier discourses of "protecting" Inuit were joined with emerging discourses of "facilitating" Inuit modernization.

Formal education had a significant role in the newly defined official relationship between Inuit and modernity. In 1952, the Sub-Committee on Eskimo Education defined the objectives of federal programs for Inuit education (RG 22, v. 869, f. 40-8-9, pt. 2). These objectives were to: not induce families "to congregate in settlements where they are unable to hunt and trap;" teach elementary English and simple arithmetic; teach health, hygiene, and the rudiments of geography and science; focus on practical skills such as craftsmanship and sewing; and encourage "promising" Inuit students to achieve higher education, become community leaders, and fill positions currently occupied by Euro-Canadians in the North. Ultimately, education became a key element in federal efforts to facilitate Inuit modernization.

Official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity were linked to material changes in Inuit subsistence practices, and to evolving government policies on wage employment. In the early 1950's, education was basically understood as a means to make Inuit better hunters and trappers. Larmour (1950: 51) asserted that a Northern education system

must take into consideration the nomadic character of the Eskimo who move about in a pattern determined by the wildlife on which they depend. Eskimo children cannot follow a fixed school term as white children do and cannot observe strict school hours. They cannot embark on a standardized course of studies leading up to and ending in university, unless they abandon the Eskimo way of life, and this is not desired by anyone, least of all by the Eskimo themselves. Yet it is felt that they must, in their own interest and for their own protection, be taught to write, read, and speak English; to do simple arithmetic; how to keep healthy;

to appreciate the need for conservation of their wildlife resources, and to understand the nature of the social world in which they will take their place.

Larmour assumed that Inuit would remain semi-nomadic hunters and trappers, and Canadian governments should only provide a rudimentary education, to help Inuit function in that lifestyle.

By the mid-1950's, official policies on Inuit wage employment had changed, and education became more than simply a means to improve trapping efficiency and Inuit hygiene. As D.E.W. Line construction began, and the fur trade remained in depression, federal officials considered wage employment to be an important vehicle for economic diversification in the Arctic. Minutes from a May 30, 1955 meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee highlight a new official role for education:

the main consideration now should be of the policy to be followed in assisting the Eskimos to adapt themselves to and to benefit from the changing conditions in the north.

Rather than allow them merely to drift into employment, often of a menial nature, arrangements should be made to provide them with training that will enable them to take over some of the skilled or semi-skilled jobs, particularly of a mechanical nature, that will probably become available (RG 85, v. 1476, f. 254-1, pt. 7).

Growing possibilities for wage employment created a fundamental shift in official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity. In opposition to the ambivalence of 1940's discourse, official statements from the mid-1950's began to actively promote and celebrate education as a means to facilitate Inuit modernization.

On March 4, 1955, Jean Lesage (D.N.A.N.R.) submitted a memorandum for the federal cabinet, in which he explicitly justified previous policies concerning Inuit education, and explained the

pressing need for new policies:

Most Eskimo children have thus far received no education at all. Until recently the lack of education for most of the Indians and Eskimos in the N.W.T. was not too serious. Nearly all of them were able to earn their livelihood by hunting, fishing, and trapping; and there was no good reason to think they could not continue to do so. Furthermore, there did not appear to be much prospect that other ways of life, for which education would equip them, would be available for more than a very few (RG 85, v. 1338, f. 600-1-1, pt. 15).

However, Lesage argued, conditions in the North had changed dramatically in recent years. Population growth, low fur prices, and declining supplies of game and furs had demoralized the Inuit, and forced governments to increase relief payments. Lesage continued:

Fortunately, at the same time that changing conditions are making it progressively harder for the native population to rely on their traditional ways of life, other sources of income are becoming available to the Eskimos and Indians - provided they are equipped to take advantage of them.

Education was portrayed as a fundamental vehicle through which the federal government could equip Inuit to take advantage of new wage employment possibilities.

Education's new and important role in the relationship between Inuit and modernity was explained in several official publications in the mid-1950's. The D.N.A.N.R. (1954: 27) reported that

definite plans are now under way to educate and give technical training to Eskimos interested in and capable of taking advantage of increasing opportunities for employment in the Arctic and elsewhere. A roster is being prepared of all male Eskimos between 10 years and 30 years of age and this will be used as a basis for setting up educational and training programs for selecting employable Eskimos....While progress in dealing with a primitive people must necessarily be slow, the steps that are now being taken to diversify the economy and to provide education and technical training will in time provide those who must remain as hunters and trappers with a higher standard of living and those others, who are so inclined, with opportunities for taking up other forms of gainful employment.

These "definite plans" amounted to a significant policy change, and signalled a shift in official discourse. Rather than being destined to remain isolated from civilization, Inuit were destined to increasingly pursue modern forms of employment and social life. Education was to help Inuit in those pursuits.

In 1955, two major official statements recounted the policy foundation for extensive state organized education in the North. First, the D.N.A.N.R. annual report for 1954-55 contained an eleven page essay titled "Human Problems in the Canadian North." The author defined the problems facing Inuit, justified federal interventions to ameliorate these problems, and specified education as a key form that intervention should take. Inuit problems were defined as: population growth straining game resources for food and fur; low world fur prices cutting cash incomes; and increased Euro-Canadian activities creating a need for cultural adaptation (D.N.A.N.R., 1955: 10). Given these problems, a transition to modernity was seen as inevitable for Canadian Inuit:

In future years the Eskimo will be brought ever more under the influence of our civilization. There is no purpose in arguing whether this is good or bad. It is inevitable. As our civilization encroaches on the Eskimo culture these people must be helped to adjust their lives and thoughts to the changes involved....Integration into our industrial society will take time but for many Eskimos it is unavoidable in the long run, unavoidable both because of the attraction of the possibilities presented by our way of life and also because a growing population cannot continue long to secure a livelihood by hunting and trapping (D.N.A.N.R., 1955: 12).

Given the inescapable reality of modernization, the Canadian government had to assist Inuit adapt to their destiny.

The author of this essay gave both moral and practical

justifications for government intervention into Inuit life. The author (D.N.A.N.R., 1955:12) wrote that

geography and history have made the Eskimos of northern Canada part of the population of our country. The nation as a whole therefore has a moral responsibility to assist the solution of the problems of the changing Eskimo society. Because of special circumstances - the remote geographical location and the obstacles of language and culture - a measure of special assistance is necessary. The self-sufficient primitive Eskimo is passing. To leave the Eskimo alone would involve his segregation and isolation from the increasing activity in the north. It would involve denial of the humane services modern society can provide. At the same time, to fail to protect him, during his period of change, from contacts and influences which might be injurious to him would be to invite chaos.

In addition to moral imperatives, practical considerations made expensive interventions for "Eskimo development" an economically prudent step. The author (D.N.A.N.R., 1955: 20, 10) suggested that careful planning would "transform Canada's Eskimos from a financial liability to a national asset," and that eventually Inuit would "be able to develop their abilities and make their full contribution to the nation's growth and to their own welfare."

Given the problems facing Inuit, and the government's responsibility to intervene, the author prescribed certain long-term solutions, within which education and training had central places.

The following passage described the core of these solutions:

The Canadian Eskimos are today in an in-between state; their mode of life is in transition. They have received a few of the benefits of our civilization. For their white fox furs they obtain some of our foods, tools, and clothing. With the nation as a whole they share family allowances, old age security pensions, old age assistance allowances, blind persons allowances and disabled persons allowances, and when they are indigent, they are provided with relief. But these measures do not meet the much broader needs - and they are immediate needs - of health, education and a sound economy. These are not separate problems. Each is related to the other. It is not enough to cure disease, the cause of disease must be removed; this is largely a matter of

education, and the improvement of economic conditions. Education must be provided, but this depends on good health and opportunities of the economy. A sound economy means a diversified economy based not on white fox trapping alone; new occupations are needed, but if Eskimos are to undertake these occupations satisfactorily they require better health and more education (D.N.A.N.R., 1955: 12).

The solution of Inuit problems required substantial cultural change on their part. The author asserted that Inuit,

because of their temperament, face difficult problems in their adaptation to the economic and social life of our modern society. The developing economic activities of northern Canada create basic problems of adjustment to new ways of life and necessitate marked departures from traditional native customs and attitudes. Some of these problems involve such matters as acquiring and living in a permanent house and learning how to keep it clean, working regular hours for wages, working every day for long periods of time, making the best use of time available for leisure, and changing traditional attitudes (D.N.A.N.R., 1955: 19).

Clearly, "Human Problems in the Canadian North" provided a foundation for new official discourses on Inuit, modernity, and education. Rather than protect Inuit from civilization, the Canadian government began actively promoting Inuit education and modernization.

This discursive shift was echoed in Jean Lesage's (1955) article, "Enter the European." In this official statement, Lesage (1955: 4) wrote that the

objective of Government policy is relatively easy to define. It is to give the Eskimos the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities as all other Canadians, in short, to enable them to share fully the national life of Canada.

Lesage argued that this policy was an inescapable necessity. He (1955: 5) wrote:

Sentimentalists of earlier days used to speak of the noble savage, of the degradation of civilization, of the beauties of primitive life and of a return to nature. Their counterparts today advise that the Eskimo be left alone lest he be spoiled. It is easy to understand and share the regret often expressed at

the passing of the self-sufficient primitive Eskimo. But a little reflection makes it clear that the preservation of the Eskimo in his primitive state is not a real alternative, for it is not possible.

The impossibility of maintaining Inuit in their "primitive state" reflected the historical breakdown of a balance between nature and culture (Lesage, 1955: 5). Once the Canadian government had taken steps to inhibit starvation, prevent disease and infanticide, and care for elderly dependents, this balance was upset, and nature could no longer support a growing population of hunters and trappers. Education became an important means through which the Canadian government could facilitate Inuit modernization.

Clearly, from the 1930's to the 1950's there were substantial transformations of official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity. In the 1930's, education was seen as basically irrelevant, and possibly dangerous. Inuit were positioned as collectively destined to remain outside the realm of modernity, and Canadian governments were positioned as protectors of traditional Inuit lifestyles. In the 1940's, official discourses on the Inuit relationship with modernity became ambivalent; for better or worse, civilization seemed to be invading the Arctic, and Inuit needed help to adjust. Education was positioned as a beneficial form of government intervention, whether to help Inuit become better trappers, or to prepare them for future Euro-Canadian activities in the North. In the 1950's, Inuit modernization was seen as inevitable and desirable. Education was seen as an appropriate vehicle for Canadian governments to facilitate the Inuit transition to modernity. These discursive shifts were connected to wider symbolic changes such

as the emergence of modernization theory in international development literature, and to the political-economic and policy changes documented in Chapter Two. The rise of modernization theory, combined with the crisis in the fur trade and the creation of administered settlements, provided a context within which it made sense to speak of an inevitable Inuit modernization.

The notion that education programs were a benevolent and legitimate means to facilitate Inuit modernization did not emerge as an uncontested, self-evident truth in the 1950's. Evolving official discourses were vocally opposed in missionary publications. Throughout the 1950's, a series of newspaper and journal articles criticized the Canadian government's new Inuit educational policies (RG 85, 600-1-1 series). These articles typically complained about: the exclusive use of English as language of instruction; the explicit prohibition of religious instruction during school hours; or the cultural assimilationism of southern curricula and teaching styles. An anonymous editorial in the O.M.I. journal *Eskimo* in 1955 illustrated the discursive contestation of official policies that positioned education as a means of facilitating Inuit modernization. This editorial accepted that "the new conditions created by the inescapable advance of civilization, or, more exactly, of technology, in Eskimo country must be taken into consideration" (Anonymous, 1955a: 12). However, the editorial clearly opposed the assimilationism of official discourses on how to best deal with these new conditions:

What use would there be in training technicians or even doctors, engineers and lawyers, if it were only to see them one day

repudiate their racial origin and lose contact with their own people? (Anonymous, 1955a: 12)

In the 1950's, missionaries criticized the objectives and methods of the Canadian government's emerging policies on Inuit education.

While official regimes of truth on the relationship between Inuit, education, and modernity did not evolve smoothly or without opposition, a clear discursive shift did occur in the 1950's. Shifting official discourses from "protecting traditions" to "facilitating modernity" was an important process in making adult education in the North. Adult education programs went from an unlikely danger in the 1930's, to a benevolent necessity in the 1950's. In the late 1940's and 1950's, adult education was seen as an integral component of new government policies on Inuit education. However, there was little distinctive discourse on adult education. Adult education was considered a logical companion to the schooling of children. It was not until the 1960's that distinctive regimes of truth emerged to officially define the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity.

III.3 1960 - 1978: From Cultural Deprivation to Deficit Learners

In the 1940's and 1950's, extensive state organized schooling in the North went from a nearly unthinkable possibility, to a necessity backed by moral and practical imperatives. This discursive shift was linked to dramatic political-economic developments; the fur trade collapsed, and state agents became increasingly active in the North. In the 1960's, adult education became an explicit part of official

discourses on the relationship between Inuit and modernity. Initially, these discourses suggested that the transition to modernity was a problematic process, and that Inuit were unable to make the transition on their own. Adult education was presented as a means through which Euro-Canadian governments could alleviate the cultural deprivation which hindered Inuit modernization. In the 1970's, this cultural deprivation model was replaced by a deficit learner model, in which adult education was presented as a means through which governments could meet the various learning needs of citizens in the North. Modernization was portrayed as a natural process, and official discourses focused on the needs of abstractly defined individuals, not socially defined collectivities.

Two articles by senior D.N.A.N.R. administrators recounted the basic ideas upon which Inuit adult education policies were initially based. Taylor's (1960) article, "Bridging a Gap," defined the need for adult education in the North. Taylor (1960: 268), then the D.N.A.N.R.'s Vocational Training Superintendent, described northern peoples by suggesting:

Here are 20,000 hopes and fears, loves and hates, joys and sorrows, and the struggle of souls tossed between the ice ages and the twentieth century....the tidal wave of this Atomic Age threatens to sweep our northern citizens from their ancient moorings. There is danger lest they slide into those gaping fissures where lie rotting the flotsam and jetsam of society. We must keep an awareness of this danger in the forefront of the national consciousness. Techniques are needed with which to assist our Indians and Eskimos to cross that treacherous gulf by which they and we are separated.

Taylor (1960: 269) identified education, and particularly adult education, as a key means by which Euro-Canadians could help these "primitive peoples in cultural transition." He (1960: 272) listed

three functions of education in northern Canada:

1. To impart understanding and appreciation of all of the implications of cultural change - to help interpret the road map.
2. To equip Indians and Eskimos with needed skills and knowledge for whatever stage of the journey they are in.
3. To assist with the provision of community stewardship. Adult education, in particular, has a significant and indispensable part in this.

Taylor viewed adult education as a critical tool for alleviating Inuit cultural deprivation, and helping them adjust to the requirements of the modern world.

Frances McKay (1964), the first Section Head of the D.N.A.N.R.'s Adult Education Section, wrote an article that systematically defined the need for, and purposes of, adult education in the North. She (1964: 55) began the article by asserting:

Social change is, without doubt, moving at a challenging pace in northern Canada. The majority of adult Eskimos, Indians, and Metis are without the schooling that gives other Canadian citizens a normal background to meet daily situations, to make decisions based on schooled experience and judgement, and to adapt or adjust to their swiftly changing environment.

By asserting that Inuit lacked "a normal background" to live in the modern world, McKay clearly expressed adult education's putative role in alleviating cultural deprivations. The combination of social change and inadequate education created particular needs for northern adults. McKay (1964: 56) identified both general and specific needs that adult education should meet. Generally, northern peoples needed help adjusting to permanent houses, stable communities, wage jobs, cash economies, regular hours of work and leisure, and educated children. Further, each community and individual had distinct needs, which had to be assessed and met in each particular case. McKay's (1964:56) objective was to "develop an adult education programme

based on the needs of the people."

Taylor and McKay asserted that adult education had a central role in government efforts to help Inuit adjust to modernity. This assertion, based upon diffuse assumptions about cultural deprivation, both oriented and justified adult education as an organized field of state intervention in the North. Throughout the 1960's, federal and territorial annual reports echoed these ideas. The Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (1965: 16) reported that the "need for adult education in the Northwest Territories is apparent and increasing every day." This "need" was elaborated upon by the D.N.A.N.R.'s Education Division (1964b: 35):

Many Indian, Eskimo and Metis adults lack the normal educational background which allows other people to relate change to their situations. To provide an educational program which will compensate for this deficiency in their lives is an immense, but not impossible task....Because of the rapidity with which change is taking place in the north an adult educational program geared to the change, timed so as to prepare the people for it, and carried out in conjunction with the change is required.

Adult education's role in compensating for cultural deprivation was discursively established in the early 1960's. Inuit were considered a distinct social collectivity, and modernization and adult education were seen as explicitly collective and problematic processes.

Federal and territorial reports from the 1960's vigorously defined and defended the objectives of adult education programs. The D.I.A.N.D. (1967: 19) reported that, in

northern Canada, Adult Education provides the educational training and guidance which adults require to face the complex social, economic and cultural problems encountered in their rapidly changing environment. Such problems are most acute for those of Indian and Eskimo ancestry. Many of these adults have had little or no schooling and as their children advance in school, the gap between parents and children increases. By

developing suitable programs for the adult community we are trying to overcome these problems.

The Commissioner of the Northwest Territories (1967: 66) repeated these claims, and added that

lack of skills and knowledge make it difficult for adults to participate in today's rapid social and economic changes in the Northwest Territories, and it is imperative that such problems be overcome as soon as possible.

In the following year, the territorial Commissioner (1968: 43) reported that the

objectives of the Adult Education program are to offer all adults in the Northwest Territories, regardless of age or previous experience, the opportunity to grow in knowledge and understanding, to acquire new skills, to experience new dimensions in human relations and democratic living, and to develop potential leadership through systematic and continuing adult education programs.

These three examples illustrated the emergence of an officially defined relationship between Inuit, modernity, and adult education. Basically, adult education was seen as a means to help Inuit adapt to social change by overcoming their cultural inadequacies.

In the 1960's, several official statements concerning this relationship appeared in scholarly and popular journals, speeches, and materials intended for Inuit consumption. Ellis (1966) wrote an article in the *Canadian Geographic Journal* describing the various education and training programs for Inuit operated by the D.I.A.N.D. She gave a brief history of northern education, and then described the Education Division's policies, structures, and programs. She (1966: 148, 155) used a story of two fictitious Inuit to explain the objectives of government policy:

The transition of Simonee and Ekootak from hunters in the high Arctic to industrial workers and wage earners is a slow but

relentless process. Their native basic skills must be trained to meet the demands of a wage-based economy, they must be trained to accept job mobility, and their natural pride of race and love of family must be guided in such a way as to assist them to live in an ethnically integrated community without losing the fine traditions of the Eskimo culture....

Simonee and Ekootak are standing at the threshold of a new and exciting career. The die has been cast. Diminishing supplies of game have dictated that they cannot remain much longer in their snow-quiet land hunting and fishing according to the dictates of necessity. They must learn how to harvest the resources of the north that lie under the ground, and produce and service the goods and materials that their fast growing population demands...

The exciting call of the wild goose that heralds the end of the long Arctic night, now has to compete with the school bell and the factory whistle for Simonee's attention, while Ekootak may soon be at the controls of a fast locomotive, instead of mushing a dog team over the frozen tundra in search of caribou. But regardless of what their vocational choices may be, or where they may choose to live and work and play, the full resources of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are dedicated to assist them in their time of transition.

This story suggested that the Canadian government wanted to help Inuit adapt to the inevitable changes happening in the North.

The need to modernize was self-evident, given the impossibility of maintaining traditional means of subsistence. Adult education was one way that D.I.A.N.D. could facilitate the modernization process.

The government's responsibility to facilitate Inuit modernization was also emphasized by Arthur Laing (Minister of I.A.N.D.). In a 1968 speech on "The Future of Indian and Eskimo Education," Laing (1968: 10) argued that

the Indian and Eskimo people have learned the ways of the bush, of the North and of the wildlife upon which they depended, usually from within their family. Now that the modern world has broken into the ancient solitude, they require a different kind of training.

They need to be given the educational equipment so that they choose for themselves, as free individuals, what sort and kind of life they wish to lead. If they are to be given a reasonable choice of options, they must be so equipped that one of the choices they can make is to take advantage of the Canadian economy and make a living from it. By taking advantage, I mean

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that they must be able to find employment at good wages, must be equipped with the skills that industry requires, skills which will give them a reasonable assurance of earning a living.

In this passage, cultural patterns of education which were entirely appropriate for traditional peoples, were no longer adequate for life in the modern world. By referring to "free individuals," this passage also foreshadowed the emergence of official discourses that identified abstract subjects, not social collectivities, as adult educators' unit of intervention in the North. Laing (1968: 11) stated that education was the government's "principle strategy" to help natives overcome their "social problems," and attain the "advantages of modern life." He (1968: 17) identified the development of appropriate adult education and training as "the most serious problem in the future of Indian and Eskimo education."

The sense of crisis that emerged in official statements of the 1950's remained present through the 1960's. Gordon Robertson (1967) published "The Coming Crisis in the North" in the *Journal of Canadian Studies*. The article outlined economic conditions in the North and described a "critical human problem" in the situation of native peoples. This problem had many facets: poor health, housing, sanitation, and nutrition; low levels of education and employment; alcohol abuse, crime, and mental illness; and an urgent need for cultural adaptation to the modern world. Robertson (1967: 9) asserted that the problem of cultural adaptation was partially

the result of neglect - the national neglect to do anything at all for these people until fifteen or twenty years ago. A few got a smattering of education from missionaries, but the neglect by Canada nationally was almost total. We apparently assumed - if we thought about it at all - that the nomadic way of life could go on forever and, moreover, that for these people nothing

more was wanted, needed or deserved. We provided no transition to the modern civilization that was bound to come upon them and did, in fact, explode in their midst in the war and post-war period.

He (1967: 9-11) suggested that much had been done since 1952 to ameliorate the conditions of northern native peoples, but that a much greater and more imaginative response was needed to avert tragedy.

The cultural deprivation model of the connections between Inuit, modernity, and adult education, was present in materials distributed to Inuit themselves. Elijah Erkloo wrote an introduction for

Qaujivaallirutissat (Q-Book) that was titled "Through Eskimo Eyes."

This introduction began with the statement:

A long time ago, the Eskimos showed that they had the ability to provide a living under conditions no other men on earth faced, with little equipment to hunt. They didn't have any gun, car, boat or whiteman's food and yet they were able to look after themselves with their kayak, bow and arrow. They were happy and they didn't need to know many things other than hunting because they didn't have such things in the north at that time.

Nowadays, the whitemen are in the north. Some Eskimos are working like whitemen and earning money. They can no longer hunt with bow and arrow and kayak like in the old days. If they returned to living as they did in the old days again it would be too hard for them and some of them would die from hunger if they are not helped by the whitemen (D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 10).

Since the old way of life was no longer possible, Erkloo suggested that education would help Inuit adapt to new ways of life. In a later part of *Q-Book*, the question "Why go to school?" was answered:

Some Eskimos can remember when there were no schools. In those days the most important thing anyone could learn was how to be a good hunter. Hunting gave the Eskimo a good living. The animals the hunter killed supplied him with food, clothing, shelter and heat. He spoke his own language and everybody understood him. When he was away from home he could write to his family in an Eskimo script.

When the white man came he brought with him food, clothing, shelter and ways of heating that were different from those of the Eskimo. These things he would sell to the Eskimo for skins or money. If an Eskimo had no skins or other things the white man

wanted he could work for the white man and get money. Instead of depending on hunting, many of the Eskimos began to work for the white man and to live according to the white man's ways.

Some Eskimos say that the old ways were the best, but the life of a hunter is a hard life and there are not enough animals left to give the Eskimo all the food, clothing and shelter he needs.

Schools are being built as quickly as possible throughout the Arctic. In school the children can learn how to prepare for the new way of living which is coming to the Eskimo. School is already here for many Eskimos (D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 62)

Going to school meant that Inuit children would learn how to make a good living in the changed circumstances of the Arctic.

Q-Book informed Inuit that school was not just for children.

The section titled "Adult Education" began:

Children go to school to learn. Men and women can go to school to learn, too. As new things come into their way of life, adults will want to learn how to use them. When men and women go to school to learn it is called adult education (D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 70).

Through teaching many practical and interesting things, adult education would allow Inuit to participate fully and equally in national life. *Q-Book* explained that every

Canadian must work hard to provide his family with a warm home, plenty of food and clothes. He must be able to do some kind of job and be able to read and write. An Eskimo has the same rights to an education and should have the same opportunity to support himself as other Canadians (D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 74).

If an adult Inuk could not currently fulfill these obligations, the government of Canada would provide education and training, because "almost anyone can get help to train for a job which will give him a good living and a happier life, if he can learn and is ready to work hard. This is true for all Canadians" (D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 74).

Cultural deprivation assumptions clearly dominated official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity in the 1960's. However, such assumptions were explicitly

contested. Missionary publications in the 1960's were still structured by the assumption that education's role should be to protect Inuit from modernity. Paul Piche (O.M.I.) criticized new federal agents in the North:

Many have the Eskimo's good at heart, but hold that he must give up his language and become a 'full-fledged white man.' Such intransigence betrays an unwillingness to understand the Eskimo and to admit that any other culture is adequate but one's own. Anyone who asserts that the Eskimo has no culture or anything worthwhile retaining, ignores the Eskimo's calmness in trial, his honesty, his reserve, his decency, his love for family and children, his respect for paternal authority, his hospitality, and his sense of common welfare. These qualities are certainly worth preserving....

Instead of trying to remold all Eskimos in our own image, we should seek to guarantee them, in practice, the real freedom which is his under the law. Only in this manner will he maintain his self-respect, his dignity, and his pride in being Eskimo and take his place in the nation (Piche, 1959: 9).

Missionary opposition to cultural deprivation discourses was translated into several specific proposals for education: Inuktitut should be the language of instruction; Inuit should operate their own schools; curricula and learning materials should be more relevant for Inuit culture; and education should be expanded from the school, to the entire community (Renaud, 1963).

Missionaries were not the only Euro-Canadians critical of the federal school system for Inuit in the 1960's. D.W. Hepburn (1963) wrote an article with the provocative title "Northern Education: Facade For Failure." Hepburn (1963: 16) criticized the expenditure of millions of dollars to build and operate schools and residences:

Unfortunately, the success of its building program and its effort to round up students is a mere facade that masks the Education Division's essential failure: the education it provides is hopelessly inadequate. The reasons for this failure are clear: the aims of education set forth by the Department are thoroughly confused, the curriculum is inappropriate, and many current

practices of the system are not only ill-conceived but actually harmful. Reform is urgently needed, for the product of this educational system is a young Eskimo or Indian who despises his own traditions, and who not only does not know how to live as his fathers lived, but who does not know enough of Canadian culture and technology to be integrated successfully into either. The program has, for the most part, been a failure.

Hepburn (1963: 17-19) argued that federal schools for Inuit: had poorly defined objectives; used an inappropriate curriculum; produced young people unable to either work for wages or hunt and trap; and destroyed Inuit pride in their way of life. He directly identified the psychological violence of educational practices based upon cultural deprivation assumptions:

The school system is producing a generation in a most unhealthy predicament: devoid of natural pride in their native culture and linguistic heritage and hating the Whites who discriminate against them socially, yet recognizing that they must become Canadianized, and therefore adopting leather jackets, extreme hair styles and other outward evidences of acculturation. They have abandoned the old values and have not learned the new. The school may occasionally pay lip-service to the contribution of Eskimos and Indians to Canadian life, but the daily school fare tells the child that it is the White way that is acceptable and praiseworthy. The ways of his parents and grandparents are of little or no value. The White ways are worth studying five days a week; his people's ways are worth scarcely a passing glance (Hepburn, 1963: 19).

Hepburn (1968: 20-21) provided four specific recommendations to improve schools in the North: create a commission to define the aims of Inuit education; develop curricula suitable for each region; hire and train teachers committed to long-term careers in northern schools; and abandon the system of elementary residential schools. In the 1960's, the objectives and methods of educating the Inuit were certainly contested and debated.

Despite opposition, official discourses in the 1960's established adult education as a legitimate field of state

intervention in the North. In response to the collapse of hunting and trapping economies, state organized adult education endeavored to facilitate Inuit transition to a modern way of life. In the 1960's, both adult education and Inuit modernization were seen as explicitly collective and problematic processes. The notion of cultural deprivation captures the essence of official discourses in the 1960's. In the process of modernization, Inuit were seen as culturally deprived. Adult education was presented as a means to alleviate this collective deprivation.

In the 1970's, official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity were transformed in at least three major ways. First, there was a decline in explicit references to any sort of collective Inuit transition. Second, notions of individual growth, choice, and satisfaction became prominent. Third, modernity became unproblematic and taken-for-granted. The ultimate impact of these changes was that official discourses in the 1970's reconceptualized the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Adult education was no longer explicitly presented as a means to facilitate Inuit modernization; instead, adult education was seen as a means for individuals to meet their learning needs, and develop their inherent capacities for life in the modern world. Modernization still provided the background for adult education practices, but becoming modern was portrayed as a natural and individual process. Adult education's basic rationale changed from alleviating cultural deprivation, to fulfilling the needs of deficit learners. This discursive shift reflected: political-economic

changes in the North, including the establishment of administered settlements, wage economies, and plural fields of individuating governance; symbolic changes that were structured by external factors such as the American civil rights movement, and the evolution of discourses on Third World development and aboriginal people; and the emergence of state organized adult education as a material reality in the Northwest Territories.

In the early 1970's, annual reports from the territorial government reflected the shift from cultural deprivation to deficit learner discourse. The following three quotations reveal the terms in which adult education was conceptualized in such reports:

Adult Education programs are designed to help the northern adult resident to develop his abilities to the fullest possible extent and to provide opportunities to use them constructively (N.W.T., Commissioner, 1970: 97).

Adult Education programs are designed to help adult people in the Territories to develop their abilities to the fullest extent and to make living more meaningful and comfortable in a rapidly changing technological age (N.W.T., Commissioner, 1971: 79).

A variety of activities are offered and organized through community adult centres which will assist the out-of-school adult in gaining experience, developing skills, and participating in the decision making processes which affect their lives (N.W.T., Government, 1974: 60-61).

Adult education's objectives had become less explicitly concerned with collective cultural changes, and more concerned with the personal development of any individual territorial resident. By the mid-1970's, general statements about the objectives of adult education no longer appeared in territorial annual reports.

In 1973, Jean Chretien (Minister of I.A.N.D.) outlined the federal government's objectives, priorities, strategies, and policies

with respect to the North. Chretien asked, "What is to become of the native peoples of the North?" His (1973: 31) response included these observations:

Perhaps the most important need in approaching such questions is to get rid of myths about the Eskimos ("Eskimos want to continue their traditional nomad life;" "they can be insulated from the new influences at work in the North;" "they are unable to adapt to life in the South," etc.) Some Eskimos have shown a keen interest in the material aspects of modern society and an eagerness to adapt themselves to it. The real need is to concentrate on means of enhancing the Eskimos' self-respect and livelihood, especially through diversified education and vocational training and fundamentally to give them mobility and freedom of choice.

This passage reflected several important changes in the official relationship between Inuit and modernity. It explicitly abandoned "old" ideas about the unchanging nature of Inuit culture. Instead, Inuit were presented as individuals, willing and able to be modern. In this context, the Canadian government's role was to provide education and training opportunities that would enhance each individual Inuk's ability to freely choose how they wanted to live.

In large part, the territorial government shared Chretien's position with respect to the right of individual Inuit to choose their own future. In *Priorities for the North*, the N.W.T.

Legislative Assembly (1977) asserted that the

goal of government in the Territories with respect to all native people is to equip them to make a viable choice of following their traditional way of life on the land, entering into the mainstream of Canadian society, or a compromise involving the best features of both. Such a choice is an illusion if the means of attaining these goals are not within reach.

Education is the first requirement. Native peoples must be brought beyond the minimum level of basic literacy so that they can participate in a modern world. Only when a competency has been developed to live in either the old world or the new can there be said to be authentic choice....

Educational provision then, meant empowering individuals to freely choose between various cultural and economic alternatives.

The emerging focus upon individual freedom and growth was not limited to discourse on adult education. In 1975, Norman Macpherson (Director of the N.W.T. Department of Education), delivered a speech in which he defined the basic philosophy of territorial schooling. After discussing the importance of local involvement, cultural relevancy, and multi-lingual programs, Macpherson spoke of the need to orient educational practices toward the *individual* child. He (1975: 15-16) suggested that the

fundamental premise is that education must develop and preserve the confidence and self-worth of the individual child....This fundamental premise presumes, therefore, that the individual child is the vital concern of the educational process, and that the system should be designed to suit the child, and not vice versa.

The recognition of individual differences among children; the provision of activity centred learning; the individualization of instruction so that each child may progress in his learning activities at his own rate and in his own style; the use of concrete materials in learning - all these methods to which joy and excitement may be brought to the learning process and through which schools become less like assembly lines and more like 'good places for kids.'

The individual focus that Macpherson proposed for the schooling of children was to develop far more extensively in territorial adult education. By the 1980's, meeting the needs of individual learners became the hegemonic rationale for adult education in the North.

In the late 1960's and 1970's, deficit learner discourses were actively contested. David Keenleyside (former Community Teacher in Igloolik) wrote an article titled "The Fallacy of Freedom: Education for the Adult Eskimo." Keenleyside (1968: 207) began by suggesting that one of the basic rationales for providing educational programs

to Canadian Inuit was to enable them to freely choose between traditional and modern lifestyles. This rationale, Keenleyside (1968: 210) asserted, did not meet the reality of northern adult education:

For behind the proclamation that education means freedom lies the truth--the vast majority of adult Eskimos are merely trained to fill local gaps in the southern-style economy being introduced by southerners into the north. Thus the indigenous population acquires marginal status, living on the fringe of two worlds.

Keenleyside criticized both the relative absence of high quality, intensive adult education programs in the North, and the focus of existing programs on preparing Inuit for menial jobs.

Through the 1970's, missionaries continued to oppose official discourses on education. In an article titled "The Mirage of Schooling," R. Lechat (O.M.I.) directly attacked the officially defined relationship between education and Inuit wage employment. Lechat (1975: 5) raged:

With a great deal of money and of publicity, the flowery school train has travelled across the frozen immensity. It has reached its remotest points. It has been loaded with Inuit children, more or less arbitrarily, in first class coaches, with the perspective of a marvelous trip. Just think, this school train was to bring them to the land of plenty, a promised land where, to borrow a biblical expression, "flowed milk and honey," that is to say a land where employment, trade, profession, and all that follows--abundance, money, luxuries, comfort--would be within reach for them. But, in fact, when a child has spent five, seven, ten, twelve years in school and thinks of getting out, he finds himself in a desert. Not in the promised and boosted land of plenty, but in a dry country, without water, I mean in a country without jobs. For many, the end of schooling is even worse: it is the abyss of delinquency. The educated one knows no longer how to live in a country where there are no jobs, no work. Then, today, he begs from those who have led him into this dead-end path. Tomorrow, no doubt, he will show his fist.

Lechat criticized government policies as unrealistic; since employment opportunities were scarce in the North, it seemed absurd

to educate Inuit so that they could access wage employment. These criticisms directly contested the official regime of truth that education existed to help Inuit adapt to wage labour and modernity. Such contestation became less frequent in the late 1970's, and virtually disappeared in the 1980's.

In the 1970's, active debate about the objectives of northern education prompted the N.W.T. government to publish several elaborate accounts of its educational policies and programs. The territorial Department of Education's (1972) *Survey of Education* provided a systematic and detailed expression of the changing regime of truth linking Inuit, modernity, and adult education. In this document, individuals were the focus of education, and modernity was a self-evident feature of the Northwest Territories. The Department of Education (1972: 8) stated that

the Purpose of Education is to provide for all people opportunity for maximum development of their aptitudes, skills and competencies along with an understanding and appreciation of the sum total of human experience. Such development should enable each individual to choose freely between different courses of action in such a manner that he can live a satisfying personal life while discharging his responsibilities as a participating member of a complex society.

This definition located the primary purpose of education in the personal growth of individual citizens. Through education, individuals attained freedom to choose a satisfying life course, limited only by the fact of living in a complex society.

The *Survey of Education* (1972: 8-23) elaborated twelve objectives for territorial education:

(1) To develop in every person the skills of effective and meaningful interpersonal communication; (2) To provide a climate of learning that fosters the development of such basic human

needs as identity, status, approval, belonging, security, and success; (3) To make each person aware of and value the rights and responsibilities of citizenship by making him conscious of his past and present, as well as the past and present of the Canadian nation, and by creating in him a lasting concern for its future; (4) To develop an awareness of the unique cultural contributions of both the native peoples and the immigrant population to the total Canadian society; (5) To inculcate in people an understanding of and respect for the need for moral standards in general and the spiritual values of their heritage in particular; (6) To develop in each person an application of and respect for the sharing of good physical surroundings, the maintenance of a healthy body and sound mind and the importance of co-existence in a multi-cultural setting; (7) To develop in each person, attitudes, morals, and social competencies that will enable him to function effectively within both the Canadian and global society; (8) To develop continuing vocational and life skills programmes compatible with the needs of the individual and the dictates of the society of his choice; (9) To develop in each individual an open mind toward a basic understanding of and a language with which to explore and question the indefinable realm of mathematics; (10) To develop in each person a knowledge of the scientific method of inquiry and the ability to apply it as a means of understanding the implication of science for mankind; (11) To enable each person to cultivate a variety of interests which will serve to illuminate potential leisure time and recreational pursuits which will stimulate creative self-expression; and (12) To develop in each person a sensitivity for and appreciation of, the fine arts and to encourage active participation in them as forms of cultural expression.

These objectives were the first systematic expression of individualized education in the Northwest Territories. Virtually all of these objectives explicitly positioned abstract individuals, and their putative needs, as the focus of educational practice. The cumulative message of these objectives was that territorial schooling wanted to construct a particular kind of individual. This individual was to be rational, liberal, introspective, intelligent, and healthy.

As well as identifying individuals as the focus of education, the *Survey of Education* specified the particular domain of adult education. By way of definition, the Department of Education (1972: 37) asserted:

Continuing and Special Education provides opportunities for the out-of-school adult to gain experiences, take courses, develop skills and participate in decision making processes on matters which affect his life. Adults should be able to develop their personality and abilities to the fullest possible extent and to use their talents constructively. Learning experiences are intended to contribute to the growth and development of the spiritual, intellectual, physical, political, social, cultural, economic and vocational aspects of his life.

Multi-faceted personal growth was the objective of adult education. Several recommendations were made to promote the life-long development of individual adults. These recommendations included providing local programs based upon individual, family, and community needs in areas such as communication, English literacy, community leadership, development, and home management.

The *Survey of Education* conceptualized students as deficit learners, and this conceptualization oriented adult education practices through the 1980's. There were two elements to this conceptualization. First, students were seen as individuals. In describing guidance practices, the Department of Education (1972: 46) underlined "the importance of understanding each individual as a human being, unique and unprecedented." The 1960's emphasis on cultural groups had been replaced by a focus on abstractly equal and unique individuals. Second, students in the North were seen as sharing certain general deficiencies. In its conclusion, the Department of Education (1972: 110) posed this question with respect to the limits of education in the North:

How can the education system of this vast and difficult land, the home of such a sparse and isolated population, compensate for the crushing burden of poverty, prejudice and social dislocation which locks so many of our people into a mindless and stultifying circle from which there seems no escape?

Despite the difficulty of such tasks, fulfilling individual needs and promoting personal growth were seen as education's main roles.

These roles were also identified in a series of essays by Echo Lidster (Supervisor of Adult Programs, N.W.T. Department of Education). Lidster (1975, 1978) discussed the philosophy, objectives, assumptions, and organization of territorial adult education. In a brief essay called "What is Adult Education?" Lidster (1978: 126) asserted that adult education was "concerned with adults learning any skill, gaining any knowledge, developing the judgement and the self-discipline which enables one to function as a creative, self-confident, mature, whole hearted, human being." To promote such personal growth, territorial adult education concentrated upon English and math, since "these two skills are the basic ones needed for understanding the world around us; they also enable us to take part in the processes which shape our world" (Lidster, 1978: 126). Apart from these basic skills, adult education involved discussions on virtually any topic of interest to adults.

As well as defining adult education, Lidster (1978: 1-2) elaborated four principles of N.W.T. adult education programs: to increase public access to adult education, programs should be community based; people are inherently anxious to learn about their changing social worlds; meaningful learning experiences should reflect people's needs and circumstances; and adult educators should work in harmony with other government agents. Given these principles, each adult educator's role was that of "an encouraging activator; one who informs, discusses, suggests and encourages people

toward understanding and differentiating between what will help or hinder their settlement, or their personal growth" (Lidster, 1978:

2). Meeting people's needs was the fundamental objective of territorial adult education. Lidster claimed that

citizens of the Northwest Territories have learning needs that must be met in order for them to function in a changing society; it is therefore imperative that learning opportunities be made available for individuals in order to provide them with information and skills enabling them to cope with change and make choices affecting their lives (Lidster, 1978: 5).

Based on this assumption, the first objective of adult education was "to develop programs which will meet the needs as expressed by the citizens of the community to be served" (Lidster, 1978: 5). Lidster elaborated six other objectives (research, community responsibility, staffing, training, interdepartmental cooperation, and effective use of resources), all of which were aimed at meeting this first objective as efficiently as possible. His focus upon meeting needs contributed to the dominance of deficit learner discourses.

Lidster was aware of the social context and impact of adult education. He (1975: 7) set the context of territorial adult education by asserting that

change - social, political, economic - is occurring in the Northwest Territories. People are changing whether they want to or not. The continuous onward march of the industrial age throughout the world renders inadequate the many skills that were formerly quite adequate in a more slowly changing society. Skills which were quite suitable for a lifestyle in rural or natural habitats are suddenly unsuitable for coping with life in the structured, technological world of an industrial society.

Given these inescapable realities, the territorial government was helping individuals adjust. Lidster (1975: 7-8) wrote that

through programs tailored to meet the needs of adults, the Department of Education is striving to help people to understand

and to mold the changes to their situation. These programs are intended to open people's minds to their own possibilities for development. They are intended to help people gain self-confidence, to express and to acquire the skills, and to bring to fruition ideas which they have for maintaining and improving the quality of daily life.

Obviously, meeting the needs of individual learners was not a socially or politically neutral endeavor. Defining particular human capacities as "needs," and devising educational practices to promote the development of those capacities, were forms of power relations.

Lidster recognized adult education's potential for constructing or changing human subjects. He (1975: 9) wrote that

education is not transmission of data, but the transformation of a person....The educational process should provide the means by which people can deal critically with their situation, and from all resources which are available to them create a cultural amalgam, which is truly their own. There are values in both the native and southern Canadian culture which are compatible and worth retaining. Adult education helps people identify these and to make decisions concerning them.

Given this transformative potential, Lidster credited adult education with large social responsibilities. He (1975: 10) claimed that adult education was "the light which kindles hope in the mind of the individual who has been for so long without hope." While this rhetorical style was amusing, Lidster did help establish a regime of truth which presented adult education as a means through which abstract individuals could meet their putative learning needs.

Meeting the needs of individuals was central to the vision of education expressed in *Philosophy of Education in the Northwest Territories* (N.W.T., Department of Education, 1978a). After defining the purpose of education in exactly the same words as the 1972 *Survey of Education*, this document explicitly theorized the relations

between education, schooling, society, and individuals. The Department of Education (1978a: 2) claimed that "education, regardless of its geographic location or cultural components, is based on two sets of needs. First are the needs of the individual and, secondly, the needs of the society." It then reproduced a version of Maslow's hierarchy of individual needs, including physiological requirements, security and trust, belonging and caring, individual accomplishment and status, and self-actualization. The Department of Education (1978a: 2) called these needs "the motivating forces within the individual," and proposed that schools had a responsibility to help fulfill them.

Philosophy of Education in the Northwest Territories (1978a: 4) argued that the "ultimate aim of education is to develop the abilities of the individual in order that he or she may fulfill personal aspirations while making a positive contribution to society." Society was responsible for providing each individual with both education and schooling. Education, organized through various agencies and institutions, had to develop in each individual: intellectual curiosity; social interaction skills; a sense of community responsibility; self-discipline and self-esteem; the ability to react to change; skills for efficiently using money and time; an understanding of family relationships; and a sense of purpose in life (N.W.T., Department of Education, 1978a: 3-4). Schooling pursued more specific objectives: effective communication skills; basic competencies in math, science, social studies, and arts; critical thinking abilities; physical and mental well-being;

active citizenship; and an ability to acquire a satisfying livelihood (N.W.T., Department of Education, 1978a: 4). Together, education and schooling constructed individuals who could satisfy their own inherent needs, and contribute to society's overall well-being.

In the case of adult education, the individual focus of schooling was compounded by the right of adults to enter and leave school at their personal discretion. By way of definition, the Department of Education (1978a: 22) stated that Continuing Education

includes the entire educational process whereby persons not attending the school program on a full-time basis may develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn themselves in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development.

Continuing education is part of a total scheme for lifelong education and learning. Education and learning is recognized as not being limited to the period of attendance at formal school, but rather it extends itself throughout life to include all skills and branches of knowledge and the use of all possible means to give the opportunity to all people for full personal development.

Stated simply, adult education was a holistic, life-long process whereby individuals could grow and change in order to participate in their changing environment. Territorial continuing education was based upon nine principles:

- (1) it is based on the needs of the participants and it makes use of their different experiences; (2) it relies on the ability and determination of human beings to make progress throughout their lives both in their personal development and in their social activity; (3) it fosters literacy and supports cultural aspirations; (4) it seeks to stimulate and sustain the interests of adult learners, to appeal to their experience, to strengthen their self-reliance, and to enlist their active participation at all stages of the educational process in which they are involved; (5) it is adapted to the actual conditions of every day life and work and takes into account the personal characteristics of adult learners, their ages, family, social, occupational or residential

background and the way in which these interrelate; (6) it encourages the participation of individual adults, groups, or communities in decision-making at all levels of the learning process, including the determination of needs, curriculum development, program implementation and evaluation; (7) its organization and operation takes into account the social, cultural, economic and institutional factors of the community; (8) it recognizes the forms of collective organization established by adults in the Northwest Territories for the purpose of solving their day to day problems; and (9) it recognizes that every adult in the Northwest Territories, by the fact of his or her experiences of life, is the vehicle of a culture which enables him/her to play the role of both learner and teacher in the educational process (N.W.T., Department of Education, 1978a: 24).

These principles oriented adult education practices toward the needs, abilities, experiences, and interests of individual adults.

Collective realities had to be "recognized," but they did not create a foundation for educational practices. From these principles, the Department of Education (1978a: 25-29) directed adult courses toward five basic objectives: cultural development and creative activities; basic literacy; academic upgrading; health, household management, and parenting; and general interests.

Written in 1978, *Philosophy of Education in the Northwest Territories* oriented and legitimated adult education practices into the 1980's. This document embodied the 1970's transformation of official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, modernity, and adult education. By 1978, the "Inuit" component of this relationship had basically disappeared. There were still implicit references to the cultural particularities of native peoples, but official statements generally related social change and adult education to the rights and needs of abstract individuals. Modernity was still an important component of official discourse. Social change structured

individuals' needs, and provided a rationale for many adult programs. However, explicit references to collective transitions to the modern world had been replaced by implicit assumptions that modernity was now a self-evident reality of territorial life, and that individuals would have to adapt to this reality. Finally, adult education had become a much more elaborate component of this relationship. Adult education was an administrative, practical, and organizational reality with well-defined goals, principles, and methods.

III.4 1978-1991: Meeting Individuals' (Employment) Needs

In the 1970's, deficit learner discourses replaced the cultural deprivation notions which had been prevalent in the 1960's. Rather than alleviating collective defects, adult education was presented as an attempt to cure individual inadequacies. Initially, the focus upon individuals' needs was vigorously defended through explicit and elaborate statements. By the 1980's however, "meeting learner needs" had become the hegemonic rationale for adult education programs. Annual reports of the territorial government no longer explicitly referred to adult education's philosophical or social objectives, Inuit transition to the modern world, or the linkage between education and social change. These issues had become taken-for-granted, and annual reports merely gave statistical accounts of the adult programs that had been offered. Short statements such as "during 1979, emphasis was placed on preparing northern people for employment," were as close as these 1980's reports came to debating adult education's objectives. Adult education had become a natural

part of the institutional landscape, and modernity had become a natural part of the social landscape. In this context, adult educators tried to identify and meet individuals' learning needs, especially with respect to employment skills.

In an important sense, the 1980's were characterized by an absence of official statements on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Modernity was self-evident, and individuals rather than cultural groups were adult educators' basic unit of intervention. The relative scarcity of official statements during this period does not reduce the significance of the deficit learner regime of truth. Indeed, the absence of active statements attests to the hegemonic dominance of deficit learner discourses; it was simply evident that adult education was present to meet the learning needs of individuals. The predominance of this discursive regime of truth supported the organization of educational practices which both individuated students, and objectified learning needs.

The final report of the N.W.T. Legislative Assembly's (1982) Special Committee on Education emphasized the naturalness of social change, and the necessary individuality of adult education. This report's introduction began with the assertion:

Change, growth, and development are characteristics of any living society and, beyond question, the Northwest Territories is now experiencing an extraordinary surge in these natural processes. We cannot refuse the challenges they pose, but we can say something about the direction in which they may take us. Central to any society's efforts to influence the direction of change is its people's ability to participate in planning processes. And, beyond question, learning is the major factor in a people's ability to participate in such planning. We argue, therefore, that learning is the key to our future (N.W.T., L.A., 1982: 11).

Social change was natural and inevitable, but given appropriate

learning, people could influence the direction of change. The Legislative Assembly placed adult education at the core of territorial education. They (1982: 11) wrote that

our educational system should, as a primary goal, create life-long opportunities for the people of the Northwest Territories to learn. We may fall short of this desirable goal, but we have tried in this report, and we think we have succeeded, to identify ways in which our educational system can be improved and made more fully responsive to the varied needs of the people in our communities.

Thus, education should be a life-long process of meeting learning needs so that people might fully participate in ongoing social and economic changes.

For both practical and ethical reasons, adult education was to be an individualized process. The Legislative Assembly (1982: 133-134) asserted that "our small population should encourage the development of individualized programs," and that learning

is an activity that continues throughout a person's life, and organized programs should allow individuals to move into them and out of them without seriously disrupting their lives. Adults must feel free to use the educational system to retrain themselves, and the system should help by making it easy for individuals to continue learning.

According to this document, a small and dispersed population, combined with adults' rights to move in and out of schooling processes, made adult education in the Northwest Territories a necessarily individualized activity. Apart from the need to focus educational practices upon individuals, the Legislative Assembly (1982: 134) suggested that adult education required: overall planning, to integrate education with economic development and employment opportunities; decentralized delivery, to make programs accessible to many people; and community control, to ensure the

relevance and sensitivity of courses.

Recommendations from the Special Committee on Education influenced the development of adult education policy throughout the 1980's. In 1987, the territorial government released a policy directive for continuing education. The directive announced:

The Government of the Northwest Territories will provide continuing educational opportunities for adults to enable their full participation in the social, economic, and cultural development of the Northwest Territories.

This policy is based on the following principles:

1. To promote lifelong learning, continuing education will be part of a continuum of integrated learning opportunities allowing students to continually re-enter the education system to satisfy changing learning needs.
2. Programs will be: (a) designed to provide maximum student accessibility through the reduction of barriers such as distance, cost, and prohibitive entrance requirements; (b) responsive to the needs of business, government, the community, and the individual; (c) designed to be delivered in innovative ways and to incorporate nationally acceptable standards of learning; (d) geared towards increasing the social/economic independence of students.
3. Training in native languages will be integrated in continuing education programs, whenever possible.

This policy directive also specified programs to be promoted by continuing education. The general priorities were adult basic education (including basic literacy, academic development, and employment readiness); complementary programs (including personal development and enrichment, and community services); and training, vocational, and post-secondary programs. Each of these three priorities supported the overall policy of meeting the needs of individual adults.

Meeting individuals' needs was central to a Department of

Education (1987) statement of how adult education had been improved since the Special Committee on Education. The Department (1987: 24) stated that the "purpose of adult education is to help people adjust to a rapidly changing North." They (1987: 24) asserted that some

people need help with practical things: how to write a cheque, how to manage money, the principles of good nutrition, or how to run a house in town, complete with appliances. Others need help with life skills: developing the personal strength to cope with the social changes around them; developing the self-confidence to handle a job interview, and eventually a new job. Still others need to acquire the skills to qualify for trades or apprenticeship programs....Adult education programs have been developed to respond to all of these needs.

All needs were not of equal importance. The Department of Education (1987: 28) claimed that

for years Northerners have complained that the best jobs in government and in industry go to people from southern Canada. Today more and more Northerners realize that the only way to change that situation is for more people here to get the qualifications they need to fill those jobs themselves.

By the late 1980's, people's "need" to improve their qualifications in order to have good jobs, was adult education's basic rationale.

This basic rationale was also expressed in terms of the human capital requirements for economic development in the Northwest Territories. In 1989, the Legislative Assembly released the final report of the Special Committee on the Northern Economy. This report placed education at the heart of territorial economic development strategies. The report (1989: vii) began with a quotation from E.F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*:

Among the causes of poverty, I am sure, the material factors are entirely secondary, such things as a lack of capital, or an insufficiency of infrastructure. The primary causes of poverty are immaterial, they lie in certain deficiencies in education, organization, and discipline....Here then lies the central problem of development. If the primary causes of poverty are

deficiencies in these three respects, then the alleviation of poverty depends primarily in the removal of these three deficiencies....All three must become the property not merely of a tiny minority, but of the whole society.

The Legislative Assembly (1989: 10,54-56) asserted that economic growth depended upon improving people's education, organization, and discipline; therefore, the first five of their thirty major recommendations dealt with reorganizing schools and adult education programs to promote "people development." In the late 1980's, it seemed obvious that by meeting individuals' needs, adult education would simultaneously help individuals lead better lives, and encourage the development of the Northwest Territories (c.f. Fogwill, 1989, and N.W.T., Department of Education, 1990b).

The deficit learner model of adult education was reflected in Arctic College mission statements. In 1988, Arctic College (1990a: 7) adopted the following mission statement:

Arctic College is a multi-campus institution designed to provide a wide variety of educational services to adult learners of the Northwest Territories. The programs are directed specifically to the northern environment and the needs of individual northerners, the work force and the northern communities. The College recognizes the need to make appropriate educational opportunities available to any adult who wishes to learn. To accomplish this, courses and services are delivered at campuses and in communities across the N.W.T. In this manner, Arctic College strives to encourage lifelong learning in a rapidly changing world.

Two years later, Arctic College (1990a: 24) wrote that it would "continue to focus on delivering courses and programs to meet the particular and evolving needs of adult learners in the N.W.T. The emphasis will be on training for employment in both the public and private sector." This emphasis was to be achieved through programs in adult basic education, academic upgrading, and career preparation

(Arctic College, 1990a: 26). In these mission statements, meeting individuals' learning needs was adult education's basic purpose.

From the 1950's to the 1990's, official discourses on the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity changed substantially. During the fur trade era, modernity was seen as peripheral to the Inuit social universe, and formal adult education was therefore absent from consideration. In the 1950's and 1960's, modernity became inevitable, and Inuit were seen as culturally deprived; adult education was presented as a benevolent form of intervention that would lessen this deprivation and facilitate Inuit modernization. In the 1970's, explicitly assimilationist discourses were replaced by a more subtle regime of truth: in the modern world, every individual, irrespective of social context, had inherent learning needs which required fulfillment. Adult education was presented as a means for individual adults to identify and meet their learning needs. Deficit learner discourse remained dominant through the 1980's, although gaining employment skills became the most salient need addressed by adult education programs.

To this point, the documents I have discussed took the Northwest Territories as their geographic frame of reference. Few materials were ever published that exclusively referred to Kitikmeot adult education. However, educators and administrators within the region produced a significant number of unpublished documents. Adult educators' monthly reports were the most abundant source of official statements on state organized adult education in the Kitikmeot. In the 1980's, each community adult educator sent monthly reports to a

regional supervisor in Cambridge Bay, who distributed copies of each report to the other Kitikmeot adult educators. Over four hundred such reports were written from 1979 to 1991. Although each adult educator had a distinctive style of reporting, many common features existed. The typical monthly report was between one and two typewritten pages in length. Virtually every monthly report gave: brief descriptions of the local adult programs that were either in operation, being planned, or had just been completed; and summary statistics on levels of registration and attendance for daytime A.B.E. programs. In addition, many reports referred to: standardized examinations or informal observations of student progress; special events, such as exchange trips, student extracurricular activities, or visitors to the classroom; A.B.E. classroom activities and routines; and problems encountered with students.

Given the prevailing orthodoxy that adult education existed to meet the learning needs of individual students, it is not surprising that few Kitikmeot adult educators explicitly wrote about the connections between adult education, Inuit, and modernity. Although such explicit ruminations were rare, I present four examples which illustrate how adult educators worked within existing regimes of truth. An adult educator in Community C (1985) reported that

serious problems of absence, tardiness and behavior/performance will result in very poor, if any, academic progress for this generation of young adults. It is my observation to date that these problems stem from a poor attitude toward education. It is unclear whether this attitude arises out of poor past results (hence, discouragement), or out of a lack of understanding of the importance of education for future wage-economy lifestyles. Perhaps there are other reasons, such as being a generation in the midst of great change, or having been overcrowded in the old school before the new school was built. In any case it is clear

that if they continue on their present course, they will never achieve educational qualifications that will allow them to compete for jobs in the wage-economy without special concessions based on indigenous rights.

From talking to them, I have further learned that their traditional life-skills and language abilities are very poor. Several of the young men cannot build snow igloos, have never even seen polar bears or musk ox, and cannot use dog teams (which would mean a reliance on cash for gas - but cash from where? Welfare?). Some of the young women have admitted that they cannot cook or bake bread, and have rarely sewn. The fact that conversational Inuktitut needs to be taught at all does not augur well for the future of the language.

In short, this generation of young adults is presently ill-equipped to rely on traditional skills for a livelihood; or to move into the wage-economy effectively. Even if they can find jobs, their present work habits, lack of punctuality, and erratic attendance will bring about lay-offs and dismissals. It is my fear that they will experience many of the same hardships and disappointments as do the native Indians in the south. It would be a tragedy if this went on in succeeding generations, as it has in the south.

This passage identified young adults in Community C as a lost generation, possessing neither traditional nor modern skills. Given the emerging reality of the wage economy, and the need for education in order to successfully participate in that economy, this report recommended adult education as a means through which young Inuit could attain modern skills, dispositions, and knowledge. This report concluded with recommendations for home visits and radio broadcasts to communicate the importance of education, as well as for strict regulations and punishments to enforce a disciplined, hard-working adult classroom.

An adult educator in Community E (1988) also suggested that adult education could help ameliorate profound social problems. In one report, the educator suggested:

this community is typical of other isolated, economically depressed, northern communities. It has all the signs of an employment crisis looming in the future. There is, therefore, a

need for a higher visibility to be given to the job market potential for young Inuit with educations. They need hope, and need to see that investing their time now for the future makes good sense. In as much as I have tried to bring that point across, there still is a need for the urgency of the situation to take hold of young people's attitudes.

In another report (1988), the same educator wondered:

What future do the young people expect without education? Local jobs which don't require much education are already filled and probably will be full until present workers retire. This means that other jobs, which require education, are all that remain.

An absence of unskilled job openings, and a lack of qualifications for skilled jobs, created an impending crisis for Community E, and a bleak future for its young people. In this context, two basic needs could be met by adult education. First, young people needed to be convinced of the long term value of having an education. Second, those young people needed to obtain qualifications for skilled jobs.

Over a period of several years, an adult educator in Community B wrote about the potential role of adult education in community development. In one report (1985), this educator suggested that despite very few job prospects, adults in Community B were unwilling to leave the community. As a consequence, these adults had

the choice of accepting the unemployment, underemployment, and attendant neuroses as a way of life for the majority, or of vigorously and objectively fostering the creation of stable, satisfying, and socially useful job opportunities.

Adult education could play a critical role in a broadly based community research program to identify and evaluate local economic potential, social and economic needs, and individual aspirations, inclinations, and value systems.

A foundation might thus be laid for providing motivation, guidance, training, and a rebirth of self-esteem in a viable local economy that would combine the best of traditional values with a firm grasp of well adapted modern skills.

In a later report (1986), this adult educator suggested that action research and community development initiatives could lead to

a growing commitment to education as a clearly defined path to increasingly realistic objectives. Subjects of study can become increasingly meaningful and absorbing when the student's own research points to them as vital steps towards an achievable and ever more exciting goal.

Adult education was seen as a means to identify community and individual potentials and needs, and to help fulfill those potentials and needs. Faced with problems of stagnation, apathy, and self-abnegation, adult education provided hope for a better future.

In simpler terms, a Community A (1981) educator also connected adult education with attaining concrete goals. In an evaluation of a daytime A.B.E. program, this educator wrote that the

course was very successful this year with the average daily attendance and final T.A.B.E. marks being much higher than last year. More of the students are now looking and planning for better jobs and/or more training. The course was a definite help to many people and is a step ahead on their road to a good job and a better way of life.

This passage presented adult education as a means for individuals to improve their lives. Access to wage employment was assumed to be the key to this improvement. These four explicit references to the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity were exceptional in adult educators' reports from the 1980's. Typically, Kitikmeot educators simply assumed that their role was to identify and meet individuals' learning needs.

In the 1980's, Kitikmeot adult educators consistently referred to two sets of learning needs: academic skills in reading, writing, and mathematics; and general dispositions, habits, and skills related to wage employment. These two sets of abilities constituted the basic learning needs that adult educators endeavored to fulfill. References to student academic deficiencies were virtually ubiquitous

in Kitikmeot adult educators' discourse from 1979 to 1991. Occasionally, monthly reports would explicitly describe student academic needs. More commonly, such reports would implicitly refer to such needs by speaking of academic progress or scores on standardized tests of English and math. Nearly half of all monthly reports referred to standardized exams. Meeting the academic needs of students was adult educators' primary objective.

Kitikmeot adult educators also consistently referred to the need to improve students' personal and vocational "life skills." This diffuse set of learning needs was underlined by educators' frustration with student commitment, motivation, work habits, irregular attendance, and punctuality. Kitikmeot adult educators frequently lamented their students' lack of long-term commitment to A.B.E. courses. An adult educator from Community A (1980) wrote that

The upgrading class this year had its share of ups and downs. The biggest thrill was seeing the progress made by the students. My biggest disappointment was the students who could not or did not want to continue with their education. There were twelve students who went to school for less than five weeks....The need is here for upgrading, but they will have to commit themselves more if they are to get the most of it.

In similar terms, an adult educator from Community D (1987) complained that "there is a problem with lack of commitment because people will sign, attend a few times or not at all, and then disappear without an explanation. Sometimes this is connected with an inability to get up for morning classes." Student reluctance to attend A.B.E. courses for sustained periods of time sincerely frustrated many adult educators, some of whom connected this reluctance with personal or cultural characteristics.

One adult educator from Community B (1988) linked poor long-term commitment to A.B.E. with internalized problems of motivation and self-discipline. This educator wrote a report, subtitled "Prevailing apathy in [Community B] towards sustained adult upgrading," which began with the following assertion:

While most young adults in [Community B] are without stable employment, and while many enquire about career training programs for which they lack the educational prerequisites, few of those who have ample time are willing to adopt the self-discipline needed for 7 months or more of regular, consistent study to reach or approach the required entry levels....Many seem caught between wistful hopes of a magic formula to waft them quickly and effortlessly through several grades and distaste for the regular hours of sustained study needed to achieve the goals that seem less realistic and attractive as they are seen to demand long continued application.

In an earlier (1985) report, this adult educator complained that students' lack of internalized motivation and self-discipline leads them to "flit into and out of B.T.S.D., leaving a few lines written in workbooks and notebooks and much wasted instructional time." Thus, adults' lack of academic skills was compounded by their lack of self-discipline and commitment to improve such skills.

An adult educator in Community E (1988) explicitly connected short-term attendance in A.B.E. with cultural deprivation. This educator reported:

All year we suffered from a lack of commitment to the program.... Many of the 30 individuals who were enrolled in the program at some point in the term lasted for 2 or 3 weeks. There were probably a few reasons for this, but the primary one, I believe, was a lack of personal motivation toward academic upgrading.... Motivation could come from a few obvious areas. If a student has a job in mind that requires a certain level, then the long range goal should help to motivate. I found that students were generally not accustomed to long range thinking. It is partially a cultural thing where expectations of life, based on their relationship with the land, are slow to change. That is underlying. What education must do, given this reality, is to

add possibilities for life enrichment into their thinking. Most young people in [Community E] do not think in terms of a career; rather, they think of jobs, a means to an end. Such a career orientation must come by education.

Since lack of long-term commitment reflected individual and cultural inadequacies of motivation and long range thinking, one task of adult education was to alleviate such inadequacies.

The putative cultural origins of inadequate student motivation were also discussed by an adult educator in Community C. This educator (1987) reported:

We have made some tentative progress in getting people to school and attending better, but we face a further problem - motivation to finish school as fast and as well as possible. Tied to this motivation are the questions of the base on which students are expected to build, and the conditions under which they are expected to do work on their own time. Reading skills and vocabulary levels are hindering progress. School hours, alone, are not sufficient to meet the students' needs. Supplementary at-home reading is essential for academic success, whether it be recreational reading, or technical. Crowded housing conditions, lack of books in homes, and low expectations by parents for completion of homework and academic pursuits may be contributing to this low language arts ability.

This passage's explicit reference to collective cultural conditions was unusual, but many adult educators lamented their students' lack of motivation and discipline. An adult educator from Community B (1982) complained that

motivation is almost non-existent, and general interest in being here on time and working is ceasing to exist. I myself find this quite frustrating having to prod some of the girls to do their work. Therefore... I feel it would be a waste of money to extend this program another month.

Ultimately, lack of consistent, long-term student attendance posed a serious threat to adult educators, because low attendance figures could have resulted in the cancellation of their programs.

Given the need for sufficient student participation to warrant

continued funding for A.B.E., it is not surprising that adult educators lamented their students' irregular attendance habits. Such irregular habits were construed as evidence for the need to provide life skills training. The following passages indicate adult educators' concern with the irregular habits of their students:

1) This year has been very poor in terms of participation in upgrading programs. We have addressed this problem from many perspectives with little if any success. January and February were our most successful months, but attendance has dropped off again in March. This is a problem that, quite frankly, has me baffled (Community C, 1982).

2) Adult Academic Upgrading average daily attendance fell to an all-time low of 4.5 in October. Two manpower students, one of them temporarily working as a C.A. in the school, were away on leaves of 4 and 2 weeks but should be back in early November. A third was away with her small boy on a medivac trip. Ice fishing, in the short period before the ice becomes inconveniently thick, has cut heavily into attendance. Celebrations, whenever the plane shipped in the means of celebrating, also played an unhelpful role. Lack of babysitters was, however, the most frequent reason given by students, most of whom are mothers of small children (Community B, 1986).

3) Attendance in December continued to be spotty, and students wandered into class at all times throughout the day. This situation places the adult education courses into a constant state of review and reteaching, as students who miss school need to be brought up to date. Moving ahead in course content is made extremely slow with this state of affairs, and this is not fair to those students who attend regularly and want to finish school someday. With the present lax attitude toward attendance and punctuality, it is unlikely that these students will finish high school in a life-time of adult education (Community C, 1984).

4) Academic Upgrading Attendance has been the main concern in Adult Education here for the past six weeks. Average daily attendance in October was down from September's disappointing 6.6 to a mere 5.2. Of the ten who would probably consider themselves regular attenders, only three are generally punctual....Always present in these considerations is the possibility that Adult Education's operations here in [Community B] might be closed down and moved to a community where to demand is greater and sustained response seems more likely. Expressions of desire or intention to take upgrading come almost every day, but only a very small percentage of those professing eagerness actually join (Community B, 1989).

While adult educators recognized a plurality of reasons for low and irregular attendance at their A.B.E. programs, they generally shared the assumption that irregular attendance indicated a lack of life skills on the part of individual students.

Clearly, Kitikmeot adult educators' reports oriented and justified educational practices by repeatedly assigning putative academic and life skills needs to Inuit adults. In addition, four themes in such reports helped orient educational practices toward *individual* adults. First, since meeting academic needs was adult educators' primary objective, and since individuals possessed a variety of academic abilities and deficiencies, individualized practices seemed to be inherently attractive. Second, since irregular attendance and punctuality undermined sustained group activities, individualized practices seemed to be logistically necessary. Third, since virtually all A.B.E. students had negative prior experience with conventional classroom teaching, individualized practices seemed to have a better chance of holding students' interest. Finally, since adult students tended to repeatedly enrol in and quit A.B.E. programs, individualized practices seemed to let them do so with minimal disruption to other students.

In addition to orienting material practices toward finding and meeting the learning needs of individuals, adult educators' discourse was often directly communicated to participating adults. Through direct communication, adult educators confronted Kitikmeot Inuit with particular regimes of truth. Most of this communication was never recorded, but the following three examples illustrate how symbolic

regimes of truth were directly experienced. These three examples are not representative of all communication between adult educators and Inuit adults; however, they do illustrate how such communication was constrained by the discursive possibilities created by cultural deprivation and deficit learner regimes of truth.

In October, 1979, a Community B adult educator sent the following form letter to potential adult students:

Dear _____

The Government of Canada is reducing the amount of money it is to spend in future years. This, in some way, is going to affect everyone in Canada. In the Territories, among other things, it is going to make a big difference in the operation of the education department. For example, this could be the last year in which it will be possible for you to take upgrading.

Some of you need to raise your Grades so that you may be able to take further courses or training. For example, anyone wishing to complete training at the Vocational School in Fort Smith, or anyone wishing to enter an apprenticeship, will find it most difficult to be accepted with less than a Grade 10 standing. Some of you need to raise your Grades in order to better prepare yourselves for a future job.

It is up to you as individual adults to make sure that you get all the upgrading or other training you need while the opportunity is still available for you to do so. If you prefer to do nothing about it; if you prefer not to make a reasonable effort for your own benefit; if it is too much trouble for you to try to improve yourself, then there will only be yourself to blame in future years if and when adult education is not available for you.

Think about it very carefully.

This educator's strong language was rare in this era. However, this letter did reflect widespread assumptions that: academic deficiencies inhered in some individuals; such individuals were personally responsible for overcoming those deficiencies; adult education

facilitated the removal of those deficiencies; and such a removal would enable individuals to have better lives. In short, individuals needed adult education in order to access opportunities for training and employment that would lead to personal happiness.

A similar message, phrased in more representative language, was delivered in 1987 by a Community D adult educator. This educator posted the following advertisement to publicize an A.B.E. program:

What is Adult Education?

Adult Education is for you:

- if you are at least 17 years of age and know how to behave maturely
- if you would like to improve your reading, writing, and math skills for your personal satisfaction
- if you would like to upgrade yourself to improve your employment opportunities
- if you would like to upgrade yourself for entry into a training program.

Think about it!

This poster identified personal satisfaction, employment, and access to training programs as three needs that adult education could fulfill. The repetitive use of second person pronouns emphasized that such needs both inhered to individuals, and could be alleviated through individual effort.

The following message to students, written in 1983 by an adult educator in Community A, provides a detailed example of how deficit learner discourse was directly communicated to Inuit adults:

You, as a person, are living in an ever changing world. In the last decade you have seen changes take place in your community and in the world. You have seen or heard of man walking on the moon and in space, development of new jobs, and the introduction of such things as television, computers, and a wage economy. In order to make a contribution to this changing world and especially to your community you must learn new skills and new work practices. That is what this class is here to help you do.

As students you all have many things in common. You were not able to get the necessary education that you need now from the regular schools for a variety of reasons. Maybe your parents moved too many times or maybe you and/or your parents did not see the importance of going to school. That is not important; what is important is that you now want more education and are coming to this class to learn.

The curriculum consists of mainly four subjects which are mathematics, English, science, and life skills. The mathematics course covers things from addition of whole numbers to algebra and geometry. The course is capable of teaching students who are at different levels in mathematics. The English course involves many different aspects such as vocabulary, spelling, reading, and writing.

The science course will cover such topics as simple machines and electricity. The life skills class will consist of such things as work experience, class projects, and class discussions of many different topics.

The class will be held from Monday to Friday and the hours of class will be 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. with an hour for dinner. Attendance is very important if the class is to be a success. You are expected to be at class at 9:00 A.M. and at 1:00 P.M. If you are to get the necessary help so you can progress at a steady rate, you must attend class everyday on time. If you miss class without valid reasons a system of suspensions will be used.

With regards to classroom management I operate with very few rules, as few as YOU make necessary; my expectations of you are that you act in a mature manner and that you are courteous to both me and your classmates at all times. You will be treated as adults, because you are adults, unless you show me that you are not responsible enough to accept this type of relationship. I expect you to work to the best of your ability while you are in class. If you cannot abide by these few rules then this is not the place for you.

Evaluation of your progress will be done using T.A.B.E. tests and a series of short tests. There is no failing in this class. You are here to improve your own academic skills, not to compete with others. Other aspects of your education and personal development will be informally evaluated. Some of these are enthusiasm, dependability, responsibility, organization, participation, courtesy, and cooperation.

In conclusion, I hope that this course and this year will be an enjoyable and successful one for you. Remember your success in this program depends on you. I will do all I can to help you, but you must have the desire to learn.

If you have any questions at any time about the course, please feel free to ask me.

This message clearly stated four basic assumptions of deficit learner discourses. First, modernity was presented as an inevitable reality. Second, individuals were positioned as autonomous beings. Rational individuals, not cultural communities, were the focus of adult education. The reality and importance of individuality was emphasized by a total of forty two references to "you" or "your." Third, given the reality of modernity, each individual had inherent learning needs. Individuals needed education, skills, work habits, and general dispositions such as dependability and organization. Fourth, these inherent needs could be overcome by participation in adult education programs. Although this message was more formal than most communication by adult educators, it does illustrate how adult students were directly exposed to deficit learner regimes of truth.

Kitikmeot adult educators' writings from 1979 to 1991 reveal how discursive regimes of truth both oriented educational practices, and were directly encountered by students. Monthly reports from this era were largely written within the parameters of a deficit learner regime of truth, although references to cultural deprivation persisted through much of the 1980's. Although less explicit and theoretically coherent than official policy statements, Kitikmeot adult educators' reports provide an excellent illustration of how particular regimes of truth constrained the possibilities for social practice. The most striking characteristic of the four hundred reports written from 1979 to 1991 is their virtual silence about the political and social implications of adult educational activities. This silence speaks to the hegemonic dominance of deficit learner

discourses about the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Such silence would not have been possible in the 1950's, when modernity was not taken-for-granted, and Inuit could not have been addressed as an amalgamation of abstract individuals with objective learning needs to be identified and alleviated.

III.5 Conclusions: From Naming Needs to Framing Practices

The quotations from 1917 and 1979 cited on the title page of this chapter represent the beginning and end of official efforts to define the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity. Prior to the 1940's, formal education was not a significant part of official discourses on Inuit and modernity. Canadian Inuit were positioned as hunters and trappers, destined to remain collectively insulated, by the facts of geography, from the modern world. In the 1950's and 1960's, this regime of truth changed rapidly. Inuit were positioned as being involved in an inevitable transition to modernity; adult education was seen as a legitimate form of intervention to alleviate the putative cultural deprivations which apparently inhibited this transition. During these decades, adult education and Inuit social change were understood as being collective and problematic. In the 1970's and 1980's, the collective and problematic process of Inuit modernization was redefined as an individual and natural process of personal growth. References to Inuit modernization were replaced with references to the personal and vocational development of individuals. Adult education became an obvious means through which to meet the needs of deficit learners,

and the Northwest Territories became an obviously modern place.

The evolution of official discourses on Inuit, adult education, and modernity was not an uncontested discovery of truth. In the 1920's and 1930's, liberal critics argued that governments should do more than protect Inuit against the advance of civilization. In the 1950's and 1960's, missionaries argued vehemently against notions of facilitating modernity, and cultural deprivation. In the 1970's, missionaries and disenchanted bureaucrats criticized the assumption that adult education could provide individual Inuit with the skills needed to obtain wage employment and adapt to the modern world. Oppositional discourses have been relatively silent since the early 1980's; previously vigorous debates over the objectives of adult education programs have been replaced with hegemonic assumptions that adult educators' objectives are simply to identify and meet the learning needs of individuals.

The elaboration of symbolic regimes of truth concerning Inuit, adult education, and modernity helped construct particular forms of educational practices in the Kitikmeot. Official discourses both oriented and reflected the development of administrative structures, local programs, and educational practices. Certain educational practices were made more likely, and others were marginalized. In the 1960's, the cultural deprivation regime of truth helped organize a set of explicitly assimilationist courses for groups of adult Inuit. In the 1980's, the deficit learner regime of truth helped organize a highly individualized set of educational practices. As I document in Chapter Five, adult educators did not merely identify

individual subjects and needs that objectively existed. Rather, they combined arbitrary assumptions about the inevitability of particular social changes, and the inherent structure of human personality, to help create such subjects and needs. Adult education discourses problematized certain human traits by naming them as needs, measuring them, devising practices to remove them, and describing examples of them. These traits, including such things as illiteracy and lack of time-discipline, are not inherently problematic. They only become "needs" within particular forms of social relations.

The inculcation of particular forms of individuality, and particular constellations of needs, cannot be accomplished simply through the broadcast of official discourses. Most Kitikmeot Inuit would have had little direct contact with the official statements analyzed in Chapter Three; it would be absurd to argue that these symbolic regimes of truth directly individuated anyone. However, the evolution of a deficit learner regime of truth helped to structure and legitimate a range of educational practices in which Kitikmeot Inuit regularly and materially experienced themselves as inadequate individuals. Chapter Four documents how educational practices were organized and delivered, while Chapter Five analyzes how such practices actively individuated participating students, and objectified their learning needs.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAKING ADULT EDUCATION (II): ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AND LOCAL PROGRAMS

In general it would be unrealistic to anticipate that Indian and/or Eskimo adults are favorably disposed to Adult Education. It is suggested that the instructor take time to personally contact and persuade each participant. In many cases interest must be created and encouragement offered. If success is achieved, the class will be organized and a number will show up for it. Then it becomes a matter of maintaining interest and participation. The nature of the instruction and the adaptation of it to the needs of the group will be a vital factor.

Adult Education Section, D.N.A.N.R., 1964
Adult Education Manual

Plotting a Customized Route for Each Learner: Either before registration or soon after, you should have an individual counselling session with each new student to assess what that student brings to the program, discuss his or her goals and expectations, and help the student map out a route to achieve these goals. For this session, you may, in fact, need to assume many roles, such as instructor, career counsellor, and advisor.

Arctic College, 1992
Instructor's Handbook

IV.1 Introduction

Contemporary adult educational practices in the Kitikmeot individuate participating students, and objectify those students' putative learning needs. Processes of individuation and objectification do not operate through the symbolic broadcast of official discourses; such processes operate through the repetitive material experience of social relations in which people have their individuality specified, and certain of their social capacities expressed as personal needs. The elaboration of official regimes of truth about deficit learners did not directly constitute adult education as an individuating project of governance in the Kitikmeot. Rather, adult education was constructed as a significant field of social experience through the organization of administrative structures, and the delivery of local programs.

The material construction of adult education as an individuating field of intervention in the Kitikmeot can be periodized into three historical eras. Prior to 1950, no state agents in the region were directly involved in schooling. Between 1950 and 1960, a federal school system emerged, and some measures were taken to include adult Inuit in educational programs. Until 1960 however, no specific administrative structures existed to control formal adult education. Second, from 1960 to 1978, specific administrative agencies for adult education were established and expanded by federal and territorial governments. Initially, local adult education programs were few in number, loosely organized, and explicitly directed toward promoting a collective Inuit transition to modernity. Such programs included

functional literacy, how to live in permanent houses, and how to live in a wage economy. Third, from 1979 to 1991, hundreds of local programs were organized by a complex combination of federal, territorial, regional, and local administrative agencies. Such programs explicitly tried to meet putative individual needs in areas such as academic upgrading, employment preparation, and life skills.

From the 1950's to the 1980's, adult education developed into a significant field of social experience for Kitikmeot Inuit. Just as there were significant shifts in official discourses during these decades, so there were important changes in the material structures of adult educational experiences. Initially, Kitikmeot adult education programs were not individualized. In the 1950's and 1960's, adult education was an evening activity in which groups of people met weekly for English lessons, square dances, films, or some other basically collective activity. Instructors were not professional adult educators, and there was little administrative monitoring or formal examining of participating adults. This relatively informal pattern of evening adult education persisted into the 1970's, but was gradually replaced by a very different form of adult schooling. By the 1980's, full-time adult educators taught formal A.B.E. programs, had extensive administrative reporting routines, and frequently examined individual participants. As I document in Chapter Five, formal A.B.E. programs were structured to individuate students and objectify learning needs. The fundamental shift from informal, collective adult educational practices, to formal, individualized practices was connected to major changes in

administrative structures and program curricula, as well as to the contemporaneous transformation of official regimes of truth and Inuit subsistence activities. In this chapter, I document the historical construction of administrative structures and local programs through which individuating educational experiences were created. This documentation answers several basic questions about the history of adult education in the Kitikmeot. What local programs were delivered? When and where were these programs delivered? How many adults participated? What were the major organizational features of the programs? Through what administrative structures did state personnel control such local programs?

IV.2 Before 1960: A Pre-History of Adult Education

Prior to the 1950's, state personnel were not directly involved in the education of adults in the Kitikmeot. In the centuries preceding Euro-Canadian contact, adult learning was widespread, but formal institutions of schooling were absent. Adults and children learned skills and knowledge from observation, instruction, and experimentation. Formal adult schooling did not begin in the early stages of Euro-Canadian contact. As Abele (1989: vii, 38) observed for the Northwest Territories in general, explorers, missionaries and traders relied upon aboriginal people in order to survive. In the early contact era, Inuit instructed Euro-Canadians in areas such as game distribution, ice conditions, geography, and Inuktitut.

In the fur trade era, the education of Inuit adults by Euro-Canadians was selective and limited (Keenleyside, 1966: 29).

Traders, missionaries, and police officers typically selected a couple of Inuit to train as clerks, catechists, housekeepers, or general assistants. Some instruction occurred in the use and maintenance of new technologies such as rifles, steel traps, and outboard engines. In this era, Canadian governments were not directly involved in adult education. Few state representatives were continuously present in the region, and as Chapter Three documented, official discourses of the 1920's and 1930's positioned Inuit as hunters and trappers. Given the presumed irrelevance of education for hunting and trapping lifestyles, Canadian governments minimized their expenses on Inuit schooling. Missionaries organized the formal education that did take place, although government grants and school inspections provided a degree of indirect state regulation.

Prior to 1949, there were no state operated schools in the Northwest Territories. Federal governments gave financial grants to Anglican and Roman Catholic missions to operate day and residential schools (RG 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 6). In the case of Inuit education, Carney (1983b: 65) asserts that government

grants to mission schools were paid on the understanding that they were to be used for the vocational preparation of Inuit children for a hunting-trapping life. When mission teachers were found providing more than rudimentary instruction in the basic subjects, their zeal was questioned....Since children were 'going to live out their lives in the country' where 'hunting and trapping was the only vocation left open to them,' they were not to be overeducated in a scholastic way.

In the 1950's, Canadian governments supported mission day schools in the Kitikmeot through: a basic schoolroom grant of \$250 per year; an instructional grant paid, at rates ascending with teacher qualifications, according to the total number of "pupil days"

attended per quarter; and an annual shipment of school supplies and food for children's snacks (RG 85, v. 498, f. 630/165-2, pt. 1). Grants were paid upon the receipt of reports which documented: the number and racial status of pupils; the total days of instruction and attendance; school hours; and subjects taught (RG 85, v. 630/191-3, pt. 1). Government grants to mission schools were for children under the age of seventeen; there is no evidence that missions ever received government funding to provide adult education programs for Kitikmeot Inuit. However, informal adult education must necessarily have been at the heart of missionary activity.

Within the Kitikmeot, mission schools for Inuit children were supported by federal funds in Coppermine (1939 - 1946); Pelly Bay (1944 - 1946, and 1951 - 1959); Thom Bay (1951 - 1953); Bathurst Inlet (1953 - 1955); Gjoa Haven (1952 - 1959); Cambridge Bay (1955 - 1956); Spence Bay (1956 - 1958); and Holman (1954 and 1959) (RG 85, 630 series). Mission schools were likely operated at other times and places, but without federal funding. None of these schools were operated for more than three hours per day, and most of them were never operated for more than a few months at a time. Rather, children were taught during those periods of the year in which their parents congregated at the settlements for trading or the observance of Christmas and Easter. A few Inuit children, particularly from the western part of the Kitikmeot, went to residential school in Aklavik during the fur trade era.

In the 1940's, official reports concerning education in the N.W.T. were highly critical of the education provided to Inuit

children by missionaries. A May 17, 1949 precis for discussion of the N.W.T. Council's Sub-Committee on Education suggested:

Without hesitation, it is fair to say that, with hardly an exception, the quality of the teaching and the content of the studies undertaken are definitely unsatisfactory. In one or two cases only does there seem to be a fair degree of competence in respect to either of these aspects.

Ordinarily, regular classes are not held, the procedure being, as explained by various missionary teachers, to talk to a child when he appears, and if the child has nothing more interesting on his mind at the moment he may be induced to work for a few minutes with his school books. This haphazard procedure produces very meager results as can be expected, the most tangible being the preparation of notebooks in which certain phrases or sentences are painstakingly copied, either in Eskimo, English or French. There is little, if anything, meaningful to the children in what they do. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that in many instances more attention is given to religious teaching than to secular education.

In a few localities an attempt is made to conduct regular classes, but again the lack of competent, qualified teachers is most evident. True, the individual missionaries may be sincere and may be devoting a considerable amount of time and energy to this work; they may each be satisfied with their results, but in the opinion of all the Government observers the missions have not and are not now supplying adequate educational facilities to the Eskimo people (RG 85, v, 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1a).

This official dissatisfaction was typical during the fur trade era, and it encouraged the federal government to assume direct responsibility for Inuit education in the 1940's and 1950's.

Transfer of control over schooling from Anglican and Catholic churches to the federal government began in the Northwest Territories during the 1940's. Federal governments administered Inuit and Dene children, while territorial governments administered Euro-Canadian children (Devitt, 1964: 63). 1955 was an important year in the transition to state organized schooling. In that year, the D.N.A.N.R. assumed responsibility for educating Indian children from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the government

committed itself to build and operate new schools and residences across the North (Canada, D.N.A.N.R., 1964b: 6). Within the Kitikmeot, federal schools were established at Coppermine (1950), Cambridge Bay (1957), Spence Bay (1958), Gjoa Haven (1962), Pelly Bay (1962), and Holman (1965) (RG 85, 630 series).

The transition from missionary to state organized schooling for children was a significant development in the construction of adult education in the Kitikmeot. In government plans for a territorial school system, adult education was typically seen as important. Moore's (1944) report on education in the Mackenzie district made specific recommendations about adult educational programs for natives and Euro-Canadians. On October 16, 1947, J.W. McKinnon (N.W.T. School Inspector) wrote to the N.W.T. Council: "Various suggestions have been advanced as to the form that adult education projects should take, and plans should be formulated for a beginning in this field" (RG 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 2a). In the late 1940's and 1950's, the architects of the federal school system for Inuit saw schooling as necessarily involving whole communities. On May 11, 1948, the N.W.T. Deputy Commissioner wrote:

All new schools planned for erection in the N.W.T. are designed to function not only as school plants but as community centres. These buildings are being so constructed that by means of folding door partitions they can be rapidly converted into small auditoriums for purposes of community interest.

The whole educational program is being drawn up with the aim in view that the adult population may share in special radio programs, film showings, sport activities, handicrafts, clubs of various types, and night school instruction. Special welfare teachers are being selected and sent to the new schools with the object that they may give leadership to the community (RG 22, v. 871, f. 40-10-4, pt. 1).

The development of a state organized school system did not

automatically lead to the organization of adult education programs. However, this development did: initiate the formulation of specific plans for adult education; lead to the hiring of trained teachers who would become responsible for instructing evening classes to adults; and create administrative agencies responsible for making policies, curricula, and educational materials specifically for Inuit.

In the 1950's, adult education was not administratively distinct from the school system, and no full-time adult educators were hired. However, teachers employed by federal day schools did engage in adult educational activities. Indeed, as their job title (Welfare Teacher) implied, these state representatives had a wide range of duties:

It is the duty of these welfare teachers to develop the school as the vital centre of the community as a whole. It is used for meetings, games, social events, health clinics, organization and activities of clubs, as well as for more conventional forms of instruction. Each school is provided with moving picture and filmstrip projectors, radio receiving set and gramophone....

These teachers organize recreational programs in addition to regular classroom teaching. They also are called upon to take a lead in organizing activities which will improve the communities to which they are assigned. They carry on a certain amount of welfare work with the aim of improving the general well-being of the natives. In addition, they are called upon to give particular attention to appropriate measures for adult education through encouraging the study of English, reading, sanitation, hygiene, handicrafts, and various worthwhile community activities (RG 85, v. 1506. f. 600-1-1, pt. 3; anonymous report, March, 1951).

In federal day schools, welfare teachers were expected to organize evening classes for adults. As such, the formal beginning of Kitikmeot adult education programs can be dated at around the same time as federal schools were established in each community.

In addition to assigning adult educational duties to welfare teachers, federal education personnel developed several specific

programs for Inuit adults in the 1950's. Major programs included: circulating a series of films and filmstrips (RG 85, v. 1337, f. 600-1-1, pt. 14); developing curricula and manuals for "Intensive Courses in English for Eskimos" (RG 85, v. 1340, f. 603-5, pt. 1); broadcasting educational programs via radio (RG 85, v. 1072, f. 254-1, pt. 2a); and publishing and distributing materials such as *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo* (Canada, D.M.R., 1949) and "Elementary English for the Eskimos" (RG 85, v. 1130, f. 254-1, pt. 1a; 1950). Some of these programs were designed to support the fur trade, and some explicitly tried to prepare Inuit for wage employment.

The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo (1949), published in English and Inuktitut, was intended to help Inuit live successfully in a hunting and trapping economy. The introduction asserted:

The first part of this book is about how to be healthy and happy. When we have good food, warm clothes, good kind friends and no sickness we are happy.

When someone is sick in the family we cannot be happy. Everyone is sad. If we learn what causes sickness then we can try to stop sickness. In this book you will read a lot about what makes us sick, how the sickness spreads from person to person and from camp to camp, and how to stop this.

You will read about why babies have sickness and are not strong. You will read about lung sickness and how to keep from it. All you read in this book is true.

The second part contains advice about how to be prosperous, how the King is helping Eskimo children, how to make your rifles and boats last a long time, how to save animals from becoming scarce, and how to plan for times of scarcity (Canada, D.M.R., 1949: 1).

Part I, prepared by the Department of Health and Welfare, included sections on: disease prevention and care; cleanliness of camps, igloos, air, water, food, dishes, and bodies; caring for babies; and "What To Do When Frozen." Part II, prepared by the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, contained sections on:

family allowances; care of boats and rifles; conservation of game; planning for periods of scarcity; and feeding babies. Basically, *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo* instructed Inuit how to use Euro-Canadian implements and knowledge to function better as hunters and trappers.

In contrast, the "Intensive Courses in English for Eskimos," developed by M.F. Gaynor (Chief, Curriculum Section, D.N.A.N.R.) in 1957 and 1958, were explicitly designed to facilitate Inuit access to wage employment (RG 85, v. 1340, f. 603-5, pt. 1). Gaynor explained the "need" for these courses in the following terms:

The next two years will likely be the critical period for integrating Eskimos into the Northern labour force. The type of jobs they are able to fill and their performance on the job will undoubtedly influence the scope and pattern of employment opportunities available to Eskimos for the next generation. Potential employers have emphasized that they are prepared to employ Eskimos if they have a "good working knowledge of English."

Given this rationale, the aims of the English courses for Inuit were

to provide the learners, in the shortest time, with a sufficient command of English to meet the basic requirements for: (1) Employment; (2) On-the-job training; (3) Vocational training "outside;" (4) Integration into new patterns of living in a community in which activities are developed around a wage economy; (5) Participation in fundamental education programs; and (6) Participation in community life - economic, social, political - on equal terms with non-Eskimos.

In addition to language instruction, the D.N.A.N.R. intensive courses were designed to introduce Inuit to: employee rights and responsibilities; relations with Euro-Canadians; wages, taxes, and U.I.C.; saving money; spending money wisely; living in a permanent community (ie. sanitation, housing maintenance, health services, recreation, schools); and home and family life. Obviously, between 1949 and 1957 the content of state organized educational programs for

Inuit adults had changed substantially. This change reflected factors such as D.E.W. Line construction, the increased availability of wage employment for Inuit, and the federal government's vision of the North as the key to Canada's economic future. While the content of the *Book of Wisdom for Eskimo* and the "Intensive Courses in English for Eskimos" contrasted sharply, their basic premisses about the role of adult education were similar. Both learning materials presumed that Inuit collectively needed assistance to adapt to changing realities in the North.

In spite of ambitious plans, adult education programs were not widely implemented in the Kitikmeot during the 1950's. Welfare teachers were only posted in Coppermine (1950), Cambridge Bay (1957), and Spence Bay (1958). The only adult educational programs reported by these teachers were evening activities offered in Coppermine in 1954, and in Coppermine and Cambridge Bay in 1958 - 1959; these activities included film showings, English classes, and square dances (RG 85, v. 1266, f. 1000/145 pt. 5; RG 85, v. 1348, f. 1000/150 pt. 2 and 3). Adult education programs were never held more than one evening per week, and were never sustained for a full academic term. In contrast to the formal programs of the 1980's, these informal programs were: not organized around individualized activities; not accompanied by regular evaluative practices; and not documented through extensive administrative reports. The absence of specific administrative structures and instructional staff for adult education constrained the emergence of adult programs in the 1950's.

By the late 1950's, many Euro-Canadians in the North were

disappointed with the slow development of adult education programs for Inuit. Several state officials requested that D.N.A.N.R. organize adult education programs. These officials included: school administrators who thought that children would be schooled more effectively if parents had basic education (RG 85, v. 1337, f. 600-1-1, pt. 10); D.E.W. Line officials who thought that education would make Inuit employees more efficient (RG 85, v. 506, f. 690-1, pt. 10); Welfare Division employees, who thought that adult education could help reduce the cost of Inuit social assistance (RG 85, v. 1274, f. 251-1-4, pt. 1); and Department of Transport officials, who thought that Inuit needed vocational training to access jobs in the fields of air transport telecommunications, and meteorology (RG 85, v. 1235, f. 251-1, pt. 4). Commenting on the need for adult education in the North, R.J. Orange (Administrator of the Mackenzie) complained that "this is one aspect of our program which has not yet made any real impact" (RG 85, v. 1434, f. 600-1-1, pt. 20; November 3, 1964). Although some educational activities for adult Inuit were organized in the 1950's, adult education was not a significant field. Further, existing adult educational practices were not individualized. Informal, evening courses were not structured to individuate students, nor to identify and alleviate putative learning needs. The construction of adult education as an important field of individuating practices and experiences was achieved through: creating administrative structures to promote, organize, and control adult educational activities; hiring full-time educators to deliver local adult programs; and developing individualized curricula.

IV.3 1960 - 1978: Development of Adult Education

In the 1960's and 1970's, formal adult education in the Kitikmeot evolved substantially. Beginning in 1960, specific administrative structures emerged to organize and control formal adult education programs. Over these two decades, the number and formality of local programs increased, and these programs explicitly endeavored to facilitate transitions to life in permanent settlements, and employment in wage labour. My account of this era looks at the establishment and evolution of state administrative structures, and at the emergence and expansion of local programs. This account reveals that, by 1979, adult education had been established as a distinct form of schooling in the Kitikmeot.

IV.3.1 Administrative Structures

The first state agency responsible for adult education in the Kitikmeot emerged in 1960, when the Education Division of the D.N.A.N.R. established an "Adult Education Section." The D.N.A.N.R. (1964b: 36-37) stated that the

purpose of this Section is to assess needs, suggest programs, and prepare materials, especially those necessary for a functional literacy program for the people who have little or no schooling. In addition, consultant or advisory services were made to other Divisions and Departments wishing to collaborate on the educational aspects of their program.

Courses in a variety of subjects are held whenever a group of adults express an interest and an instructor can be found locally. It is the aim of the Section to expand their program until every northern settlement has its own adult courses suited to the needs and interests of its people.

Through the Adult Education Section, the federal government expanded and coordinated adult education activities during the early 1960's.

From 1966 to 1970, administrative responsibilities were transferred to the N.W.T. government in Yellowknife. After 1970, the Department of Education administered adult education programs, first through the Continuing and Special Education Division, and then through the Education Programs and Evaluation Division.

In the beginning, federal control over adult education activities in the Kitikmeot was extremely limited. From 1960 to 1963, the Adult Education Section had only one staff position to administer programs for the entire Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec. The "Section Head" for adult education was joined on November 1, 1963 by a "Supervisor" of adult education for the Arctic District (N.W.T. Commissioner, 1964: 11). During the early 1960's, organizing and teaching adult education classes in the Kitikmeot was a voluntary endeavor. Often, adult education was taught in the evenings by off-duty schoolteachers, government employees, wives of such employees, or other available Euro-Canadians. Classes were held in the federal school building, or at the home of the instructor.

Given the virtual absence of staff positions, the Adult Education Section had a limited organizational role in the early 1960's. The N.W.T. Commissioner (1964: 11) reported that

many agencies, both government and voluntary, initiate and conduct adult education activities. It is the role of the Education Division and its representatives to assess the needs and to recommend programs to fill the gaps.

This restricted size and role continued after the administration of adult education shifted to the new Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in 1965.

In the mid 1960's, two developments led to the substantial

expansion of state administrative structures for adult education in the Northwest Territories. First, a "Support Program for Eskimo Rental Housing" was announced in November, 1965 (Canada, D.I.A.N.D., 1966d: 19). This educational program, designed to teach Inuit how to live in permanent dwellings, was the first major adult education initiative in the Arctic. Second, the 1966-67 D.I.A.N.D. budget allowed for an expansion of adult education staff from two to fifteen (N.W.T., Commissioner, 1966: 15). Among these fifteen positions was a Regional Supervisor for Yellowknife. This supervisor was responsible for adult education in the Kitikmeot. Staffing expansion facilitated the growth of formal adult education activities, and increased state control over those activities.

From 1966 to 1970, a series of events transferred administrative responsibility for Kitikmeot adult education from the federal government in Ottawa to the territorial government in Yellowknife (Macpherson, 1991: 271-273). In 1966, the Advisory Committee on the Development of Government in the Northwest Territories recommended that a territorial government and civil service be established in Yellowknife. In 1967, the territorial government was formed, and in 1968 a Director of Education was appointed. The N.W.T. Department of Education was established in 1968-69, and responsibility for education was transferred from Ottawa on April 1, 1969 (Mackenzie District) and April 1, 1970 (Arctic District). By 1970, Kitikmeot adult education was administered from Yellowknife instead of Ottawa, but little change had occurred in its structure and operation.

Community adult education became part of the territorial

Department of Education, within a "Continuing and Special Education Division." The N.W.T. Commissioner (1971: 78) reported that the C.A.S.E. Division

provides for all educational and training activities not contained within the formal elementary and secondary school systems. Among the areas of concern are Adult Education including Basic Literacy, Life Skills, Community Leadership and Development, Social Education and Home Management; Vocational Education including Occupational Training, Pre-Employment Training, Apprenticeship, and Training-on-the-job; the administration of the Northwest Territories Student Grant and Bursary programs; the Teacher Assistant Training Program; the Teacher Education Program; and Rehabilitation of Handicapped Persons Program.

Administratively, the C.A.S.E. Division had three program supervisors: vocational, apprentice, and community adult education. (Macpherson, 1973: 15). Apprentice and vocational training was held at the Adult Vocational Training Centre in Fort Smith. Community programs were supervised by regional superintendents of education (N.W.T., Government, 1976a: 40).

In terms of community adult education, 1974 was a significant year in the Northwest Territories. On March 23, 1974 the N.W.T. government approved twenty six permanent staff positions for "Community Adult Educators" (Lidster, 1978: preface). By 1977 there were thirty one Community Adult Educators and seven Home Management Coordinators in the Northwest Territories. Before 1974 in the Kitikmeot, full-time adult educators were employed only in Coppermine (1970 through 1974), Cambridge Bay (1970, 1972, and 1974), and Spence Bay (1973). By 1986, Pelly Bay was the only Kitikmeot community that did not have a permanent, full-time adult educator. Permanent staffing commitments solidified the status of adult education, and

facilitated a substantial expansion of local programs.

While administrative structures and staff positions expanded during the 1960's and 1970's, there was no legislative basis to ensure the provision of adult education in the Northwest Territories. The 1952 N.W.T. *School Ordinance* made no specific reference to adult education. Clause 102 was the only clause on adult schooling:

The board of any district may engage a qualified teacher and make necessary arrangements for the maintenance of a night school and a fee may be charged for each pupil to cover the cost of maintenance (RG 85, v. 1506, f. 600-1-1, pt. 6).

In 1977, the Commissioner and Council passed "An Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories" (N.W.T., Government, 1976b).

This ordinance regulated: powers and duties of the minister and superintendents; organization of school districts, divisions, councils, boards, and societies; conduct of schools; supplementary educational programs; teachers; and students. Adult education was considered within the section on supplementary educational programs.

The following items were most relevant for community adult education:

75. The Executive Member, in co-operation with the Superintendents and local education authorities, shall establish, where feasible, vocational courses to meet the needs from time to time of the residents of the Territories.

76. Any person who is seventeen years of age or over and has been resident in the Territories for at least two years is eligible to make application for admission to an adult or vocational program.

79. A local education authority may establish programs of study on any subject and may employ teachers or other instructors for such programs and determine the fees payable by persons enrolled in the programs.

While these items clearly allow for the provision of adult education, it was not until the *Arctic College Act* (N.W.T.L.A., 1986) that an administrative body attained legislative responsibility for actively providing adult education.

With the passing of the *Education Ordinance*, administrative structures for education in the Northwest Territories changed. In 1977, the Department of Education was reorganized into four divisions: recruitment, personnel, and staff training; education programs and evaluation; linguistic programs; and finance, research, and planning (N.W.T., Government, 1977a: 42). The C.A.S.E. Division was dissolved, and a "General Adult Education Program" was integrated into the Education Programs and Evaluation Division. The General Adult Education Program consisted

of a variety of courses and programs for adults, such as basic literacy, academic upgrading, life skills, leadership training, basic job readiness and a number of home management programs (N.W.T., Government, 1977a: 46).

The Education Programs and Evaluation Division was also responsible for school programs, vocational training, and higher education.

My outline of the evolving administrative structures for adult education from 1960 to 1978 indicates a slowly emerging foundation for individualized forms of adult education. Informal and collective evening courses require very little administration; such courses are inexpensive, require no permanent staffing commitments, and can be evaluated through brief reports on course content and aggregate participation data. On the other hand, formal and individualized, full-time programs are administratively intensive. Capital and maintenance costs are high, personnel must be hired, and program success must be evaluated through documenting the participation and progress of individual students. Informal evening courses were the only form of adult education in most Kitikmeot communities during the 1960's and 1970's. Neither funding nor administrative structures

existed to support individualized programs across the region. The growing size and complexity of administrative structures in the N.W.T. facilitated the shift from informal evening programs to formal, full-time, individualized A.B.E. programs. The evolution of these administrative structures reflected the overall growth of state interventions in the North that was described in Chapter Two.

IV.3.2 Local Programs

Clearly, administrative structures for adult education evolved considerably from 1960 to 1978. Local programs organized through these administrative structures also changed. In the 1960's, delivery of local adult education programs was constrained by the limited availability of instructional staff. The N.W.T. Commissioner (1962: 23) reported that "community teachers were responsible for organizing and conducting classes for adults. These, by necessity, were mostly held in the evening. The subjects taught were selected because of a special interest or need." Throughout the Northwest Territories in the 1960's, many local courses were given in domains such as arithmetic, basic English, homemaking (eg. food preparation, nutrition, sewing, knitting, and housekeeping), industrial arts (eg. carpentry, welding, woodworking, and small engine repairs), and basic office skills (eg. typing, filing, shorthand, and bookkeeping). Delivery of adult courses was apparently extensive during this period. For the 1962-63 fiscal year, 53 out of 61 federal schools in the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec reported some form of adult education activity (McKay, 1964: 58; N.W.T., Commissioner,

1964: 11). School principals in that year reported 29 formal programs and 38 informal programs such as film nights, current affairs meetings, and open-houses at school libraries. For the Northwest Territories as a whole, approximately 1000 adults took formal classes, while 2,500 viewed educational films.

In addition to miscellaneous local activities, several formal programs were developed in the 1960's for standardized use across the North. Functional literacy and housing education were the two main formal programs. The functional literacy program was based upon four courses in English as a second language: The Northwest Territories of Canada; The Family and Money; Co-operatives in the Northwest Territories; and Children of the Northwest Territories at Home and at School (Canada, D.N.A.N.R., 1964a, 1964b, 1965; D.I.A.N.D., 1966d, 1967; Simpson et. al., 1968).

Two major documents were developed to support functional literacy programs. First, the D.N.A.N.R. (1964c) published *Qaujivaallirutissat (Q-Book)* in Inuktitut and English. *Q-Book* was basically a revised version of the 1949 *Book of Wisdom for Eskimo*. Instead of helping Inuit live successfully in hunting and trapping camps, *Q-Book* tried to help Inuit adjust to life in permanent settlements. The editor's introduction suggested that *Q-Book*

has been written to share with Eskimos, ideas, knowledge and experiences from other parts of the world which other people have learned and found helpful. Perhaps Eskimos too will find this information helpful when they are faced with the many new things which are happening in the north (Canada, D.N.A.N.R., 1964c: 8).

Q-Book had nine sections: Country Development; Community Life; Education; Health; Welfare; Safety First; Care and Safety of

Equipment; Resources; and Business and Industry. *Q-Book* attempted to provide information that would help Inuit live more successfully in their new environment.

Second, the Adult Education Section of D.N.A.N.R. (1964a) produced an *Adult Education Manual* to assist the teaching of functional literacy courses. This manual contained suggestions for organizing adult education programs, as well as project kits and workbooks for two courses. Each kit contained maps, filmstrips, pictures, teaching guides, and workbooks that used pictures and simple English to develop certain lessons. "The Northwest Territories of Canada" was an elementary course in civics and social studies. Its four stated principles were:

1. That it is important that man is identified with the community, the Northwest Territories, Canada and the world.
2. That people should share in the development of the community, the Northwest Territories, Canada and the world.
3. That when people live together in a community, in the Northwest Territories, in Canada and the world there must be rules or laws.
4. That government, at various levels, provides a means by which people share in the development of the community, the Northwest Territories, Canada and the world.

These principles were developed through ten lessons on topics such as Northwest Territories' people, administrative boundaries, and political institutions. "The Family and Money" was a basic home economics course on how to organize family resources for food, clothing, and shelter. Its six stated principles were:

1. Every family has certain basic needs which, on its own, it is responsible for providing.
2. Some of these basic material needs can only be provided by money.
3. Some of these basic material needs can be provided by the family's own effort with little or no expenditure of money.
4. A family must plan together the effort and the money required

to provide essential needs.

5. In the changing north, money is becoming more and more an important factor in the daily lives of the people.
6. In the changing north, learning may lead to earning.

These principles were developed through twelve lessons: The Family; New Things; Money for New Things; Planning Together; How Much Money?; Land Food; Store Food; Land Clothes; Store Clothes; Houses; Money for Houses; and Earning Money. Both *Q-Book* and the functional literacy courses supported a transition to sedentary living based upon a mixed economy, in which wage employment, trapping, hunting, and fishing all had important roles in providing for people's needs.

The housing education program began in 1966. This program's three phases were: introduction and explanation of the Eskimo rental housing program; home management skills; and development of local housing associations (Canada, D.I.A.N.D., 1966d, 1967; N.W.T., Commissioner, 1966 through 1970). For the Northwest Territories as a whole, Inuit families participating in housing education programs numbered: 475 in 1966-67; 1,000 in 1967-68; 1,481 in 1968-69; and 1,656 in 1969-70.

From 1966 to 1968, the federal government produced a variety of learning materials for its adult education program in support of Eskimo Rental Housing (Simpson et. al., 1968: Appendix I). These materials included fifteen booklets that explained various elements of the housing program: The Rental Collection System; The Housing Association Accounts; The Housing Association Council; The Stove and Heater; Living in the New Houses; Care and Use of Household Equipment; Safety in the New Houses; Renting and Buying a House in the North; The Government and Houses for Eskimos; The Rental

Agreement; Paying Rent; Oil, Electricity, Furnishings; The Housing Authority; Before Moving; and Information for Interpreters. In order to facilitate the adjustment to life in these permanent houses, the federal government also produced worksheets and pamphlets in four supporting domains. First, since settlement diets were different than camp diets, food and nutrition materials were produced. These materials explained the Canada Food Guide, each of the main food groups, elementary cooking instructions, table setting, using safe water, and using money for food. Second, since domestic chores were different in permanent houses than in igloos or tents, home management materials were produced. Detailed instructions were provided on how to wash dishes and clothes; clean floors, kitchens, bathrooms, appliances, walls, ceilings, and closets; make beds; and plan, delegate, and schedule household chores. Third, since permanent houses had more elaborate maintenance needs than temporary structures, home improvement and repair materials were produced. Such materials included instructions for making baby cribs, bunk beds, coat racks, curtain rods, tables, bookcases, gun racks, benches, shelves, and picture frames. Fourth, since making clothes with fabric was different than with furs, instructional materials in sewing were produced. These materials included technical details, as well as instructions for making dresses, skirts, aprons, quilts, mats, drapes, and potholders. The housing education program, and its various support materials, explicitly tried to facilitate Inuit adaptation to life in permanent settlements.

Production of adult learning materials continued through the

1970's. In 1972, the Cambridge Bay adult education centre produced several booklets: "Alcohol Education," "Cookbook," "Language Course," "Safety Hazards," "Family Planning Seminar," "Home Management," and "Snowmobile Maintenance" (Lidster, 1978: 204). In the 1970's, the territorial Department of Education distributed many adult learning materials, including *Northern Homes* (1977), *Northern Dollar* (1978), *Northern Nutrition* (1978), *Food Budgeting* (1979), *Changing Lifestyles* (1979), and *Adult Basic Education Training Profile* (1979; N.W.T., Department of Education, 1979b: 42-43). These "approved learning materials" consistently and explicitly tried to help Inuit adults adjust to the modern world.

In the 1970's, the expansion of full-time adult education and home management staff facilitated an increase in the number and formality of local programs across the Northwest Territories. Community adult courses were offered in fields such as academic upgrading (eg. Adult Basic Education, Basic Training for Skill Development, Basic Job Readiness Training, and Fluency First); home management (eg. sewing, nutrition, cooking, housekeeping, crafts, home decorating, family planning, child care, and home nursing); business education (eg. secretarial skills, management and administration, and accounting); home maintenance; income taxes; industrial arts; life skills; leadership training; community development; local government; and the production of local newspapers. The number of adults participating in territorial adult programs increased throughout the early 1970's. Attendance figures for the entire Northwest Territories were 1,198 in 1970-71; 1,184 in

1971-72; 1,549 in 1972-73; 2,265 in 1973-74; and 2,602 in 1974-75 (N.W.T., Commissioner, 1971, 1972; N.W.T., Government, 1973a, 1974, 1975). These numbers include adults in community day and evening programs, territorial vocational training programs, and correspondence courses.

At the local level, community adult educators were hired to organize and deliver programs. Adult educators organized, developed, prepared, administered, and instructed or supervised programs in the following areas: adult basic education; small engine maintenance; small business management; carpentry; sewing; home management; vocational areas; and "any other courses to meet expressed and emerging needs" (Lidster, 1978: 184-184). By the late 1970's, adult educators were joined by regional home management coordinators, who supervised the local instruction of classes by home management educators. Clearly, for the Northwest Territories as a whole, adult education programs had changed dramatically from 1960 to 1978. Local programs had become more numerous, formalized, and directed toward facilitating Inuit adaptation to wage labour and life in permanent settlements.

Within the Kitikmeot, adult education programs developed rather slowly. In the early 1960's, the delivery of local programs depended upon the existence of community teachers to organize adult education activities. Table 4-1 indicates the number of schoolteachers present in the six communities in the mid-1960's. There is a strong likelihood that many of these schoolteachers engaged in evening adult education activities. Education Division annual reports and RG 630

TABLE 4-1: NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN KITIKMEOT COMMUNITIES, 1963-1968

	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1965-66</u>	<u>1966-67</u>	<u>1967-68</u>
Cam. Bay	3	3	3	3	4
Coppermine	3	3	3	6	6
Gjoa Haven	1	1	2	2	3
Holman	0	0	2	2	2
Pelly Bay	1	1	1	1	1
Spence Bay	2	2	2	3	3

(Source: N.W.T., Commissioner, 1964 through 1968)

series files document adult upgrading programs in 1963-64 (Spence Bay) and 1964-65 (Spence Bay, Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, and Pelly Bay), as well as home management and industrial arts programs in Cambridge Bay and Coppermine from 1964 to 1966. Lidster (1978: 46) asserts that, from 1964 to 1970, short courses for adults in Coppermine included snowmobile repair, claim staking, handicrafts, budgeting, and drilling and blasting. Despite a lack of specific evidence for local programs in most communities in the 1960's, it is likely that adult education did occur, as elsewhere in the Northwest Territories, under the direction of schoolteachers.

In the 1970's, Coppermine was the most active adult education centre in the Kitikmeot (Lidster, 1978: 43-55, 198). A full-time community adult educator was employed there from October 1970 through 1979. In contrast, no full-time adult educators were employed in Gjoa Haven, Holman, or Pelly Bay during the decade. Cambridge Bay and Spence Bay had community adult educators during selected years of the 1970's. Cambridge Bay had an adult educator during parts of 1970, 1972, 1974, and probably some of the later years of the decade.

Spence Bay had an adult educator from February, 1973 to June, 1974, as well as during 1978-79. The existence of full-time community adult educators in these communities demonstrated growing state commitment to the delivery of programs for adults.

Various sources from the 1970's confirm that, in addition to academic upgrading in Coppermine, Cambridge Bay, and Spence Bay, many local programs were delivered in the Kitikmeot (Lidster, 1978; N.W.T., Commissioner, 1970, 1971; N.W.T., Government, 1973a, 1976a, 1978). In 1969-70, Cambridge Bay had a housing education course, while Pelly Bay had a basic English evening course. In 1970-71, evening classes were held in Spence Bay (cooking and housing education), Holman (home nursing), Gjoa Haven (sewing), Coppermine (smoke tanning), and Pelly Bay (unspecified). In 1971-72, Coppermine had a variety of courses, including communication skills, Eskimo language, home management, story telling, money management, snowmobile maintenance, smoke tanning, square dancing, and typing. Early in 1972, Cambridge Bay had several short courses, including bannock making, English and math, Eskimo language, income tax preparation, sewing, and typing. In 1972-73, Cambridge Bay and Coppermine both held community leadership workshops for people from all six Kitikmeot settlements. Courses in Coppermine and Cambridge Bay during this year included typing, cooking, reading, Inuit games, math, income tax preparation, film nights, sewing, Eskimo language for Euro-Canadians, and first-aid. In 1973-74, Coppermine had regional home management workshops for off-loom weaving, and various sewing / handicraft techniques. Coppermine also held courses in

basic English, prospecting, first-aid, money management, small engine repairs, guide training, and nutrition. During this year, courses in Spence Bay included basic English, math, cooking, crafts, and income tax preparation. During unspecified years in the early 1970's, Spence Bay also had classes in money counting, money management, carpentry, sewing, and first-aid. In 1975-76, local courses in the region included small business management (Spence Bay); housing construction (Cambridge bay); reading, sewing, and crafts (Holman); and cooking, sewing, ceramics, women's issues, and income tax preparation (Coppermine). In 1976-77, Coppermine held courses in bread making, ceramics, sewing, typing, income tax preparation, first-aid, and guide training; while Holman had sewing, crafts, heavy equipment operation, and income tax preparation. In 1977-78, Cambridge Bay held courses in small business management and housing maintenance; Coppermine had ceramics, macrame, and "good grooming;" and Holman had sewing, typing, and crafts. Finally, in 1978-79 Coppermine held courses in ceramics, crafts, and doing income taxes.

The above courses are not a comprehensive account of state organized adult education activities for the 1970's in the Kitikmeot. They are simply a list of those courses for which I have found some official report. It is certain that other adult education activities were organized by state personnel. With the exception of Coppermine, the above list gives only a sample of adult education activities. One can assume that evening courses were common in all six communities, especially in the areas of home management and academic upgrading. My data are much more complete for the 1979-1991 era,

largely because administrative responsibility was transferred to Cambridge Bay from Yellowknife, and because most communities had full-time adult educators during the 1980's.

In general, the Kitikmeot adult education programs offered in the 1960's and 1970's were not structured to individuate students, nor to objectify learning needs. Most programs were informal evening classes in which groups met weekly to engage in basically collective activities. These activities were typically connected in some way to economic and cultural transitions to wage economies and permanent communities. This pattern of adult education was broken when full-time adult educators were placed in communities. Full-time educators had the resources, administrative support, and official mandate to organize formal A.B.E. programs. These A.B.E. programs were frequently quite individualized. However, full-time adult educators were not consistently present in most communities during the 1970's. It was in the 1980's that formal A.B.E. programs became a significant field of individuating social experience in the Kitikmeot.

Territorial adult education changed dramatically from 1960 to 1978. The N.W.T. Government (1977b: 24) publication *Decade of Progress* summarized these changes:

Prior to 1967 adult education programs received a lesser priority in the total spectrum of education programs. There were some adult courses held at the local level, and most often these included the teaching of English as a second language, the three R's, and basic home-making. Usually taught by the community teacher after school hours, or by the wife of one of the employees of government or private agencies like the Bay or the church, these courses were not integrated into any territorial-wide approach to adult education.

The formal structuring of this program has been one of the

major changes in the last ten years. Adult or continuing education is now properly funded, and there are now educators who are solely concerned with continuing education. Goals and policies have been defined to the extent that there is now a unified systematic approach to the whole area of continuing education in the Northwest Territories.

In the 1960's and 1970's, state organized adult education grew substantially. Local programs emerged and expanded. Administrative controls over such programs became more effective, and learning materials were produced specifically for use in adult education. The development of administrative structures and local programs in the 1960's and 1970's created the foundation for a significant field of intervention. The explicit purpose of this expanding field of intervention was suggested by the Department of Education's (1979b: 20-23) list of "approved programs" for continuing education: Basic Job Readiness Training (A.B.E. grades 0-5); Basic Training for Skill Development (A.B.E. grades 5-10); General Education Development (A.B.E. grades 10-12); Lifeskills for Adults; English as a Second Language for Adults; Nutrition Education; Housing Education; Consumer Education; Family Life Education; and Sewing / Textiles / Crafts. Adult programs were no longer concerned with the preservation of hunting and trapping lifestyles. Many adult programs were no longer based on informal, collective activities. By the late 1970's, adult education had been established as a means through which individuals could acquire skills and habits deemed necessary for life in permanent communities and wage economies. Administrative agencies, local programs, and curricula had been developed to structure adult educators' activities toward the individuation of students, and the objectification of learning needs.

IV.4 1979-1991: An Era of Intensive Adult Education

While state organized adult education in the Kitikmeot was established in the 1960's and 1970s, it flourished as a significant form of schooling in the 1980's. Administrative control over this form of schooling was divided between federal, territorial, regional, and community agencies. Local programs expanded greatly in most Kitikmeot settlements, with emphasis on five areas: academic studies; employment training; skilled trades; home management and life skills; and general interest. In this section, I outline the evolution of state administrative structures for adult education, and then provide a detailed history of local programs. This history provides a comprehensive account of community adult education in the Kitikmeot during the 1980's, and substantiates my claim that adult education was a significant field of social experience for Kitikmeot adults.

IV.4.1 Administrative Structures

In the late 1970's, Kitikmeot adult education was administered by the territorial Department of Education's Programs and Evaluation Branch. At this time, local programs were delivered by three adult educators (Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, and Spence Bay), and home management workers supervised by a home management consultant. These educators were responsible to an Area Superintendent of Education, who in turn was responsible to regional administrators in Fort Smith. In the early 1980's, two developments led to administrative decentralization, and the separation of adult education from the public school system. First, in 1981, the Kitikmeot became a

distinct administrative region. Cambridge Bay became the administrative headquarters of this new region, which had previously been known as the Central Arctic Area of the Fort Smith Region.

Second, in 1982, the Northwest Territories' Legislative Assembly approved the recommendations of its Special Committee on Education. This committee's interim report identified adult education as a major concern. The following statement explained the committee's assertion that the government at the time had "no serious commitment to adult and continuing education:"

The fact that adult education has no legislated policies while there are legislated policies governing the in-school program clearly makes it a low priority program. This can be seen everywhere: in budget allocation and planning, staff supervision and development, and program development and evaluation. Adult education programs receive money that is seen as left over from the in-school program. Likewise, superintendents provide supervision and leadership if they have time left over after attending to the in-school program. In recent years, adult education has been seen as a soft spot in the overall education budget. Cutbacks have seriously affected staff morale and have made planning almost impossible (N.W.T.L.A., 1981: 8).

The Special Committee on Education's final report (1982) made eleven recommendations with respect to improving adult education in the Northwest Territories. These recommendations included: establishing legislation to formalize state commitment and funding for adult education; creating a multi-campus institution (Arctic College) to be responsible for post-school programs; ensuring that Arctic College is responsible to a Board of Governors who reflect the social composition of the North, and are somewhat independent from government; having each divisional board of education employ a supervisor of continuing and adult education; and seeking funds from the government of the Northwest Territories for adult academic

upgrading and pre-vocational training. These recommendations sparked several administrative changes in the 1980's.

The first of these changes was the creation of the Advanced Education Division within the territorial Department of Education. The creation of this division in April, 1984, consolidated all territorial government adult education and training activities within one administrative body (N.W.T., Government, 1983: 50; 1984: 58-59). Within the Kitikmeot, an Assistant Superintendent of Advanced Education was appointed in September, 1985. Thus, by the end of 1985, Kitikmeot adult education was administratively distinct from other regions, and from the regular school program. Also in 1985, legislation was introduced in the territorial assembly to create a statutory base for Arctic College (N.W.T., Government, 1985: 26). This legislation was approved in the fall of 1986, and Arctic College became a corporate entity on April 1, 1987 (N.W.T., Government, 1986: 22; 1987: 26; N.W.T.L.A., 1986). Arctic College's Kitikmeot Campus was established in 1988, and community adult education became its main responsibility. At that time, full-time adult educators operated community learning centers in five settlements, and various sessional instructors taught extension courses in academic studies, secretarial arts, and life skills. These instructors and educators reported to the Arctic College Vice President in Cambridge Bay, who in turn reported to the College President and Board of Governors.

In the late 1980's, five state agencies combined to administer Kitikmeot adult education (N.W.T. Policy Directive for Continuing Education, Oct. 23, 1987). First, Arctic College was responsible for

the immediate administration and delivery of programs, through its operation of community learning centres, and its employment of various instructional staff. Second, the Department of Education (through Advanced Education) was responsible for analyzing educational and training needs, obtaining federal and other funding for programs, developing adult basic education curricula, and coordinating the educational activities of other state agencies. Third, Employment and Immigration Canada funded particular courses, and provided training allowances for some students (Fogwill, 1989: 40-41). Through funding particular activities (and not others), the federal government continued to influence the evolution of Kitikmeot adult education, even though the territorial government assumed direct responsibility in 1969. Fourth, since 1981, federal and territorial governments have together organized regional strategic planning committees for adult training. These committees were known by different names over the years, including: Mini-Technical Sub-Committee, Joint Employment/Training Sub-Committee, and Kitikmeot Employment and Training Committee. Although their specific members and mandates varied somewhat, these regional committees were composed of representatives from territorial government departments, Employment and Immigration Canada, Hamlet Councils, Community Education Councils, businesses, and regional Inuit organizations. Their role was to identify strategically important occupations, forecast regional training needs, and set priorities for program funding and delivery. Finally, at the community level, Community Education Councils: advised Arctic College and Advanced Education on

local training needs; helped organize and administer local adult education programs; and reviewed student selection for such programs. C.E.C. members were elected in each community to provide local input into a variety of educational issues.

The evolution of complex administrative structures was directly connected to the shift of Kitikmeot adult education from an informal set of evening classes, to a formal set of full-time programs. Formal, individualized A.B.E. courses presupposed the existence of administrative structures to manage funds, buildings, and personnel. These administrative structures were initially organized by Advanced Education, and then by Arctic College. By the late 1980's, there was a legislative basis for adult education programs in the N.W.T., and most Kitikmeot communities had buildings, capital equipment, supplies, and staff dedicated specifically to adult education programs. To justify such expenditures, educational administrators required adult educators to rigorously document the content of their educational programs, the level of student participation in those programs, and the progress of students involved in those programs. In practice, reporting requirements made adult educators document the attendance and putative progress, as measured by standardized tests, of individual students. Rigorous documentation and evaluation were not evident in the 1960's and 1970's, when neither full-time adult educators, nor complex administrative structures existed, and when adult education was basically an informal, collective activity. The individuating consequences of adult educators' administrative routines in the 1980's are analyzed in Chapter Five.

IV.4.2 Local Programs

The complex administrative structures that developed for Kitikmeot adult education in the 1980's supported a substantial expansion of local programs. From 1979 to 1991, 421 state organized adult education courses were delivered in the region. These courses involved approximately 4,822 student registrations. In this section, I document five major categories of courses for Kitikmeot adults in the 1980's: academic studies; employment training; skilled trades; home management and life skills; and general interest. For each category, I describe which courses were offered, when and where they occurred, how many students participated, and how the courses were delivered. While the preceding parts of this chapter are based upon information from official government publications, my data for this section come from unpublished materials. I have instructor's reports for 27% of the 421 courses documented here. Data for the remaining courses come from adult educators' monthly reports, the Arctic College Vice President's bi-monthly reports, project approval documents, and miscellaneous correspondence. I have tried to be as comprehensive as possible, but some courses may have been delivered which do not appear in my account, especially for those communities which did not have full-time adult educators in the early 1980's.

From September, 1979 to August, 1991, 421 adult courses were delivered in the Kitikmeot. Table 4-2 lists these courses in 89 titles, and shows how often each title was offered.

Table 4-2: Adult Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

A.B.E.	63	Inuktitut	30
evening A.B.E.	23	typing	21
literacy	18	nutrition	17
sewing	17	computers	15
bookkeeping	13	Basic Office Procedures	13
carpentry	10	cooking	9
income taxes	9	parenting	8
driving, level 5	8	accounting	7
Heavy Equipment	7	word processing	6
guide training	6	small engines	4
woodworking	5	knitting	4
small business	4	clerk-typist	3
ceramics	3	crafts	3
macrame	3	quilting	3
board training	3	prospecting	3
life skills	3	first aid	3
C.P.R.	3	stained glass	3
Christmas crafts	3	dress making	2
community adminis.	2	lotus 1-2-3	2
tourism	2	hairstyling	2
drywall	2	housing maintenance	2
reading to kids	2	drawing	2
calligraphy	2	local history	2
photography	2	music	2
sign language	2	P.V.T. 10-12	1
pre-apprentice	1	senior A.B.E.	1
Inuktitut math	1	A.B.E. tutor	1
reading guide	1	elder literacy	1
writing	1	sociology	1
shorthand	1	minute taking	1
better business	1	business writing	1
D-base	1	Teacher Education Prog.	1
carving	1	tape measure	1
power engineering	1	welding	1
skidoo maintenance	1	construction safety	1
Work Orientation	1	abuse prevention	1
family life	1	family budget	1
driving, level 3	1	handloading	1
resumes	1	anger management	1
suicide prevention	1	communication	1
assertiveness	1	drug awareness	1
drama	1	decoy making	1
coaching	1	radio	1
local studies	1	wildflowers	1
wall hanging	1		

Table 4-2 indicates that Kitikmeot adult education covered a broad range of topics, from literacy and carpentry to cooking and suicide prevention. Table 4-3 summarizes these diverse courses into seven basic categories, and reveals how many of the 421 courses were in each category.

Table 4-3: Categories of Adult Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

Academic Studies	113 26.9%
Employment Training	106 25.0%
Home Management	61 14.5%
Life Skills	48 11.4%
Skilled Trades	38 9.0%
Inuktitut	30 7.1%
General Interest	25 6.0%
Total:	421 100%

Adult education courses were not distributed equally between the six Kitikmeot communities. Cambridge Bay was the site of 33% of all courses, while Pelly Bay hosted only 6%. The remaining courses were divided between Gjoa Haven (20%), Coppermine (15%), Holman (14%), and Spence Bay (12%). As Table 4-4 indicates, the number of courses also varied from year to year, with relatively more courses offered toward the end of the twelve year period.

Table 4-4: Number of Courses by Academic Year in the Kitikmeot

1979-80	25
1980-81	42
1981-82	25
1982-83	37
1983-84	28
1984-85	27
1985-86	23
1986-87	39
1987-88	25
1988-89	33
1989-90	63
1990-91	54
total:	421

Out of 421 courses, 41.7% were offered in the last four years, 27.6% in the middle four years, and 30.7% in the first four years. For a detailed listing of exactly which courses were offered in each community during each academic year, refer to Appendix 4-A.

The characteristics of adult education courses varied greatly according to the type of course involved. Therefore, I will discuss these characteristics separately for each category of course. However, to give a general impression of local programs, I now review statistics which answer four questions about the 421 courses as a whole. First, how were adult courses scheduled into daily and seasonal routines? In terms of daily scheduling, courses were given in the following times: evening (51.7%); daytime (39.6%); combined day and evening (2.9%); and unknown timing (5.8%). In terms of seasonal scheduling, the following distribution occurred: fall and

winter (25.2%); fall (23.8%); winter (32.6%); summer (11.4%); and season unknown (6.9%). Thus, about half of all courses were evening courses, and four-fifths of all courses were offered between September and April.

Second, how long did the typical adult education course last? Out of 421 courses, 23.8% lasted more than four months; 35.5% lasted between five weeks and four months; 14.5% lasted between two and five weeks; 18.1% lasted less than two weeks; and 8.1% were of unknown duration. Thus, about one-third of all courses were either short courses, or long courses that were not successfully completed.

Third, who instructed adult education courses? Missing data prohibit answering this question for roughly 20% of all courses. For courses where information is available, we know that 53.1% were instructed by men, 43.7% by women, and 3.2% by a combination of men and women. Further, we know that 77% were instructed by Euro-Canadians, 20.1% by Inuit, and 2.9% by a combination of Euro-Canadians and Inuit. These numbers vary according to the particular types of courses offered. For example, women taught most home management courses, men taught most skilled trades courses, and Inuit taught most Inuktitut courses.

Fourth, how many adults participated in education courses from 1979 to 1991? This question is particularly difficult to answer, since complete attendance reports are not available for most courses. Precise attendance statistics exist for only the daytime A.B.E. classes. In many cases, the number of students reported as enrolled in a course would be greater than the number of students consistently

attending that course. Despite these uncertainties, I have used various sources of information to construct a reasonable estimate of the number of adults involved in adult education from 1979 to 1991. From the Arctic College computerized student records system, I estimate that 787 adults attended A.B.E. courses. Many people attended during more than one year, so the total number of student registrations was 1381. From various reports containing attendance figures, I estimate that 2209 people attended part-time courses, while 432 people attended full-time courses other than A.B.E. No attendance figures are available for 92 part-time and 8 full-time courses. Using an average of 8 students per course, these courses would add another 736 part-time and 64 full-time students to my estimates. Thus, total student participation for the twelve year period would be around 1877 full-time students, and 2945 part-time students. Of course, many of these 4822 students would have been involved in short courses, or else enrolled for a short period of time in a longer course. Nevertheless, a great number of people have clearly been involved in adult education. Given an 1989 population of 2,458 people over the age of 15, the average adult would have attended about two courses. For more detailed estimates of attendance figures for each community and academic year, refer to Appendix 4-B.

IV.4.2a Academic Programs

Of the courses offered from 1979 to 1991, 113 were oriented toward academic skills. To discuss these academic courses, I first describe daytime A.B.E. programs, and then all other academic courses. Daytime A.B.E. programs were the cornerstone of adult education in the Kitikmeot. A total of 63 such courses were delivered, under names such as Basic Training for Skills Development, Basic Job Readiness Training, Pre-Vocational Training, and Adult Upgrading. Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs focussed upon reading, writing, mathematics, and life skills. Other content areas, such as science, computers, and social studies were taught by certain adult educators in some years. Most courses mixed group instruction with individualized programming; standardized tests, such as the Tests of Adult Basic Education, were used to measure student progress. By the end of the 1980's, Arctic College had developed standardized curricula for English, Mathematics, and Life Skills. The main objective of daytime A.B.E. programs was to prepare adults to attain regular wage employment, or gain access to vocational training opportunities.

Table 4-5 summarizes when and where daytime A.B.E. programs were delivered. Several comments are needed to explain Table 4-5. First, in 1982-83 the adult educator for Cambridge Bay was on educational leave. Second, in the fall of 1980 the adult educators for Coppermine and Spence Bay both transferred elsewhere in the N.W.T. The funding for their positions was frozen, and it took a couple of

Table 4-5: Daytime A.B.E. Programs in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

<u>Year</u>	<u>Cambridge Bay</u>	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Holman</u>	<u>Pelly Bay</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>
1979-80	X	R	R			X
1980-81	X		X			R
1981-82	X	R	X			R
1982-83		R	X			X
1983-84	X	X	X			X
1984-85	X	X	X			X
1985-86	X	X	X		L	X
1986-87	X	X	X	X	R	X
1987-88	X	X	X	X	X	X
1988-89	X	X	X	X		X
1989-90	X	X	X	X	L	X
1990-91	X	X	X	X	L	H

(NOTE: X = full-time program, fall and winter;
 R = full-time program, for less than two semesters;
 H = half-time program, fall and winter;
 L = literacy program)

years for regular A.B.E. programs to be reinstated. In 1990-91, Spence Bay operated a half-time A.B.E. program, in conjunction with a full-time job-entry (life skills) course. Third, Gjoa Haven's A.B.E. program began in the winter of 1980, and Holman's began in 1986. In the early 1980's, evening upgrading courses were given in Holman. Fourth, Pelly Bay had only one full year A.B.E. program, but it also had several parallel programs. A full-time E.S.L. course was delivered in 1985-86, and afternoon literacy programs ran during winter 1990 and fall/winter 1990-91. In addition to these September to April programs, summer upgrading courses were held in Cambridge Bay (1982, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1989), Coppermine (1990, 1991), Holman (1990), and Spence Bay (1984, 1987).

Table 4-6 uses information from Arctic College's student records system to summarize attendance figures for daytime A.B.E. courses.

Table 4-6: Student Participation, By Number of Days in Full-Time Attendance in Kitikmeot A.B.E., 1979-1991

<u>Academic year</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
1979-80	19	9	8	3	4	43	21.6
1980-81	9	8	6	10	13	46	40.5
1981-82	24	11	22	8	13	78	32.5
1982-83	29	19	17	10	15	90	32.2
1983-84	18	26	21	21	37	115	50.2
1984-85	28	23	18	13	37	119	44.4
1985-86	22	17	26	16	43	124	48.1
1986-87	39	34	35	20	32	160	36.5
1987-88	50	30	50	19	30	179	33.9
1988-89	51	31	23	21	40	166	34.3
1989-90	44	26	29	13	22	134	28.7
1990-91	37	28	26	12	24	127	32.2
totals	370 (27%)	254 (18%)	281 (21%)	166 (12%)	310 (22%)	1381 (100%)	35.6

The number of students attending A.B.E. courses increased consistently from 1979 to 1987-88, but declined thereafter. Students often attended A.B.E. during more than one year, and the 1381 total registrations reflect the participation of 787 adults from six communities: Cambridge Bay (203), Coppermine (176), Gjoa Haven (157), Spence Bay (126), Holman (85), and Pelly Bay (40). Over these twelve years, twenty-seven per cent of A.B.E. registrants participated for less than two weeks, while twenty-two per cent of registrants participated for over twelve weeks. The statistically average A.B.E. student attended about 36 days per year, which is the equivalent of about seven weeks of full-time study. Appendix 4-C provides a breakdown of Table 4-6, and documents student A.B.E. participation for each community in each academic year. The typical A.B.E. course had between 130 and 160 class days per year; had eight or nine

students in attendance each day; enrolled between 25 and 35 students in a year; and had its students attend roughly 70% to 80% of the days for which they were enrolled. Chapter Five provides a detailed analysis of A.B.E. programs offered from 1979 to 1991.

In addition to daytime A.B.E. programs, 50 other courses with primarily academic content were delivered to adults from 1979 to 1991. Table 4-7 lists the frequency with which these courses were offered.

Table 4-7: Other Academic Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

evening A.B.E.	23
literacy	18
P V.T. 10-12	1
pre-apprentice	1
senior A.B.E.	1
Inuktitut math	1
A.B.E. tutor	1
reading guide	1
elder literacy	1
writing	1
sociology	1
total:	60

Evening upgrading was second to Inuktitut as the most common of all night classes. Literacy projects were quite varied. Some operated within A.B.E. classrooms, some taught people in their own homes, and some operated as independent classrooms. "Pre-Vocational Training 10-12" and "Pre-Apprentice Technology" were full-time, two semester courses held in Cambridge Bay during 1990-91 (P.V.T.) and 1989-90

(P.A.T.). In general, most of the courses in Table 4-7 were either evening courses (66%) or short courses (26%). Twenty out of fifty courses were offered in either 1989-90 or 1990-91, due largely to the availability in those years of special funding for literacy projects. More than 300 part-time and 50 full-time students were involved in these academic courses. For all 113 academic courses, 7% had missing data for either instructor's gender or ethnicity. The instructors for the remaining courses were: 55% male; 34% female; 4% both (team teaching); 81% Euro-Canadian; 10% Inuit; and 2% both (team teaching).

IV.4.2b Employment Training

106 adult education courses from 1979 to 1991 were dedicated primarily toward training people for specific types of employment. Of these 106 courses, 16 were daytime secretarial programs, and 90 were other employment training courses. Table 4-8 summarizes where and when daytime secretarial courses were offered.

Table 4-8: Daytime Secretarial Programs in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

	<u>Cambridge Bay</u>	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Holman</u>
1979-80	1			
1981-82	1		1	
1984-85	1			
1985-86	1			
1986-87	1	1		
1987-88	1	1		
1988-89	1	1		
1989-90	1		1	
1990-91	1	1		1
totals:	9	4	2	1

Thirteen of these sixteen courses were Basic Office Procedures certificate courses. The only exceptions were courses in typing (Gjoa Haven 1981-82, and Holman 1990-91) and a refresher clerk-typist course (Coppermine 1990-91). A total of 105 full-time and nine part-time students attended daytime secretarial courses, and 62 women graduated from the B.O.P. program.

The main objective of the B.O.P. program was to prepare trainees for secretarial employment. In this regard, such programs were quite successful. Many B.O.P. graduates now hold regular secretarial jobs with governments, hamlets, and local businesses. B.O.P. programs were full-time classes lasting about six months (usually September to March). Course content included typing, filing, business math, communications, use of computers and office machines, and general office practices such as telephone manners and message taking. Typically, students spent about three weeks on a work experience practicum. Of the 16 daytime secretarial courses, all were taught by Euro-Canadians, and 14 were taught by women.

Apart from daytime secretarial programs, a great variety of employment training courses were delivered. Table 4-9 lists these courses, and the frequency with which they were offered. These courses trained adults for employment in areas as diverse as secretarial work, business management, tourism, teaching, and hairstyling. Most (51%) employment oriented courses occurred in Cambridge Bay, while only one course (evening typing) was held in Pelly Bay. 54% of these courses were held since September, 1987, due in large part to greatly expanded offerings of short courses in

Table 4-9: Other Employment Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

typing	19
computers	15
bookkeeping	13
accounting	7
word processing	6
guide training	6
small business	4
board training	3
community administration	2
lotus 1-2-3	2
clerk-typist	2
tourism	2
hairstyling	2
shorthand	1
minute taking	1
better business	1
business writing	1
D-base	1
Teacher Education Program	1
carving	1
total:	90

computers. 58% of these courses were evening classes, and 44% lasted less than five weeks. The courses listed in Table 4-9 involved over 600 students. All but two employment training courses were taught by Euro-Canadians. If one excludes the 20% of courses where data on instructor's gender is unavailable, one finds that women taught 94% of the evening typing courses, but men taught 71% of all non-typing employment courses.

IV.4.2c Skilled Trades

Most skilled trades courses delivered from 1979 to 1991 could also be considered employment training programs. These courses mixed classroom theory sessions with practical experience, to prepare trainees to work in particular fields. While secretarial programs were dominated by female instructors and students, skilled trades courses were dominated by men. Of 38 trades courses, none were taught by women, and only 14% involved Inuit instructors. Table 4-10 lists these 38 courses, according to the time of day when they were offered. The number of trades courses offered was fairly steady over the twelve academic years, and the community distribution was: Cambridge Bay 10; Gjoa Haven 8; Holman 8; Spence Bay 6; Coppermine 4; and Pelly Bay 2.

Table 4-10: Skilled Trades Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

	<u>Time of Day</u>		
	<u>evening</u>	<u>daytime</u>	<u>unknown</u>
carpentry		8	2
heavy equipment operator		5	2
woodworking	5		
small engine repair	4		
prospecting		3	
drywall		2	
housing maintenance	1	1	
tape measurement	1		
4th class power engineer		1	
welding	1		
skidoo maintenance	1		
construction safety		1	
totals:	13	21	4

The 21 daytime courses were directly aimed at training adults for jobs. 30% of these courses were given in the summer. 43% lasted less than five weeks, and over 125 students participated. On the other hand, the 13 evening courses mixed vocational training with personal interests and skill acquisition. All of the evening classes occurred in the fall or winter, 77% lasted more than five weeks, and over 100 part-time students participated. These statistics underestimate the scale and importance of this type of training in the Kitikmeot. My study only considers courses actually delivered within the region. Many skilled trades trainees took their courses in Fort Smith or Edmonton. A significant number of apprentices worked in the Kitikmeot, and went South for the classroom portion of their training.

IV.4.2d Home Management and Life Skills

The three course categories described so far were all oriented toward preparing adult Inuit for wage employment. In contrast, home management and life skills courses involved aspects of people's personal and family lives. Such courses tried to promote a range of cultural adaptations related to life in permanent communities and wage economies. I divide my discussion of these 109 courses into a section on home management and a section on life skills.

In the early 1980's, a Home Management Program existed within the Department of Education. This program sought to "enrich home, family, and community life" by providing education in four main areas: Northern nutrition; consumer skills; family life and

parenting; and management of the home (including maintenance, sanitation, health, and decorating). A regional Home Management Consultant worked with local Home Management Educators to deliver these programs. In June, 1983, the Kitikmeot Home Management Consultant position was vacated, and never again filled. Table 4-11 lists 61 home management courses delivered between 1979 and 1991.

Table 4-11: Home Management Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

nutrition	17
sewing	17
cooking	9
knitting	4
ceramics	3
crafts	3
macrame	3
quilting	3
dress making	2
total:	61

As one might expect given the termination of the home management consultant position in 1983, most (75%) of these courses were delivered from 1979-80 to 1982-83. Distribution by community was: Cambridge Bay 18; Holman 12; Coppermine 9; Pelly Bay 8; Spence Bay 7; and Gjoa Haven 7. Over 430 part-time students participated in such courses, and all but one of the courses were held in the evenings. All but one of the instructors were female, and the ethnic distribution of instructors was 34% Inuit, 28% Euro-Canadian, and 38% unknown.

In addition to home management, 48 other adult courses in this era focussed upon different aspects of personal and family adaptation

to life in permanent communities. As Table 4-12 reveals, the areas covered by the life skills category were quite diverse.

Table 4-12: Life Skills Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

income taxes	9
parenting	8
driving level 5	8
life skills	3
first aid	3
C.P.R.	3
reading to kids	2
Work Orientation Workshops	1
abuse prevention	1
family life	1
family budget	1
driving level 3	1
handloading	1
resumes	1
anger management	1
suicide prevention	1
interpersonal communications	1
assertiveness	1
drug awareness	1
total:	48

Most (75%) of these courses were short. The only life skills courses that involved long term, full-time students were the 1990-91 Job Entry programs (Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, Spence Bay) and the 1990 Work Orientation Workshops in Cambridge Bay. These full-time programs covered employment skills and personal development topics.

Of the 48 life skills courses offered, 17 occurred in Cambridge Bay, 15 in Gjoa Haven, 6 in Coppermine, and the other 12 were split between the remaining communities. 48% of these courses occurred either in 1989-90 or 1990-91, and the rest were fairly evenly

distributed over the previous ten years. Instructor's gender and ethnicity are unknown in 38% of all life skills courses. Of the known courses, 77% had male instructors, 7% had both male and female instructors, 77% had Euro-Canadian instructors, and 10% had both Inuit and Euro-Canadian instructors. Over 464 part-time and 57 full-time students participated in these life skills courses.

IV.4.2e General Interest and Inuktitut

Fifty-five adult courses offered from 1979 to 1991 did not have obvious academic, employment, or life skills objectives. These diverse courses provided leisure time enjoyment, as well as skill development in non-vocational areas. Table 4-13 lists these courses.

Table 4-13: General Interest Courses in the Kitikmeot, 1979-1991

Inuktitut	30
stained glass	3
Christmas crafts	3
drawing	2
calligraphy	2
local history	2
photography	2
music	2
sign language	2
drama	1
decoy making	1
coaching	1
radio	1
local studies	1
wildflowers	1
wall hanging	1
total:	55

Inuktitut classes included basic Inuktitut for non-Inuktitut speakers, and advanced Inuktitut for those already speaking the language. Virtually all the courses in Table 12 were either night classes or short workshops. No full-time programs existed in these areas. At least 197 part-time students participated in Inuktitut classes, while an additional 152 took part in other interest courses. 22 out of 25 general interest courses were evenly split between Cambridge Bay, Coppermine, and Holman; while 13 of 25 Inuktitut courses happened in Gjoa Haven. In these areas, about half of instructors were male and half were female. Basically, Inuktitut classes were taught by Inuit, and other interest courses were taught by Euro-Canadians.

IV.4.2f Summary of Local Programs, 1979 - 1991

This outline of courses delivered from 1979 to 1991 reveals that the Kitikmeot had a very active adult education system. On average, 35 courses per year were delivered, in a broad range of areas. Tables 4-14 through 4-17 summarize and compare the main characteristics of the five categories of adult courses. Table 4-14 reveals that adult education changed its focus considerably from 1979 to 1991. The major trends over time were the decline of home management courses, and the growth of employment training programs. From September, 1979 to August, 1983, adult courses were distributed in the following proportions: life skills 43%; academic studies 21%; general interest 15%; employment training 10%; and skilled trades 9%. By contrast, from September, 1987 to August, 1991, the distribution

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PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
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Table 4-14: Type of Courses by Academic Year

	<u>Course Type</u>				
	<u>Academic</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Trades</u>	<u>Life Skills</u>	<u>Interest</u>
1979-80	6	4	6	5	4
1980-81	8	3	3	21	7
1981-82	6	3	4	9	3
1982-83	7	3	2	20	5
1983-84	7	6	5	7	3
1984-85	11	7	2	5	2
1985-86	10	9	1	1	2
1986-87	10	13	2	7	7
1987-88	7	11	1	2	4
1988-89	8	10	4	7	4
1989-90	17	23	6	11	6
1990-91	16	14	2	14	8
totals:	113	106	38	109	55

Table 4-15: Type of Courses by Community

	<u>Course Type</u>				
	<u>Academic</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Trades</u>	<u>Life Skills</u>	<u>Interest</u>
Cam - Bay	27	55	10	35	13
Coppermine	18	18	4	15	9
Gjoa Haven	23	17	8	22	14
Holman	16	10	8	16	9
Pelly Bay	7	1	2	11	3
Spence Bay	22	5	6	10	7
totals:	113	106	38	109	55

of courses was: employment training 33%; academic studies 27%; life skills 19%; general interest 13%; and skilled trades 7%. In addition to this changing focus, there was an overall increase in levels of

student participation. Of the 4822 estimated student registrations during these twelve years, 26.6% were in the first four years, 30.4% in the middle, and 43.0% in the final four years (see Appendix 4-B for detailed calculations of student participation). Table 4-15 illustrates that the different types of courses were distributed unevenly between the Kitikmeot's six communities. Cambridge Bay was the most active site of adult education, especially in the areas of employment training and life skills. Courses in skilled trades and general interest were distributed more evenly.

Table 4-16 outlines how different types of courses were delivered at different times and for different durations.

Table 4-16: Type of Courses by Delivery Characteristics

	<u>Course Type</u>				
	<u>Academic</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Trades</u>	<u>Life Skills</u>	<u>Interest</u>
Short-night	9	6	3	22	11
Short-day	12	32	9	14	7
Long-night	22	44	10	37	31
Long-day	65	17	12	8	2
unknown	5	7	4	28	4
totals:	113	106	38	109	55

(note: short courses are those lasting less than five weeks)

Courses in life skills and general interest were typically offered at night, while academic courses were concentrated in the daytime. Employment and trades courses were mixed between days and evenings. Differences in course timing were reflected in the numbers of full and part-time students attending each type of course. Academic studies was the only course category having more full-time than

part-time students. 77% of the 1877 full-time students were enrolled in academic courses. In contrast, the distribution of the 2945 part-time students was: life skills 39%; employment training 23%; general interest 17%; academic studies 13%; and skilled trades 7%.

Table 4-17 reveals that different types of courses were instructed by people with systematically different gender and ethnicity. In all, Euro-Canadian males taught the most courses (36%), followed by Euro-Canadian females (24%), people of unknown gender or ethnicity (22%), Inuit females (8%), Inuit males (7%), and teams of teachers of varying ethnicity and gender (3%). Euro-Canadian males almost monopolized the teaching of skilled trades courses, while Euro-Canadians of both sexes dominated academic and

Table 4-17: Type of Courses by Instructor Characteristics

	<u>Course Type</u>				
	<u>Academic</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Trades</u>	<u>Life Skills</u>	<u>Interest</u>
Inuk - Male	8	1	2	5	12
E.C.- Male	54	42	30	17	7
Inuk - Female	3	0	0	20	12
E.C.- Female	34	42	0	20	7
combined	5	1	3	4	1
unknown	9	20	3	43	16
totals:	113	106	38	109	55

employment programs. For employment training, females taught most secretarial courses, while males taught areas such as accounting, computers, and guide training. People of varying ethnicity and gender taught life skills and general interest courses. However, women taught home management courses, and Inuit taught Inuktitut.

Clearly, adult education was a significant field of social experience in the 1980's. My documentation of local programs from 1979 to 1991 indicates three essential transitions from earlier forms of adult education. First, there was a clear shift from informal evening classes, to formal full-time programs. Evening classes did not disappear; however, full-time A.B.E. programs became dominant in terms of funding, student participation, and adult educator involvement. Second, there was a shift from general cultural modernization, to employment preparation, as the explicit focus of most courses. The content of academic, trades, life skills, and employment courses presupposed a particular constellation of needs among Kitikmeot Inuit: literacy and numeracy; habits and dispositions of the good worker; and practical skills for work in the gender-specific jobs of secretary and tradesperson. Third, the formalization of adult educational practices around these putative needs was connected with a shift toward highly individualized forms of adult education. Not all programs were individualized; informal evening classes continued to focus on collective activities. However, full-time programs in A.B.E., Basic Office Procedures, life skills, and trades were often quite individualized. Of all these programs, A.B.E. courses involved by far the most participants, and had the most clearly individualized structure. In Chapter Five, I analyze how adult educators' practices individuated A.B.E. participants, and objectified putative learning needs.

IV.5 Conclusions: From Structures and Programs, to Educational Practices

The quotations from 1964 and 1992 cited on the title page of this chapter highlight two very different forms of adult educational practice. One quotation assumes that adult education is a collective and somewhat problematic process, while the other assumes that adult education is an individual and natural process. As these quotations imply, adult education in the Kitikmeot expanded and evolved substantially over the past 30 years. Until the 1950's, state representatives were not directly involved in formal education. In the 1950's and 1960's, adult education was a loosely organized activity based upon group involvement with informal evening activities. Functional literacy and housing education were the first formal programs to be developed. In the 1970's, administrative structures became more complex, professional adult educators were hired, and local programs expanded. While adult education was constructed as a distinct form of schooling in the 1960's and 1970's, it existed as an individuating field of intervention in the 1980's. Formal college structures emerged, and local programs multiplied in academic studies, employment preparation, and life skills. Both the creation of complex administrative structures, and the evolution of formal local programs, supported the emergence of individualized adult education.

While I have devoted one chapter to each, there are actually integral connections between: the development of adult educational administrative structures and local programs; the historical

evolution of official discourses concerning the relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity; and the political-economic changes experienced in the Kitikmeot. While I have treated these issues as analytically distinct, empirically they emerged together. Prior to the 1950's, Euro-Canadian involvement in the Kitikmeot was structured mainly by mercantile relations of the fur trade. As direct producers in exchange relations based upon white fox trading, Kitikmeot Inuit were expected to subsist as hunters and trappers. Therefore, official discourses did not recognize a significant role for adult education in Inuit life, and Canadian governments were not directly involved with formal school programs in the North. Educational activities which did occur were organized by missionaries, and were typically supportive of hunting and trapping lifestyles.

For a variety of reasons, including the collapse of the fur trade and the officially perceived increase in the strategic, political, and economic importance of asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, relations between Kitikmeot Inuit and Euro-Canadians changed radically in the 1950's and 1960's. In general terms, the fur trade era was replaced by an era of intensive administration and state building. No longer conceptualized as insulated from modernity, Inuit were expected to make profound cultural adaptations in response to emerging realities of permanent settlements, wage economies, and state activities. In this political-economic and symbolic context, adult education programs were constructed to explicitly facilitate Inuit modernization, and to consolidate state

formation in the North. Adult educators endeavored to collectively assimilate Inuit.

By the late 1970's, the inevitability of permanent communities, wage economies, and state administration had become obvious in the Kitikmeot. Given the naturalization of modernity, and the international decline in legitimacy of cultural deprivation regimes of truth, official discourses on Inuit adult education replaced references to collective cultural changes with references to individual and natural processes of personal development. In this political-economic and symbolic context, adult education programs were delivered to meet the needs of individual citizens, especially as those needs related to employment and economic development. Adult educators endeavored to help individual Inuit successfully integrate themselves into the wage economy. Chapter Five analyzes the individualized structure of adult education in the Kitikmeot during the 1980's.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDIVIDUATING SUBJECTS AND OBJECTIFYING NEEDS: ADULT EDUCATORS' PRACTICES, 1979 TO 1991

There is good reason for saying that the human brain is situated within the skull and the heart within the rib cage. In these cases we can say clearly what is the container and what is contained, what is located within the walls and what outside, and of what the dividing walls consist. But if the same figures of speech are applied to personality structures, they become inappropriate.

Norbert Elias, 1978
The Civilizing Process

The productivity of this schooling, in the context of that state education, when we learn to see it, is entirely to produce -- that is, construct -- truths about persons. It is in this nexus of fluid, flexible but coherent formations, that we can trace an archeology of subjectivities -- gendered, sexualized, classed, raced, and ethnicized, and aged. That is: located, graded, documented, and accounted for.

Philip Corrigan, 1988
Preface to *Building the Educational State*

V.1 Introduction

In Chapters Two through Four, I analyzed how contemporary forms of adult education became possible in the Kitikmeot, and how such forms were historically constructed. A complex series of political-economic, symbolic, and administrative changes created the A.B.E. programs which constituted an important field of social experience from 1979 to 1991. This field of social experience was structured to individuate subjects and objectify putative learning needs. Both the practices of adult educators, and the students' material experiences of such practices, varied immensely. Despite such variation, certain experiences were similar for most A.B.E. participants. Specifically, it is clear that virtually all A.B.E. students were monitored through particular administrative practices, examined through particular evaluative practices, and taught through particular pedagogical practices. Administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices structured adult education as a field of social experience that directly individuated students and objectified learning needs.

Chapter Five documents adult educators' practices, and reveals that they both presumed and fostered an individualized and pathological conception of A.B.E. students. Such a conception paralleled contemporary models of medical intervention, in which doctors: diagnose individuals' health problems in terms of physiological pathologies; prescribe individualized treatments to cure pathologies; examine and monitor the alleviation of individuals' health problems; and once treatment has been completed, periodically verify the ongoing absence of physiological pathologies. In the

1980's, Kitikmeot educators' practices were analogous to this model, actively individuated students, and objectified learning needs.

V.2 A.B.E. as a Field of Social Experience

Before documenting adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices during the 1980's, I outline the general characteristics of Kitikmeot A.B.E. as a field of social experience: explicit curricular content; grading systems; regulations governing student conduct; organizational features which oriented A.B.E. programs toward individual students rather than classroom groups; and methods used to compel student participation. This discussion gives a general impression of A.B.E. as a field of social experience, and provides a point of departure from which to understand the individuating practices which are analyzed in the remainder of Chapter Five.

In 1961, a set of guidelines for academic studies instructors was sent from the N.W.T. Department of Education to the Kitikmeot Superintendent of Education. The guidelines defined the basic parameters of Kitikmeot A.B.E. courses in the 1980's:

1. The instructor is under contract to Vocational Education, Fort Smith and his/her priority must be to the academic upgrading of students in reading, writing, and mathematics.
2. Hours of work for instructor: 8:30 to 12:00 and 1:00 to 5:00 Monday to Friday. Class hours: 9:00 to 12:00 and 1:00 to 4:00. Instructor is allowed 1 1/2 hours of preparation time per day.
3. Students are expected to attend regularly and to be prompt for class. Excused absences are allowed up to 1 1/4 days per month which is accumulative. All other absences are unexcused. Excused absences: illness of student or small child if there is no one else to care for the child; court appearance; death in the immediate family; or job interview. If unexcused absences become

excessive the student will be terminated from the course.

4. Students are expected to show consideration for others and to take responsibility for their own learning. The instructor, in consultation with Vocational Education may decline to have a student attend if the behavior is inappropriate to a learning situation. All students are expected to make regular progress.

5. All prospective students must have a T.A.B.E. test prior to acceptance if at all possible.

6. The maximum number of students should not exceed 15. Ten to twelve is preferable.

7. Intake in the course is continuous providing space is available.

8. Vocational Education will attempt to provide a reasonable amount of supplies to supplement what is available in the adult centre.

9. Building cleaning and maintenance and the provision of a telephone should be the responsibility of the region.

To outline the characteristics of Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in the 1980's, I compare these 1981 guidelines with the monthly reports of adult educators throughout the decade, and with the Arctic College (1992c) *Instructor's Handbook*.

The first of these 1981 guidelines identified reading, writing, and mathematics as the main priorities of A.B.E. instructors. A review of adult educators' monthly reports confirms that these subjects were indeed the main content areas in all A.B.E. programs. From 1979 to 1991, twenty one full-time adult educators were employed in the region (5 in Cambridge Bay, 4 in Coppermine, 5 in Gjoa Haven, 2 in Holman, 1 in Pelly Bay, and 4 in Spence Bay). All twenty one educators reported that they instructed English and mathematics to their students. Different adult educators reported varying degrees of detail with respect to the content of their instructional

activities. English lessons included: reading comprehension drills; exercises in spelling, grammar, and vocabulary; writing projects such as stories, letters, journals, and essays in response to themes, movies or pictures; group readings of plays or stories; and individual reading. Math lessons typically focused on basic computational skills in progression from whole numbers to fractions, decimals, and percentages. Other mathematics topics included word problems, measurement, geometry, ratios, algebra, and graphs.

In addition to English and mathematics, several other topics often formed part of Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs. "Life skills" instruction was reported by seventeen of twenty one adult educators. Life skills instruction covered diverse areas, but typically included topics of personal development (eg. goal setting, assertiveness, decision making), social adjustment (eg. communication skills, family life, sexually transmitted diseases), and employment preparation (eg. work habits, resume writing, career planning). In addition to explicit lessons, life skills were taught by means of: enforcing regular student attendance, punctuality, and work habits; electing student councils, raising money, and planning social events; integrating work experience sessions into A.B.E. courses; and inviting outside visitors, such as social workers, nurses, or police officers, to speak to the class. Adult educators reported several other academic areas in their A.B.E. programs. Thirteen reported social studies or current events, ten reported science, seven reported physical education, and four reported computers.

Once Arctic College assumed responsibility for administering

community A.B.E. programs in the Kitikmeot, such programs were gradually standardized under a common curriculum. In 1992, this standardized curriculum became compulsory across the Northwest Territories. The Arctic College A.B.E. curriculum reinforced the priority already given to English, math, and life skills. The Arctic College (1992c: 8) *Instructor's Handbook* stated that "full-time programs must include courses in English, Math, and Personal Life Management. An optional course such as Social Studies may be included in the program design." In addition to these four courses, adult educators could deliver optional courses if such courses were offered for credit in other Arctic College programs, or if detailed course outlines were submitted and approved prior to course delivery. Suggested options included keyboarding, computers, and aboriginal languages.

English and mathematics were the main subjects taught in Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs during the 1980's. Student ability and progress in these subjects were evaluated using a variety of methods and grading systems. However, the most important of these methods was the battery of standardized examinations known as "Tests of Adult Basic Education" (T.A.B.E.). Guideline five from the 1981 memo stated that "all prospective students must have a T.A.B.E. test prior to acceptance if at all possible." This standardized examination provided a numeric "grade level equivalent" which was used to quantify student progress through their A.B.E. career. The use of T.A.B.E. was virtually ubiquitous in Kitikmeot A.B.E. during the 1980's. In every community, for virtually every year since 1979,

adult educators' monthly reports referred to student T.A.B.E. scores. Table 5-1 documents T.A.B.E. use by Kitikmeot adult students. Over 90% of A.B.E. participants from 1979 to 1991 wrote at least one

Table 5-1: Kitikmeot Adult Students And T.A.B.E., 1979-1991

Community	# Students <u>Enrolled</u>	# Students Without <u>Recorded T.A.B.E.</u>	% Students With <u>Recorded T.A.B.E.</u>
Cambridge Bay	203	27	86.7%
Coppermine	176	5	97.2%
Gjoa Haven	157	23	85.4%
Holman	85	3	96.5%
Pelly Bay	40	2	95.0%
Spence Bay	126	6	95.2%
Kitikmeot Totals	787	66	91.6%

(Source: Arctic College Computerized Student Records System)

T.A.B.E. This percentage would be higher, except that in the last couple of years, some adult educators did not regularly administer the T.A.B.E. In the late 1980's, Arctic College developed its own standardized system of student evaluation, and in 1992 T.A.B.E. examinations were officially excluded from the A.B.E. curriculum.

While T.A.B.E. scores compared adult students with standardized grade equivalents of public school children, the Arctic College system of evaluation was explicitly developed for adults in the North. Arctic College developed a series of numbered levels through which A.B.E. participants could progress. In English and mathematics, these levels were 110, 120, 130, 140, 150, and 160. Personal life management was not broken into levels, and social studies was divided into 120, 130, 140, and 150. Courses at the 110

and 120 levels were in basic literacy and numeracy, while the 160 level corresponded to the Alberta grade 12 (university preparation) curriculum. Upon entry to an A.B.E. program, students wrote a series of placement tests to determine the level of studies at which they should enrol. Student progress was measured by a series of formal evaluations, culminating in Arctic College "final exams" which marked student graduation from a particular level.

While course content and formal evaluations constituted much of the explicit substance of A.B.E. programs, regulations governing student behavior helped structure the daily experience of A.B.E. The second, third, and fourth guidelines from the 1981 memo specified several general rules of student participation. Students were expected to attend regularly and punctually between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m., with the noon hour off for lunch. Further, students were expected to work diligently, and make regular academic progress. These general expectations were maintained consistently throughout the 1980's, and they were restated in Arctic College's A.B.E. curriculum. Expectations of student behavior were enforced through a wide variety of techniques.

From adult educators' monthly reports, it is evident that policies to manage student behavior varied somewhat. An adult educator from Community C displayed very strict expectations of student behavior. This educator presented the following "Suggested Policies, Expectations, and Consequences for Students in Adult Education" to the Community Education Council:

Attendance

- Time on the land is considered time at school, and is excusable.
 - note or call from parents is required.
- Time for domestic duties, if those duties could not be carried out at any other time, is excusable.
 - note or call from parents is required.
- Sickness is excusable.
 - if sick for more than 2 days, or if frequently sick, note from nursing station is required.
- Sleeping, visiting, TV, not feeling like school, shopping, etc. are not excusable reasons for absence.
 - three non-excusable absences in a month brings referral to the society committee for judgement. Student is required to show proof that school work has been caught up on his/her own; otherwise, referral to committee.

Punctuality

- Being late is not excusable unless for reasons allowable under Attendance.
 - School doors are locked at 9 and 1 o'clock. Students coming late will not be admitted and are marked absent for the half day.

In-Class Behavior

- Students will do all work asked of them at the time allotted. Unfinished work is homework, and must be shown to the teacher the following day.
 - no homework three times per term brings referral to committee.
- If students do not understand the work they are to do, they are expected to ask immediately for an explanation and assistance.
- Unnecessary noise in class time is not acceptable. Students will be asked to leave until the next break - no second chances.
 - unfinished work is the responsibility of the student to get on his/her own from other students, and must be shown to the teacher the next day.
- Smoking and coffee are permitted only during breaks or tutorial periods.

Care of Centre and Supplies

- Students will pay for willful or careless damage to materials, equipment, or the centre. This includes waste.

The strictness of these policies was exceptional in the Kitikmeot during the 1980's, as was the expectation of parental supervision of adult students. However, most adult educators shared the general expectation that students should attend regularly, be punctual, and work hard. Some educators had few explicit guidelines for dealing with truancy, lateness, or poor work habits. Such educators used informal comments and counselling to encourage regular student participation and diligence. Usually, attendance policies specified that students would be suspended or expelled after a specific number of unexcused absences per month. Often, disruptive behavior, chronic lateness, and lack of work effort were also punished with expulsion from the course, or some other localized set of penalties.

Guidelines six and seven from the 1981 memo limited A.B.E. programs to a maximum of fifteen students, and specified that programs should have continuous intake policies. These two guidelines helped structure Kitikmeot A.B.E. as an individualized form of schooling. Guideline six made individualized instruction possible by limiting class sizes, while guideline seven made individualized instruction necessary by recommending the continuous intake of students. Group projects and collective pedagogical techniques were difficult to sustain with revolving door admittance policies. Small class sizes and continuous intake of students occurred throughout the 1980's. Monthly reports clearly indicate that students joined and withdrew from A.B.E. programs in all months of their operation. The Arctic College (1992c) *Instructor's Handbook* defined optimal A.B.E. class size as 10-14 students, and left the

possibility of a "cut-off point for program admission" to the discretion of local educators.

In reality, Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in the 1980's were not generally attended by more than ten students per day, and continuous intake was necessary in order to offset high rates of student attrition during the year. Adult educators frequently had to scramble to maintain adequate numbers of students. Despite the formally voluntary nature of adult education, several major initiatives were undertaken to compel students to register for, and attend, A.B.E. programs. In many programs, attendance, punctuality, and diligence were compelled through financial rewards and penalties. A system of "Training Allowances" from Employment and Immigration Canada was the main financial reward for participating in Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs. Each year, communities offering an academic upgrading program were typically allocated a certain number of "sponsored seats." This meant that some students (usually from four to eight per community) were paid to attend A.B.E. classes. In 1987-88, training allowances had the following values: \$53.00 per week for a single person living with a parent or a working spouse; \$105.00 per week for a single person maintaining their own residence; from \$126.00 to \$168.00 per week for a married student, depending upon the number of dependents that student supported. In addition, day care allowances were paid in the amount of \$80.00 per week for each of the first three dependent children. Allowances were adjusted to reflect the actual number of days per week that a student attended upgrading. Students were paid only for the days they attended, and

training allowances were terminated due to excessive or unexcused absences. In communities with extremely limited opportunities to earn cash, training allowances were an important means of attracting and keeping A.B.E. students.

Less formally, class trips to southern Canada were also used to reward students for consistent participation in Kitikmeot A.B.E. courses. Class trips were commonly organized by adult educators and student councils. From 1980 to 1991, at least sixteen class trips were reported: from Cambridge Bay to Yellowknife and Fort Smith (1980, 1982), to Alberta (1981, 1986), and to Nova Scotia (1984, 1985, 1988); from Coppermine to Sept Iles (1991); from Gjoa Haven to Yellowknife and Fort Smith (1980), Toronto (1981), Simcoe (1983), Montreal (1986, 1991), and Mexico (1988); from Holman to Yellowknife (1990), and from Spence Bay to Yellowknife and Fort Smith (1980). Several other trips were planned, but cancelled due to financial difficulties. Participation in class trips was typically tied to consistent A.B.E. attendance and good work habits. This form of reward had the supplementary benefit of providing informal "life skills" experience, both in the organization and funding of the trip, and in the travel itself.

Financial penalties were also used to compel student participation in A.B.E. courses. Various local arrangements were made in which A.B.E. attendance became a condition for the receipt of social assistance payments. These arrangements varied between communities and over time. In Community F (1990), "unemployed employables" were told that their benefits would be terminated if

they did not either find a job, or continue their education. In Community C (1991), social assistance recipients had a percentage of each cheque deducted for every unexcused absence from the A.B.E. program. Also in Community C (1981), regular meetings were scheduled between the social worker and the adult educator, in order to discuss the "progress" of individual students. In Community A (1989), bi-weekly reports were made to the local social worker, documenting the attendance of individuals receiving social assistance payments. Withholding social assistance payments was intended to encourage consistent A.B.E. attendance, and perhaps to reduce welfare expenditures. In Community B (1990), an adult educator made the following assessment of the relationship between adult education and social assistance payments:

The Social Services Department has promised a much more rigorous insistence that [Community B] welfare applicants show real effort to seek work or upgrading and has asked for monthly attendance and performance records of all recipients in upgrading. While coercion is not the perfect motivator, it could provide an incentive for some of the more listless young people to discover, via life skills, more satisfying and effective internal motivators.

This educator's assertion that adult education could provide young Inuit with "satisfying and effective internal motivators" explicitly states what had become, by 1990, a hegemonic assumption underlying Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs. Adult educators sincerely believed that they worked to fulfill the objective academic and personal needs of individual students. The remainder of Chapter Five argues that such educators, through engaging in administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices, actually helped to individuate A.B.E. students, and to objectify the learning needs of those students.

V.3 Administrative Practices

Adult educators engaged in administrative practices which materially individuated A.B.E. students. Such students actively participated in the administrative construction of themselves as objective individuals, through regularly completing bureaucratic forms and reports. Each participant's involvement with A.B.E. in the 1980's was monitored by a series of administrative routines that began with application, and continued even after withdrawal. Chronologically, these administrative routines included: application; registration; placement within the A.B.E. curriculum; attendance records; performance reviews; counselling statistics; termination reports; and annual follow-up surveys. Through administrative practices, A.B.E. participants regularly experienced themselves as individuals. The cumulative impact of these experiences was an objective and subjective process of individuation.

In the 1980's, administrative routines accompanied student entrance into Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs. When the Department of Education was responsible for adult education, prospective students completed an "Application/Registration Form" (see Figure 5-1). This application form required people to apply as individuals, with unique personal histories. Each applicant's objective individuality was established through a profile of personal and demographic characteristics, educational background, and employment history and aspirations. Applicants were required to formally recognize their individuality, by declaring the truth of their personal profile.

FIGURE 5-1

Adult Education
Kitikmeot Region
Department of Education
Government of the N.W.T.

APPLICATION/REGISTRATION FORM

I. Personal Information:

Name: _____
Last First Middle

Address: _____

Social Insurance Number:

Telephone Number: Home _____ Work _____

Age	Birth date	Sex
-----	------------	-----

Single Married Common Law Other

Number of Dependents _____ (Please list children's names and ages on back)

Is day care required? Yes ☐ No ☒

II. Education:

Last School Attended	
School Name	Location

Highest Grade Completed	Year Completed
12	1978

Other courses/training
(including college &
university)

III. Employment: (State present or most recent employer first)

1. Name of Employer _____ Your Position _____
Address _____ Reason For Leaving _____

2. Name of Employer _____ Your Position _____
Address _____ Reason For Leaving _____

3. Name of Employer _____ Your Position _____
Address _____ Reason For Leaving _____

What is your occupational goal?

IV. Are you sponsored for this course? Yes ____ No ____
Sponsor's Name _____

I declare that the information given is true and correct.
Signature: _____ Date: _____

When Arctic College assumed responsibility for Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs, adult educators used "Arctic College Application Forms." Each applicant completed the forms in the context of a private interview with an adult educator. These three page forms created a detailed personal profile of educational aspirations and history, personal and demographic characteristics, housing needs, and activities prior to applying to Arctic College. Each student had to formally recognize the truth of this individual profile by signing a declaration at the end of the application. Arctic College's "Learner Introduction Form" added to this personal profile by asking questions about student: attitudes toward, and past experiences in, school; spare time activities; and learning objectives (see Figure 5-2). Completing such forms positioned prospective students as unique individuals, with particular characteristics, and reasons for joining an A.B.E. program.

In addition to standardized application forms, certain adult educators used local documents to administer the intake of A.B.E. participants. For example, an adult educator in Community E (1987) had students complete an "Attendance Contract" (see Figure 5-3). This attendance contract consistently positioned prospective students as individuals. Every message mentioned either "I" or "You," and in all cases these pronouns referred to individual applicants. The contract made each student formalize particular commitments to adult education, and specific reasons for attending. Administrative practices of student registration objectively individuated prospective students, and encouraged students to subjectively

FIGURE 5-2Arctic College Learner Introduction Form

Name: _____
 (first) (last)

Your birth date: _____
 (day) (month) (year)

1. What grade did you complete in school?

2. What year did you leave school?

3. What did you like about school?

4. What did you not like about school?

5. What do you like to do in your spare time (for example, hobbies, sports, and so on)?

6. What do you hope to learn at Arctic College?

FIGURE 5-3

ATTENDANCE CONTRACT - ADULT EDUCATION

NAME: _____ PHONE: _____

A. I wish to study: half-time _____; full-time _____.

I wish to study: ONLY till Christmas _____; ONLY after
Christmas _____; for the full year _____.B. Read the sentences below and write "Yes" or "No" beside the
ones which you agree to do this year in Adult Education.

1. I agree to ATTEND ALL CLASSES and special activities, unless
I am sick or have another good reason which the teacher knows
about.

Yes or No: _____

2. I will be in the classroom, ready to start school, at 9:00
a.m. every school day.

Yes or No: _____

3. I will obey all rules and regulations of the L.E.A. and Adult
Education, to the best of my knowledge.

Yes or No: _____

4. I understand that if I do not do as I have said in the above
sentences, the L.E.A. and the Adult Educator have reason to
ask me to leave classes and not come back.

Yes or No: _____

Please write down two reasons you have for wanting to come back to
school. _____

PLEASE SIGN THIS CONTRACT. WHEN YOU DO, THIS CONTRACT WILL
BECOME LIKE A PROMISE TO THE L.E.A. AND THE ADULT EDUCATOR.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

recognize themselves as individual subjects, with unique characteristics, and particular reasons for attending A.B.E.

Following registration, the next stage in the administrative intake of A.B.E. students was their placement at particular levels within the A.B.E. curriculum. Since I shall analyze student placement procedures in detail in the upcoming section on evaluative practices, I now simply indicate that these procedures were integrally linked to the administrative construction of individuated subjects with objective learning needs. Placement procedures, including T.A.B.E. tests, C.A.T. tests, Arctic College placement tests, and counselling sessions, all positioned the individual subject, and his or her objective learning needs, as the focus of A.B.E. programs. Placement practices created a battery of administrative data for each new A.B.E. participant. These data were used not only to measure each individual's academic progress, but also to evaluate the overall success of A.B.E. programs. Placement practices certainly contributed to the cumulative material experience of administrative individuation. Through such practices, A.B.E. students participated in the objectification and quantification of themselves, and their putative needs.

Adult educators' student intake practices created an individualized administrative file for each new participant. This file recorded each individual's personal history, standardized test results, and specific learning needs. Student intake procedures positioned the individual subject, and not a class cohort, or a community, as the basic unit of A.B.E. intervention. The objectivity

of this individual subject was reinforced by a series of administrative practices that continued during and after student A.B.E. participation. These routines included daily attendance logs, master control lists, monthly performance evaluations, counselling statistics, termination reports, and student follow-up surveys.

In the 1980's, each Kitikmeot A.B.E. instructor kept a daily attendance log to document student participation. This attendance log contained a list of student names, along with blanks for each day of the month. Every morning and afternoon, adult educators noted students as present, late, or absent. If students were absent, educators indicated whether such absences were excused or unexcused. Daily attendance logs formed the basis for other records of student A.B.E. participation. Such logs provided attendance data for other government organizations which gave financial support to individual students. Every second Friday, Kitikmeot adult educators telephoned Employment and Immigration Canada in Yellowknife, to report the attendance records of students receiving federal sponsorship. In those communities where some A.B.E. students received assistance from the Department of Social Services, attendance reports were also sent to the local social worker.

Every month, adult educators summarized their daily attendance logs into a "Master Control List" (see Figure 5-4). The Master Control List identified each student by name, social insurance number, and date of birth. Several features of each individual's involvement with A.B.E. were documented: dates of enrollment and termination; initial and latest T.A.B.E. grade equivalent; current

Figure 5-4

[illegible]

receipt of federal, territorial, or other financial sponsorship; number of days which the student attended that month, and the number of possible days which the student could have attended; and if applicable, the student's reasons for terminating his or her enrollment. In addition to individualized information, the Master Control List provided summary attendance data for each community. "Average daily attendance" (sum of all students' training days, divided by the number of days of classes that month) and "attendance percentage" (sum of all students' training days, divided by the sum of all students' possible training days) were calculated as monthly statistics of community A.B.E. participation.

Based on Master Control Lists provided by community adult educators, regional administrators compiled monthly and annual records of A.B.E. participation. Each month, community level statistics were assembled on: year to date total student enrollment; monthly student days attended; monthly percentage attendance; year to date student days attended; year to date percentage attendance; monthly average daily attendance; and monthly number of instructional days. These statistics were used to justify continued funding. At the end of each year, data from Master Control Lists were compiled for each individual student, and entered into a computerized student records system. This system documented each student's name, home community, social insurance number, date of birth, number of days in A.B.E. attendance for each year from 1979 to the present, initial and most recent T.A.B.E. grade equivalent, and date of most recent T.A.B.E. score. The computerized student records system allowed

quick access to basic A.B.E. data on communities and individuals. Attendance logs, master control lists, and the computerized student records system did not require the active participation of A.B.E. students. However, these administrative practices did objectively individuate participating students.

In addition to records of student attendance and academic improvement, adult educators documented the school activities of each A.B.E. participant. Student work records were documented differently by various adult educators. Some educators kept detailed work records on a regular basis, while others did not. One example of such work records was Arctic College's "Achievement Record" (see Figure 5-5). Achievement records documented the specific academic skills that each student had mastered in each course of his or her A.B.E. program. Reading logs were another common form of documenting student academic activities. For example, such a log might have indicated which reading comprehension exercises each student had completed, and recorded the number of correctly answered comprehension questions for each exercise.

While many work records varied between educators in the Kitikmeot, every A.B.E. instructor completed standardized "Student Evaluation Reports" for each participant (see Figure 5-6). This report documented the academic work and attendance habits of each student in each month of an A.B.E. program. Typically, Student Evaluation Reports were completed during a conference between an adult educator and an individual student. Together, student and educator documented and evaluated the student's work in various

FIGURE 5-5MATHEMATICS 110
ACHIEVEMENT RECORD

Name _____

Date _____

	Unit Tests (80% pass)	Rewrite
Place Value	_____	_____
Estimating	_____	_____
Addition	_____	_____
Subtraction	_____	_____
Multiplication	_____	_____
Division	_____	_____
Problem Solving	_____	_____
Comprehensive Exam	_____	_____

Final Mark _____

Comments:

Credit Achieved _____ Incomplete _____

FIGURE 5-6KITIKMEOT REGIONSTUDENT EVALUATION REPORT

NAME: _____
MONTH: _____ 19_____
COMMUNITY: _____
SPONSORSHIP: _____

Mathematics _____

English Grammar _____

English Comprehension _____

Vocabulary and Spelling _____

Social Sciences _____

Science _____

Life Skills _____

Attendance _____

Student's Comments:

Instructor's Comments:

Student's Signature: _____

Instructor's Signature: _____

areas. This process both individuated and objectified student academic progress. Student and instructor both had to write comments about the report, and sign it. As such, the Student Evaluation Report was a monthly practice which made students subjectively experience the objectification of their learning needs.

In addition to documenting the academic work accomplished by each student, Kitikmeot adult educators kept statistics on counselling given to students. Adult educators regularly submitted a "Counselling Statistics Report" (see Figure 5-7). Such reports documented: name, age range, and ethnic origin of each person counselled; whether the theme of counselling pertained to education, training, employment, or personal matters; date of counselling; and whether counselling took place in the adult education classroom, over the phone, or elsewhere. Through these counselling statistics, each A.B.E. participant was once again objectively identified as an individual with particular needs.

Administrative documentation of students did not cease when those students withdrew, graduated, or were expelled from A.B.E. programs. For each student, a termination report was completed upon their exit from the program. During the early 1980's, a "Training and Termination Report" was completed; once Arctic College took over A.B.E. programs, a "Program Completion/Withdrawal Form" was completed (see Figure 5-8). Arctic College forms documented: student name and address; the program in which the student was enrolled; whether the student completed the program; if the student did not complete the program, what were the most salient reasons; and other

Figure 5-7

Counselling Statistics Report

Community:

Time Period:

[illegible]

Figure 5-8

ARCTIC COLLEGE STUDENT RECORD SYSTEM		8.5.3				
PROGRAM COMPLETION/WITHDRAWAL FORM		DATE _____				
CAMPUS: Aurora Keewatin Kilikmeot Nunatta Thetacha Yellowknife						
PROGRAM _____						
LOCATION _____						
STUDENTS NAME _____						
LASTNAME _____	FIRST NAME _____					
STUDENT ID # _____	SPONSOR _____ If the student was sponsored by Canada Employment and Immigration Canada, or the Dept of Education, GNWT, a copy of this form must be sent to their office, to notify them if the student has completed or withdrawn					
STUDENTS HOME ADDRESS _____						
COMPLETION _____ OR WITHDRAWAL _____ EFFECTIVE DATE _____						
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">PROGRAM COMPLETION</th> <th style="width: 50%; padding: 5px;">PROGRAM WITHDRAWAL</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;"> DID THE STUDENT COMPLETE THE FULL REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION ? YES ___ NO ___ WHAT WILL THE STUDENT RECEIVE ? CERTIFICATE _____ DIPLOMA _____ RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT _____ </td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> WHY IS THE STUDENT WITHDRAWING FROM THE PROGRAM ? ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT, NOT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ ENROLLED IN ALTERNATE TRAINING ___ ACCOMODATION REASONS ___ CHILDCARE REASONS ___ MEDICAL REASONS ___ ATTENDANCE REASONS ___ INSUFFICIENT FUNDS TO CONTINUE SCHOOLING ___ OTHER: _____ </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>			PROGRAM COMPLETION	PROGRAM WITHDRAWAL	DID THE STUDENT COMPLETE THE FULL REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION ? YES ___ NO ___ WHAT WILL THE STUDENT RECEIVE ? CERTIFICATE _____ DIPLOMA _____ RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT _____	WHY IS THE STUDENT WITHDRAWING FROM THE PROGRAM ? ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT, NOT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ ENROLLED IN ALTERNATE TRAINING ___ ACCOMODATION REASONS ___ CHILDCARE REASONS ___ MEDICAL REASONS ___ ATTENDANCE REASONS ___ INSUFFICIENT FUNDS TO CONTINUE SCHOOLING ___ OTHER: _____
PROGRAM COMPLETION	PROGRAM WITHDRAWAL					
DID THE STUDENT COMPLETE THE FULL REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION ? YES ___ NO ___ WHAT WILL THE STUDENT RECEIVE ? CERTIFICATE _____ DIPLOMA _____ RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT _____	WHY IS THE STUDENT WITHDRAWING FROM THE PROGRAM ? ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT, NOT IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD ___ ENROLLED IN ALTERNATE TRAINING ___ ACCOMODATION REASONS ___ CHILDCARE REASONS ___ MEDICAL REASONS ___ ATTENDANCE REASONS ___ INSUFFICIENT FUNDS TO CONTINUE SCHOOLING ___ OTHER: _____					
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	If the student qualifies for a refund, a copy of this form must go to the Accounting Department on Campus.					
<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tbody> <tr> <td style="width: 60%; padding: 5px;"> </td> <td style="width: 40%; padding: 5px;"> Instructor Signature _____ Chairperson Signature _____ Dean Signature _____ </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>				Instructor Signature _____ Chairperson Signature _____ Dean Signature _____		
	Instructor Signature _____ Chairperson Signature _____ Dean Signature _____					
REGISTRARS COMMENTS _____						

Date Entered into Student Record System
 Form Publish Date: April, 1992

Signature _____

instructor's comments. For those students who had been receiving federal sponsorship money, adult educators had to submit year-end reports which documented academic progress and any exceptional details. Finally, each adult educator compiled an annual "Student Follow-Up Report" which surveyed the present activities of people who attended local A.B.E. programs since 1979 (see Figure 5-9). This report listed the names of previous students from an educator's community, and gave spaces in which to describe what those previous students were now doing. Typical references included: employed; staying home; taking further training; in jail; moved away from the community; or taking care of children. From the beginning of student A.B.E. participation, to years after that participation ended, state personnel monitored their activities through administrative routines.

Administrative practices accompanied each stage of student involvement with Kitikmeot A.B.E. These practices created an enormous documentation of each participant's A.B.E. career. Files for each student were kept at Community Learning Centres, and records for each community were kept in Cambridge Bay. The social importance of this massive documentation went beyond merely the development of measures of surveillance. Administrative practices helped construct individuated subjects in the Kitikmeot. A.B.E. records and files created objectively individuated subjects who became the focus of material educational practices. Students were registered, examined, taught, counselled, evaluated, terminated, and tracked following their termination. The cumulative impact of these practices was to make people subjectively experience themselves as individuals.

V.4 Evaluative Practices

While the cumulative weight of administrative practices materially individuated A.B.E. participants, evaluative practices defined and objectified the putative learning needs of those participants. Through standardized placement procedures and ongoing formal examinations, adult educators encouraged A.B.E. participants to identify themselves as individuals, characterized by inherent and objective learning needs. Evaluative practices examined student academic skills, and compared them to putatively normal levels of ability. Student evaluation procedures evolved somewhat during the 1980's. When the N.W.T. Department of Education controlled Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs, T.A.B.E. grade equivalents were the cornerstone of adult educators' evaluative practices. When Arctic College assumed responsibility for A.B.E., adult educators introduced a unique system of numbered levels. Both systems generated evaluative practices and material experiences which objectified learning needs, and encouraged students to interpret those needs as personal deficiencies.

Standardized examinations were central to Kitikmeot adult educators' evaluative practices. As I documented earlier in Chapter Five, the Tests of Adult Basic Education were the most commonly used standardized examinations in the 1980's. Generally, adult educators administered the T.A.B.E. to prospective students either before or just after registration. Intake T.A.B.E. scores were used to quantify student academic progress during a program, and to determine which students were eligible for training allowances from Employment

and Immigration Canada. T.A.B.E. exams had both practical and sociological significance. Practically, T.A.B.E. scores were accepted as equivalent to more formal academic qualifications when applying for government jobs, or for entry into vocational training programs. Sociologically, T.A.B.E. exams ascribed seemingly objective academic deficiencies to students. These standardized tests appeared to be neutral instruments of academic measurement, but in reality they were central mechanisms through which state representatives objectified the putative inadequacies of adult Inuit. Material experiences of writing the T.A.B.E. encouraged participating students to subjectively recognize such inadequacies.

T.A.B.E. procedures helped adult educators objectify individual learning needs, program individualized school activities, and measure academic progress. The T.A.B.E. *Examiner's Manual* asserted:

The test is designed for use in a variety of educational settings to fill a number of assessment and instructional needs. T.A.B.E. can be used to provide pre-instructional information about a student's level of achievement in the basic skills of reading, mathematics, and language; to identify areas of weakness in these skills; to measure growth in the skills after instruction; to involve the student in appraisal of his or her learning difficulties; and to assist the teacher in preparing an instructional program to meet the student's individual needs (Lyster, 1976: 1).

This statement of practical applications underlined the T.A.B.E.'s position within an individualized, medical model of education.

T.A.B.E. exams were an instrument for educators to: diagnose student abilities and weaknesses; have students recognize their weaknesses; develop appropriated pedagogical practices to alleviate individuals' needs; and measure student progress after pedagogical interventions.

From 1979 to 1991, several different T.A.B.E. tests were

administered to adult students in the Kitikmeot. The 1976 edition contained two sets of tests for each of three different levels: easy, medium, and difficult. The E-Level tests most appropriately measured achievement between grade equivalents of 2.5 and 4.9. The M-Level and D-Level tests were most appropriate for students at grade equivalents of 4.5-6.9 and 6.5-8.9. In the late 1980's, some communities used the 1987 edition. Each T.A.B.E. examination was a battery of multiple choice tests in the areas of reading, mathematics, and language. Each test was timed, with specific limitations for completion (Lyster, 1976: 7). Table 5-2 identifies the different sections and time limits for one T.A.B.E.:

Table 5-2: Testing Schedule for 1976 T.A.B.E., Level D
(with time limits specified in minutes)

<u>TESTING ACTIVITY</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS</u>	<u>INSTRUCTION TIME</u>	<u>WORKING TIME</u>	<u>TOTAL TIME</u>
Preliminary instructions		20		20
READING				
1) Vocabulary	40	5	10	15
2) Comprehension	45	3	40	43
BREAK				
MATH				
3) Computation	48	5	28	33
4) Concepts	35	3	10	13
5) Problems	15	3	13	16
BREAK				
LANGUAGE				
6) Capitalization	40	5	7	12
7) Punctuation	32	4	14	18
8) Expression	28	3	7	10
9) Spelling	32	3	8	11
TOTAL BATTERY	315	34	137	191

T.A.B.E. exams were long and elaborate processes, taking over three hours to complete. Students used multiple choice answer sheets to complete their tests. Given the need to break for lunch, completing a T.A.B.E. exam took almost an entire day in A.B.E. classes.

To provide readers with a general idea of the content of the T.A.B.E., I reproduce the following official summary of each examination component (Lyster, 1976: 3-4).

Section 1 - Reading Vocabulary

The Reading Vocabulary section contains 40 items. Each item consists of a stem word in the context of a phrase and a list of four alternative words. The student is to choose the best meaning for the stem word. The items measure the student's ability to choose one of the possible meanings of a word to fit a particular context. This use of the word in a phrase parallels the way that a learner is exposed to new vocabulary and the way that language 'works.' The use of a phrase as context provides a mental image and helps the student recognize the stem word as familiar.

Section 2 - Reading Comprehension

The Reading comprehension section contains 45 items. The first six items measure reference skills. The remaining 39 items, based on four reading passages, measure the student's ability to recall specific facts presented in the passages, to understand the main ideas in the passages, and to make reasonable inferences based on information presented in the passages.

Section 3 - Mathematics Computation

The Mathematics Computation section contains 48 items that measure the student's ability to add, subtract, multiply, and divide whole numbers. For each of these four basic operations there are 12 items arranged in an order of increasing difficulty. The items involve working with denominate and non-denominate numbers.

Section 4 - Mathematics Concepts

The Mathematics Concepts section contains 35 items that measure the student's understanding of mathematics concepts in a variety of contexts. Among the basic concepts presented are those that involve signs and symbols; number systems and numeration; measurement; money; geometry; and place value.

Section 5 - Mathematics Problems

The Mathematics Problems section contains 15 items measuring the student's ability to comprehend and answer correctly a variety of word problems, ranging from those that involve basic one-step operations to those that involve computing percentages and averages. These problems require both an understanding of fundamental concepts and an ability to perform basic computations.

Section 6 - Language Capitalization

The Language Capitalization section contains 40 items that measure the student's knowledge of standard rules for capitalization. The items are presented in the context of two reading passages and some sentences. The student is to identify those words that require capitalization in the continuous text material. Among the rules tested are those for capitalizing proper nouns, titles, and the pronoun I; and the first word in sentences, quotations, and lines of poetry.

Section 7 - Language Punctuation

The Language Punctuation section contains 32 items that measure the student's ability to punctuate continuous text material. The items are presented in the context of a letter. For each item in the letter, the student must identify which one of five punctuation marks, if any, is missing. The student is then required to indicate where the missing mark should go. The student must choose both the correct punctuation mark and the correct placement to receive credit for an item.

Section 8 - Language Expression

The Language Expression section contains 28 true-false items that measure how well the student understands the standard usage of words. The student is required to discriminate standard English from non-standard English.

Section 9 - Language Spelling

The Language Spelling section contains 32 multiple choice items. The student is required to determine which word, if any, in a group of four words is misspelled. Common spelling errors are tested, such as ie-ei reversals, silent letters, omissions, and vowel substitutions.

Although T.A.B.E. exams were apparently edited for ethnic bias, student scores depended heavily upon possessing a particular cultural stock of knowledge. Few Kitikmeot A.B.E. students possessed this

knowledge, so many were substantially disadvantaged when writing the T.A.B.E. The exam's reading passages and mathematics word problems referred to such places and things as Hawaii, Egypt, American population growth, urban water supply, Einstein's theory of relativity, cars, shopping, taxis, commission sales, and interest rates for borrowing money.

Adult educators evaluated T.A.B.E. results in two stages. First, each student's "raw score" was determined by noting the number of correct responses in each section. Second, each student's "grade equivalent" was calculated by locating raw scores on standardized conversion tables. Through these tables, T.A.B.E. results became translated into academic grades which seemed comparable to North American public school systems. Lyster (1976: 37) explained that the

Grade Equivalent for a particular Raw Score represents the year and month of school, ie., the grade level, for which that raw score is the median. In other words, it represents the performance that is typical for students in that grade and month of the school year, as demonstrated by standardized data.

T.A.B.E. grade equivalents were based upon standardized results achieved by California schoolchildren on each exam component.

In addition to quantifying students' overall academic abilities, T.A.B.E. exams were used to support and guide individualized pedagogical practices. T.A.B.E. packages contained two reporting forms which measured individual competencies in different skill areas, and specified precise learning needs. The "Student Profile Sheet" gave numeric and graphic documentation of an individual's performance in each test (see Figure 5-10). This individualized profile was used to quantify student progress over time, and to set

Figure 5-10

TABE TESTS OF ADULT BASIC EDUCATION 10th Edition

Adapted from and based on the California Achievement Tests, (870 Edition), developed by Ernest W. Tapp and Willis W. Clark

STUDENT PROFILE SHEET

NAME Scott, Larry TEST DATE 4 March 1976

INSTRUCTOR Marill CLASS OR GROUP 3-A

Published by: CTE/McGraw-Hill, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020 Copyright © 1976 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Printed in the U.S.A.

FORM 3 ☒ FORM 4 ☐

Maximum Possible Raw Score	READING			MATHEMATICS			LANGUAGE		Total Battery	Maximum Possible Raw Score
	Vocab	Comp	Total	Comp	Comp & Prob	Total	Math & Expr	Spell		
40	45	55	45	55	60	100	32	315		
Raw Score	33	35	68	33	33	66	71	22	227	
Scale Score	579	615	600	579	562	550	567	550	567	
Grade Equivalent	10.1	11.1	10.6	9.0	9.4	9.1	9.8	8.9	9.7	

Grade Equivalent Scale

Grade Equivalent Scale

94458

Figure 1
COMPLETED STUDENT PROFILE SHEET

TABE-D

general priorities for a student's A.B.E. program. More specific individualized programming was planned through the use of an "Analysis of Learning Difficulties." To complete such an analysis, educators used an "Item Classification" table, which categorized each question on the T.A.B.E. into specific skills. Learning difficulties were analyzed by circling all the item numbers which a student did not answer correctly. Clusters of circled item numbers indicated a student's academic weaknesses. Based upon identifying those weaknesses, adult educators planned individualized learning programs.

There are several reasons why T.A.B.E. exams were a ubiquitous feature of formal adult education in the Kitikmeot. First, standardized tests helped legitimate and substantiate adult educators' practices, by quantifying academic inadequacies, and measuring student progress after A.B.E. participation. T.A.B.E. scores and attendance records were cornerstones of the student data system, and were used to justify continued state funding of programs. Second, T.A.B.E. exams met the demands of employers and vocational training institutions for standardized and simple student evaluation procedures. T.A.B.E. was the most widely used standardized exam throughout the Northwest Territories. Third, T.A.B.E. was packaged in order to facilitate individualized pedagogical practices, and was consistent with other individualized features of Kitikmeot A.B.E.

T.A.B.E. exams were material experiences structured to individuate students, and objectify learning needs. T.A.B.E. exams were often administered to groups of students, but each individual worked alone, received a unique grade, and had a personal follow-up

session with the adult educator. T.A.B.E. exams translated socially constructed capacities into individual abilities by forcing students to individually confront a seemingly objective and neutral series of questions. These tests quantified individual strengths and weaknesses without any reference to the social context in which those individuals developed such strengths and weaknesses. In this way, T.A.B.E. exams were oppressively neutral. By asserting that any individual may compare his or her academic abilities with normal distributions of such abilities, T.A.B.E. exams mystified the sociality of the definition of what skills constitute basic education, and of the means through which people acquire such skills.

Many Kitikmeot administrators and educators recognized the cultural bias inherent in T.A.B.E. exams. This bias made it difficult for Kitikmeot adults to perform well on such exams. Given the practical importance of T.A.B.E. scores for access to employment and training opportunities, many students took their exams and scores very seriously. In many cases, the cultural bias of T.A.B.E. led to demeaning implications, such as that intelligent adults with good problem solving skills actually had comparable education levels with elementary school children. Student and educator frustration with T.A.B.E. exams led to frequent criticisms, and eventually the 1992 exclusion of T.A.B.E. from Arctic College's A.B.E. curriculum.

In response to such criticisms, the Department of Education developed the "Northwest Territories A.B.E." examinations. From December, 1986 to August, 1989, adult educators in each Kitikmeot community reported administering at least one set of territorial

A.B.E. exams. In total, monthly reports refer to fifteen of these standardized tests taking place, but they do not indicate how many students wrote the exams. Since Northwest Territories A.B.E. exams had to be returned to Yellowknife for marking and storage, I was not able to access the actual tests. However, I did find copies of six "Practice Tests" distributed by Advanced Education to help students prepare for the actual exam. I shall briefly review these practice tests, which cover the areas of communications and mathematics at grade levels of three, six, and nine.

Practice tests for each grade level had four main sections: Reading Comprehension; Language; Writing; and Mathematics. Reading Comprehension sections provided passages from letters, dictionaries, and stories, as well as examples of drug prescriptions, utilities bills, and bar graphs. Multiple choice questions were posed to test student comprehension of these various forms of written English. Language sections tested student knowledge of spelling, punctuation and grammar, by making students find and correct errors in written sentences. Writing sections required students to fill out blank application forms, write letters, and compose short essays on specific topics. Mathematics sections contained multiple choice questions on basic computations, word problems, and concepts such as time, money, and geometry.

Territorial A.B.E. exams were explicitly developed as standardized tests that were relevant to Northern students. The exams were developed by committees of educators and administrators with experience teaching in the Northwest Territories. The six

practice tests contained unmistakably Northern content. For example, out of twenty word problems in the three mathematics tests, fourteen referred to issues such as: shopping at the Co-Op; hunting and fishing; working for the government; training for Arctic Winter Games; prices in Cambridge Bay and Yellowknife; making parkas; and travelling between communities. Writing assignments included letters to mail order companies and the Department of Personnel, as well as essays on topics such as "A Good Hunt" and "My First Job." Reading passages included articles on Arctic Games and Chief Dan George. Out of sixty-two sentences in the Language section, thirty explicitly mentioned Northern realities such as snowmobiles, bannock, bingo, Arctic College, Bay stores, polar bears, Inuit musicians, caribou hunting, and frostbite.

Territorial A.B.E. tests had obviously Northern content, but their structure was very similar to the T.A.B.E. Changing the content of word problems so that students calculated caribou shot instead of cows milked, did not change the impact of standardized examinations. Individual students were still evaluated in comparison to putatively normal levels of ability. Socially constructed patterns of skills and knowledge were still measured as individual characteristics. Academic abilities were still quantified in seemingly objective, numeric terms. Territorial A.B.E. exams were less significant than T.A.B.E. exams; such exams were only in use for three years, and even in those years T.A.B.E. tests were more common.

Territorial A.B.E. exams were explicitly developed to reduce the cultural bias of existing standardized tests. This development

illustrated that state personnel directly involved in adult education were often sympathetic to the idea of adapting educational practices to be more culturally relevant for Inuit adults. However, these personnel were either ignorant of, or supported, the ways in which their evaluative practices individuated A.B.E. students, and objectified learning needs. When Arctic College took over Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in 1988, the specific examinations used to evaluate students began to change. However, the basic structure and impact remained consistent; evaluative practices continued to individuate A.B.E. students, and objectify learning needs.

In the late 1980's, Arctic College developed its own procedures for student placement and evaluation. These procedures gradually replaced the T.A.B.E. as the basic tool for identifying and quantifying students' learning needs. The Arctic College student placement process had three stages: an initial interview between the prospective student and an adult educator; a set of standardized tests in English and math; and a placement interview in which adult educators enrolled each student in specific levels of the A.B.E. curriculum. These practices structured experiences which individuated and attached seemingly objective needs to A.B.E. students. The Arctic College (1992d) *Placement Manual* recommended that adult educators schedule thirty minutes for initial interviews with each prospective student. To protect student confidentiality, such interviews were to be conducted in private. Interviews began with a relatively informal conversation about topics such as: educational aspirations; work experience; past school experience;

self-perception of academic problems; use of literacy and numeracy in daily life; and need for financial assistance or child care. The *Placement Manual* provided sample questions, and suggested that adult educators develop their own list of standard questions to be used during initial interviews.

During the initial interview, prospective students completed an Arctic College Application Form, and/or a Learner Introduction Form. These forms, discussed in the previous section on administrative practices, had two purposes. First, they collected information about applicants' personal and educational backgrounds. Second, since the forms were completed in the presence of an adult educator, they provided an informal opportunity to assess prospective students' English skills. The *Placement Manual* told educators:

Hand the *Arctic College Application Form* to the person, paying close attention to how readily s/he accepts it and sets to work. If the person is obviously confused or reluctant, offer to help fill it out for him/her. Using this tactic, you should be able to determine how the person handles reading and writing tasks.... If the client has difficulty filling out the form or has verbally expressed a reluctance to reading and writing tasks, then s/he is most likely operating at a 110 or low 120 level and informal evaluation procedures should be used, not the English placement tests (Arctic College, 1992d: 4).

Forms of application and introduction provided a means to acquire personal information about A.B.E. students, as well as a screening device to determine which English placement tests to administer.

At the end of a prospective student's initial interview, the adult educator explained the nature, objectives, and content of Arctic College's A.B.E. placement tests. An appointment was made for the student to write the tests, which took up to six hours to complete (forty seven minutes for reading; two hours for writing; and

three hours for mathematics). These standardized examinations constituted the second stage of Arctic College's placement process. They replaced the T.A.B.E. as the basic means through which prospective students' learning needs were objectified. Rather than assign a grade equivalent, Arctic College tests directed students into a particular level (from 110 to 160) of A.B.E. study.

Prospective students who had difficulties filling out the application and introduction forms during their initial interview were given informal reading tests. All other applicants wrote the vocabulary and comprehension sections of the Canadian Achievement Tests (C.A.T., Level 18, Form A). C.A.T. reading tests were virtually identical in structure to the T.A.B.E., containing thirty questions on vocabulary recognition, and forty questions on reading comprehension. C.A.T. results provided both a standardized measure of reading ability, and a diagnostic profile that could be used to plan an individualized reading skills program. C.A.T. reading tests were evaluated by the number of correct responses for each section. Table 5-3 identifies how C.A.T. raw scores were translated into Arctic College A.B.E. entry levels:

Table 5-3: C.A.T. Scores to Arctic College English Levels

<u>Vocabulary Score</u>	<u>Entry Level</u>	<u>Comprehension Score</u>	<u>Entry Level</u>
11 or less	120	20 or less	120
12-17	130	21-24	130
18-22	140	25-27	140
23-26	150	28-32	150
27-30	n/a	33-40	n/a

In addition to placing each prospective student into a general level of English studies, C.A.T. results allowed adult educators to diagnose individual reading difficulties. The "Student Diagnostic Profile" identified several specific areas of difficulty (see Figure 5-11). This profile provided a simple, quantitative measure of student vocabulary and reading skills.

The biggest substantive difference between the T.A.B.E. and the Arctic College placement tests was the inclusion of a written component in the Arctic College tests. In the T.A.B.E., writing skills such as spelling, punctuation and grammar were tested through multiple choice questions that asked students to recognize problems with written passages. In the Arctic College writing placement test, students were given two hours to write an essay on one of three topics. Students were instructed to plan, draft, edit, and rewrite their essay, which was evaluated according to content, organization, vocabulary, spelling, language use and mechanics. Standardized criteria were used to evaluate these written tests. A "Writing Characteristics Chart" guided the evaluation of student essays (see Figure 5-12). In each of three areas (content, mechanics, vocabulary), adult educators assigned a grade between one and twelve. These grades were added together to determine the overall level (ie. 120 - 150) at which the student was writing. To assist the objective differentiation of writing levels, Arctic College gave adult educators nine writing samples that exemplified work at different levels. While the substance and form of the Arctic College writing placement test was different from the language component of the

FIGURE 5-11

**Canadian Achievement Tests, Reading:
Student Diagnostic Profile**

Name: _____

READING VOCABULARY

CATEGORY OBJECTIVES	ITEM NUMBERS	NUMBER CORRECT
Same Meaning	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	_____ / 20
Opposite Meaning	21 22 23 24 25	_____ / 5
Multimeaning	26 27 28 29 30	_____ / 5
TOTAL		_____ / 30

READING COMPREHENSION

CATEGORY OBJECTIVES	ITEM NUMBERS	NUMBER CORRECT
Literal Comprehension		
Recall of Facts	42 49 31 53 46 34	_____ / 6
Interpretive Comprehension		
Inferred Meaning	32 48 59 61 63 33 60	_____ / 7
Character Analysis	45 65 57 47 62	_____ / 5
Figurative Language	50 52 54 55 51 53	_____ / 6
Contextual Meaning	35 43 44 56 64	_____ / 5
Critical Comprehension		
Author, Position	67 69 70 66 68	_____ / 5
Techniques of Persuasion	36 39 40 38 41 37	_____ / 6
TOTAL		_____ / 40

WRITING CHARACTERISTICS CHART (ABE)

LEVEL OF USE PRECISION VOCABULARY	Figure 5-12											
	Total Score to Placement											
LANGUAGE MECHANICS, SENTENCE STRUCTURE, GRAMMAR, PUNCTUATION & CAPITALIZATION	Entry 150											
	Entry 140											
CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION	Entry 130											
	Entry 120											
• student may not be able to produce a writing sample OR the sample may be characteristic of a learner in the early stages of literacy	• selected ideas may be simple and may be vague or irrelevant											
	• purpose is unclear or uncertain											
• selected words and expressions are simple and lack precision, suggesting a limited vocabulary; consequently, meaning is simple OR unclear	• words and expressions are frequently misused											
	• little awareness of the reader/audience											
• the words and expressions selected make the tone of the writing informal	• the choice of common and general words and expressions creates an uneven tone that may occasionally be suitable for the writing context											
	• style may be overly and include errors in usage											
• selected ideas are clear but may be repetitive; underdeveloped or include too much unimportant detail	• purpose/mainpoint (stated or implied) is vague OR is not fulfilled											
	• some attempts at paragraphing, but development lacks specific detail											
• content is usually presented in logical order but is often disjointed	• opening and closure lack focus											
	• closure may be unconnected or missing											
• most sentences are simple or compound structures that are frequently run-on or awkwardly constructed	• lack of sentence variety											
	• grammatical errors in a relatively simple composition indicate a lack of control of standard English											
• words are frequently spelled phonetically	• errors in rudimentary punctuation, such as end-stops, and in basic capitalization are frequent											
	• selected words and expressions are clear, general, and ordinary; suggesting an adequate common vocabulary; consequently, meaning is clear and conventional											
• words and expressions are generally used correctly even when specificity is attempted	• substitutions, but may not make sense											
	• reader/audience interest, and makes clear but unsophisticated attempts to address the reader											
• the choice of principally general, but sometimes informal, words and expressions creates a generally suitable tone	• the choice of specific words and expressions creates an effective tone											
	• style shows fluency of expression, and when appropriate, may include figurative language											
• selected ideas are relevant, clear, and carefully chosen	• purpose/mainpoint (stated or implied) is clear and is generally fulfilled											
	• paragraphs are well-developed and logical with clear topic sentences. A paragraphed order and arrangement of events, ideas and/or details is demonstrated. Transitions written and between paragraphs clear and smooth											
• the opening clearly and purposefully addresses the task or subject; directs the writing and encourages further reading	• closure reinforces the unity of the composition											
	• sentences include all common structures. Such stylistic devices as parallel construction, contrast and balance, transitions, and short sentences for emphasis, are conscious and purposeful											
• sentences vary in structure and length for emphasis and effect	• correct grammar in a relatively sophisticated composition indicates control of standard English											
	• spelling is accurate, although minor errors may be present											
• punctuation errors are usually minor and in the application of complex or varying rules, such as those governing semi-colons or colons	• selected words and expressions are varied and specific, suggesting a flexible and effective vocabulary; consequently, meaning is communicated with precision											
	• specific words and expressions are used correctly to achieve clarity											
• substitutions and generally suitable reader/audience interest, and successfully addresses the reader	• the careful choice of specific words and expressions creates an effective tone											
	• style shows fluency of expression, and when appropriate, may include figurative language											

Figure 5-12

T.A.B.E., its goal was similar: to obtain a standard, objective measure of student writing abilities and needs.

Arctic College's mathematics placement test involved five sections, progressing in difficulty from whole number operations and one-step word problems, to algebra and trigonometry. Each section contained a total of twenty four points, split between basic computations and word problems. Prospective students were placed into A.B.E. math levels based upon their scores in different sections. Students who scored seventeen or less on section one were placed in Math 110. Students who scored eighteen or more on section one, but seventeen or less on section two, were placed in Math 120. This pattern continued until all students were placed at a particular math level. This placement test was not multiple choice, so educators had the opportunity to see the nature of student problems with particular questions.

On the surface, the Arctic College reading, writing, and mathematics placement tests were substantially different from the T.A.B.E. Arctic College tests did not provide grade equivalents which explicitly compared adult students with public school children. Great care was taken to make the tests culturally relevant for Northern students. Writing an essay enabled students to communicate about topics from their own realm of experience, and many of the mathematics word problems explicitly referred to Northern realities. However, the basic purposes of the Arctic College placement tests and the T.A.B.E. were identical: to consistently measure individuals' academic abilities, and to objectively identify individuals' specific

learning needs. In addition, the subjective impact of writing the Arctic College placement tests was parallel to that of writing the T.A.B.E. Certain constellations of knowledge and skill were presented as constitutive of basic education. People were made to confront the elements of basic education as abstract individuals, and their scores were used to indicate objective academic abilities and deficiencies. Each individual's academic abilities were compared to a putatively normal level of ability, as defined by the fully literate and numerate citizen. Most significantly, these standardized examinations were presented as purely objective instruments; the sociality of how particular sets of knowledge and skill became defined as basic education could not be grasped by simply writing these examinations. The replacement of the T.A.B.E. by Arctic College placement tests is sociologically interesting, because it reveals that state personnel were aware that standard A.B.E. procedures were culturally foreign in the Kitikmeot, and sympathetic to the development of educational practices that were more relevant to Inuit culture. These people were aware of issues such as assimilation and cultural bias, but they did not perceive more subtle processes of individuation and objectification.

The final stage of Arctic College's student placement process was a placement interview, in which adult educators informed individual students of their examination results. Adult educators marked the placement tests, and transferred the results to a "Learner Recommendation Form" (see Figure 5-13). This form was used for A.B.E. placement, as well as for admittance to Arctic College diploma

FIGURE 5-13ARCTIC COLLEGE LEARNER RECOMMENDATION FORM

NAME: (first) _____ (last) _____

COMMUNITY: _____

PROGRAM APPLIED FOR: _____

ASSESSMENT DATE(S): _____
(day(s) / month / year)

EVALUATION:	English Reading Vocab	- Operating at Level	_____
	English Reading Comp	- Operating at Level	_____
	English Writing	- Operating at Level	_____
	Mathematics	- Operating at Level	_____

RECOMMENDATIONS:

English language skills - direct entry	_____
Academic Studies	_____
other	_____
Mathematics skills - direct entry	_____
Academic Studies	_____
other	_____

COMMENTS:

Completed Reading Diagnostic Profile on Back: yes ____ no ____

Date: _____

Educator's Signature: _____ Position: _____

programs. On the form, educators specified a student's scores on the reading, writing, and mathematics tests. These scores determined the levels of English and Math at which the student would begin the A.B.E. curriculum. In the placement interview, the educator explained the exam results, and the Arctic College level system, to the student. In this process, the student confronted both a verbal and a documentary representation of his or her learning needs. This representation presumed the objectivity of such needs, and positioned the student as an inadequate individual.

While evaluative practices of student placement changed somewhat between the late 1970's and the early 1990's, the structure of such practices remained consistent. As A.B.E. students, Kitikmeot adults were regularly evaluated by seemingly objective, standardized tests of academic ability. Fundamentally, such tests materially individuated adult students, and assigned certain putative learning needs to them. While evaluative practices were conceptualized within official discourses as neutral means "to identify and measure learning needs," a more accurate conceptualization would have been that such practices were culturally specific means "to individuate students and objectify needs." Learning needs do not exist objectively, waiting around to be identified like elements in the earth's atmosphere. To identify learning needs, one must assume that: particular forms of social relations exist, within which specific abilities are inherently valuable; particular forms of individuality exist, within which people are vessels capable of acquiring specific abilities; and particular forms of subjectivity

exist, within which individuals may recognize deficiencies in themselves, and take steps to alleviate those deficiencies.

V.5 Pedagogical Practices

In the 1980's, adult educators' administrative and evaluative practices created a cumulative series of material experiences which objectively positioned Kitikmeot A.B.E. students as inadequate individuals, and encouraged such students to subjectively know themselves as inadequate individuals. The individuation of subjects and the objectification of needs were reinforced by daily pedagogical practices which explicitly endeavored to alleviate learning needs. While Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs during the 1980's included a wide range of pedagogical practices, these practices were guided by several major curricula. To illustrate these practices, and to show how they contributed to individuating students and objectifying learning needs, I now review three specific programs: Learning Individualized for Canadians; Arctic College English and Mathematics; and Northwest Territories' Adult Life Skills Training.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, several Kitikmeot adult educators used the Learning Individualized for Canadians (L.I.N.C.) program in their A.B.E. courses. L.I.N.C. provided curricula in English and mathematics for grades five to ten. L.I.N.C. prescribed highly individualized pedagogical practices. These practices individuated participating students, and assigned seemingly objective academic deficiencies to them. L.I.N.C. epitomized educational approaches that treated each student as an individual, without regard

for the social context of either student or schooling. L.I.N.C. programs were based on the assumption that effective educational practices for adults had to reflect the individualized nature of needs, abilities, and aspirations. In an article describing L.I.N.C. and other federally sponsored adult education initiatives, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (1974: 11) asserted:

the traditional practice of providing education in prescribed segments to large groups of students at one time is beginning to break down in the public school system with the recognition of the importance and extent of individual differences. The tradition is even less acceptable for adults, whose age, experience, and previous education vary even more than do those of students in the public school system.

L.I.N.C. programs claimed to make a progressive rupture with traditional educational practices based upon teaching common course content to classroom groups. L.I.N.C.'s two basic objectives were:

to re-orient the adult student for formal training in a manner best suited to his particular experience and learning characteristics; and to help the adult student develop the basic knowledge and skills in communications and mathematics that are a prerequisite to occupational training and a high level of functional literacy (D.R.E.E., 1974: 20).

These objectives were pursued through an individualized program structure in which adults could enter and exit at their convenience, progress at their own rate, and follow a personalized curriculum.

L.I.N.C. provided curricula and program guidelines for developmental reading, functional reading, and mathematics. Each course was divided into discrete units, and each unit contained specific learning objectives. These units and objectives were:

Developmental Reading

- a) read, write, and use word skills in language uses associated with singular and plural forms, root words, prefixes and suffixes, and common contractions and abbreviations;

- b) apply dictionary skills, select and use proper synonyms, antonyms, and homonyms in context and determine meaning from context;
- c) use written and spoken English at a level of literal comprehension by selecting main ideas, recalling details, and identifying the sequence of events in given selections;
- d) use written and spoken English at a level of interpretive comprehension by identifying relationships, making inferences, and interpreting character in given selections;
- e) use written and spoken English at a level of evaluative comprehension by distinguishing fact and opinion, identifying the author's purpose, and forming opinions on given selections.

Functional Reading

- a) function effectively in the formal learning environment of the training centre and apply appropriate study and learning skills;
- b) formulate written responses in English using effective expression in sentence structure, correct mechanical usage and good organization of thoughts into paragraphs and multi-paragraph compositions;
- c) apply the structural aspects of written expression in English to the correspondence skills of writing friendly letters and business letters and completing commonly used types of forms;
- d) interpret and evaluate media through experiences in handling directories, catalogues, magazines, radio, and television.

Mathematics

- a) read, write, round off, add, subtract, multiply, divide, and solve routine word problems on the set of whole numbers;
- b) read, write, add, subtract, multiply, divide, and solve routine word problems on the set of numbers of arithmetic in common fractions and mixed number forms;
- c) read, write, round off, add, subtract, multiply, divide, and solve routine word problems on the set of numbers of arithmetic in decimal fraction form;
- d) read, write, operate with and solve routine word problems using percentages;
- e) read, write, operate with and solve routine word problems associated with the measurement of time, distance, liquids, and weight;

- f) identify figures and forms, calculate perimeter, area, and volume, and solve routine word problems requiring linear, surface, and space measurements of common forms and figures;
- g) identify the common types and configurations of lines, angles and triangles and apply them to the interpretation of scaled drawings in common use;
- h) calculate average (arithmetic mean) and interpret data from line, bar, and circle graphs;
- i) operate with and solve routine word problems on the sets of integers and rationals;
- j) express relationships of known and unknown facts in mathematical sentences using variables and expressions and solve equations in one variable algebraically.

These units and objectives summarized the integrated A.B.E. curriculum that L.I.N.C. programs used. All students did not follow this exact curriculum however, as L.I.N.C. courses were adapted, in each individual case, to meet the needs of specific students.

L.I.N.C. individuated subjects and objectified needs in the Kitikmeot not through explicit content, but rather through the material experiences that the structure of the program imposed upon participating adults. L.I.N.C. promoted radically individualized instructional techniques. The "Individualized Process" flow chart illustrates the basic structure of the L.I.N.C. program (see Figure 5-14). This chart indicates that every stage of student involvement with a L.I.N.C. program was individualized. Individuals could start a L.I.N.C. program at virtually any time, rather than according to a schedule imposed by the requirements of group instruction. L.I.N.C. programs began with an individualized diagnosis of student knowledge and skills. As outlined above, L.I.N.C. programs consisted of three basic courses, nineteen units, and numerous specific objectives.

Figure 5-14

Each unit was accompanied by a "Placement Inventory," which tested student competency in each of that unit's learning objectives. Upon student completion of a Placement Inventory, instructors completed a "Student DACUM (Designing a Curriculum) Chart." Each DACUM chart recorded one student's competencies with respect to all of the unit objectives in one course. DACUM Charts visually illustrated a student's skills and deficiencies, allowing individualized curricula to be devised based on each student's unique abilities and needs.

Based upon Placement Inventories and Student DACUM Charts, individuals were placed into various starting points in L.I.N.C. programs. The next stage in the program was the individualized "prescription" of learning activities:

A prescription is a statement of the objective behavior required, the instructional resource(s) to be used, the activity to be carried out, and the follow-up activity....Prescriptions outlining learning activities are given for each objective in which deficiencies are indicated. All the traditional learning practices can be brought into the prescription, including memorization, practice, drill, psycho-motor activity, quizzes to check progress, and other approaches. All learning resources available in all possible media should be considered. The instructor and the students will learn to select the method or material best suited to the student's needs (D.R.E.E., 1974: 23).

L.I.N.C. programs were individualized, although collective activities were not excluded from use, if enough individuals shared particular learning needs. Particular learning prescriptions depended upon student needs, and upon the resources available at each adult education centre.

Upon completion of a prescribed set of learning activities, individualized evaluation procedures measured student mastery of objectives. Two levels of evaluation occurred. First, after each

"item" (ie. particular set of objectives) within a unit, the student wrote an "Item Progress Check." If the student demonstrated mastery of relevant objectives, then the student moved on to individually prescribed learning activities for the next item in that unit. If the relevant objectives had not been mastered, "remedial" activities were prescribed, and then a different version of the Item Progress Check was written. This process continued until, through various Item Progress Checks, the student demonstrated sufficient mastery of all the items in that unit. At that point, the second level of evaluation occurred: the "Unit Progress Check." The Unit Progress Check determined if a student had maintained mastery over all of the learning objectives in that unit. If successful on a Unit Progress Check, the student proceeded to the Placement Inventory for the next unit of the course. The cycle of diagnosis, placement, prescription, and evaluation continued until the student had successfully completed all the units of the course.

L.I.N.C. programs corresponded nicely to the organizational structures, and student attendance habits, of Kitikmeot A.B.E.

The L.I.N.C. program allows continuous intake and continuous graduation. Students can enter the program at any time when there is classroom space, and can leave as soon as they have completed the program. Nobody gets behind due to late entry or absences. No students waste time repeating work that they already know, or waiting for others to catch up. They can interrupt their training if necessary and complete it at times suited to their particular needs (D.R.E.E., 1974: 27).

Given these characteristics, and the ability of adult educators to adapt the program to their own resources and student interests, it would seem that L.I.N.C. embodied progressive education.

Whatever its pedagogical outcomes, L.I.N.C. structured material

experiences which individuated A.B.E. participants, and objectified particular learning needs. First, L.I.N.C. obviously created individualized experiences of schooling. Each student was diagnosed, placed, prescribed activities, and evaluated on an individual basis. Learning programs were explicitly developed to respond to individuals' needs, without consideration of the social realities that framed those needs. Second, L.I.N.C. helped objectify certain characteristics as deficiencies. On DACUM charts, skills of literacy and numeracy lost their social context, and became the seemingly objective properties of their individual holders. Students regularly reviewed and updated these charts, which presented students with a visual representation of academic deficiencies. Third, L.I.N.C. programs regularly used terms that compared educational processes to medical interventions, and student academic needs to pathological physical conditions. Teaching consisted of: examining students to diagnose individual learning needs; prescribing appropriate educational treatments; holding periodic check-ups to gauge student progress; assigning remedial activities when necessary; and documenting the entire process on individualized charts. This medical model of education assigned learning needs to students, just as doctors might assign physiological needs to patients.

By the middle of the 1980's, L.I.N.C. programs were no longer used by most Kitikmeot adult educators. Some educators developed their own A.B.E. programs, and some followed A.B.E. curricula imported from British Columbia by the territorial Department of Education. In 1989, Arctic College began to develop its own A.B.E.

curriculum. An initial version of this curriculum was distributed to Kitikmeot adult educators in the fall of 1989, and a later version became compulsory in September, 1992. The core of Arctic College's A.B.E. program was a set of six English and six math courses, ranging in difficulty from basic literacy and numeracy to university preparation.

The Arctic College (1992a) math program contained six courses: Math 110 (whole numbers and one-step word problems); Math 120 (whole number operations, decimal operations, common fractions, ratios, proportions, percent); Math 130 (metric measurement, geometry, algebra, graphs, introductory statistics); Math 140 (polynomials, exponents, factoring, trigonometry); Math 150 (algebraic equations, equalities, inequalities, functions, graphing, trigonometry); and Math 160 (N.W.T. grade 12 math curricula). Each course was instructed through a combination of individualized study and group instruction. Students were expected to master course objectives at their own pace, and demonstrate this mastery through regular unit tests and a final exam.

The Arctic College (1992b) English program consisted of six courses, each of which shared the same basic objectives:

- (1) Apply reading strategies effectively;
- (2) Develop reading comprehension strategies;
- (3) Use word analysis skills to extract meaning from written text;
- (4) Use the writing process;
- (5) Use writing to express thoughts;
- (6) Develop facility in using correct grammatical, punctuation and spelling conventions as appropriate;
- (7) Develop effective speaking, listening and viewing skills;
- (8) Increase independence and the ability to think conceptually, critically, and creatively; and
- (9) Develop practices to become an efficient student.

The main differences between courses at varying levels were: "the difficulty and the sophistication of the ideas presented and the materials used at each level; the level or depth of the students' engagement with the ideas and material; and the extent to which students are able to control the various elements or variables of the communication process" (Arctic College, 1992b). On the topic of instructional methods, Arctic College (1992b) stated:

The student will participate in classroom discussion groups, independent and group study units, and classroom presentations. To allow for the integration of language, a thematic approach will be used whenever possible. Each unit will have an open-ended structure. The length of time spent on each unit will vary in accordance with the interests and needs of the student.

As in the case of mathematics, A.B.E. students were placed into a particular level of English study based upon the results of their placement tests. Unit tests, course work, and a final exam determined graduation from each particular level. According to their career aspirations, students either continued in A.B.E. until completing the 160 level, or transferred to a vocational training program after completing level 140 or 150.

Arctic College's A.B.E. program was not as radically individualized as the L.I.N.C. program. However, given the realities of high absenteeism, tardiness, student attrition and individual differences of abilities and aspirations, Arctic College recommended that its adult educators use individualized pedagogical practices to meet the needs of their students. Quoting from the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education, the Arctic College (1992c: 51) *Instructor's Handbook* identified nine characteristics of individualized instruction:

- (1) The needs, abilities, and interests of students become prime focal points around which the instructional program centres;
- (2) Students are encouraged to become more active, involved, and responsible for their own instruction;
- (3) The teacher becomes less a presenter of lectures, and more a learning manager and guide;
- (4) The learning objectives are clearly stated in performance terms;
- (5) Varied alternative and optional learning experiences are available to meet the stated objectives;
- (6) The strategies or methods of instruction are designed to reach students as individuals;
- (7) A variety of media and instructional resources is employed, for example: games, role-playing, simulations, case studies, brainstorming, lab work, peer instruction, independent study, community involvement, conferences or interviews, library research and reading, small and large group study, completion of learning packages or programmed materials, project work, group activities such as lectures, presentations or demonstrations;
- (8) The learning environment is designed for flexibility and variety; and
- (9) Students are evaluated in terms of individual performance and not by comparison with others.

Individualized instruction did not preclude group activities; it did position the individual student as the focus of educational practices such as planning, teaching, and evaluating. In practical terms, most Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs from 1979 to 1991 mixed individualized and group forms of instruction. Math was routinely quite individualized, while English blended individual activities (such as reading comprehension questions and workbook activities in grammar, spelling, and vocabulary) with group work (such as reading circles, writing projects, or viewing movies).

In addition to individualizing the A.B.E. experience, Arctic College English and math programs contained evaluative practices which objectified students' putative learning needs. Arctic College (1992c: 16) listed three basic types of student examination: "diagnostic evaluation which is done at the beginning of a program or

unit of study; formative evaluation which is conducted continually throughout the course of instruction; and summative evaluation which occurs at the end of a course or unit." The medical model of adult education that dominated L.I.N.C., also structured Arctic College's programs. Students were initially diagnosed, as carriers of certain learning needs, through a set of standardized exams; they were subsequently treated with various pedagogical remedies, and examined to confirm the removal of learning needs.

Academic skills were not the only learning needs that A.B.E. programs attributed to Kitikmeot Inuit. Life skills programs endeavored to identify and meet a range of personal and vocational needs. Life skills instruction was an important and explicit part of most Kitikmeot A.B.E. courses in the 1980's. In 1979, the N.W.T. Department of Education produced the *Adult Life Skills Training Program* (A.L.S.T.P.). This program was the main official life skills curriculum available to Kitikmeot educators throughout the 1980's. It was superseded in 1992 by the Arctic College *Personal Life Management* course. A.L.T.S.P. identified student life skills needs through confessional techniques, and tried to alleviate those needs through a variety of lessons and activities. Self-awareness, health, personal finances, and housing were the basic units of the A.L.S.T.P. Appendix 5-A reproduces a detailed outline of the modules and learning objectives of this adult life skills program.

The first two learning activities of A.L.S.T.P. encouraged individuals to identify various problems in their lives. These confessional activities encouraged people to recognize certain

aspects of their lives as objective, personal inadequacies. Activity 1A-1, printed in Appendix 5-B, was a "Life Skills Checklist" that identified fifty potential problems. In each case, participants had to indicate if they did or did not possess the skill required to resolve the problem at hand. Of the fifty hypothetical problems, ten each dealt with personal issues, family relations, leisure activities, employment conditions, and community involvement. All fifty cases began with the words "you" or "your" and ended with a forced choice between the declaration that "I have that skill" or "I do not have that skill." For example, case twenty-six suggested: "You've lost your job; you owe money; your wife says you drink too much; and your child is sick. Problems keep piling up. You know what to do and you do it." After completing all fifty such cases on the checklist, each participant completed a score sheet, on which they marked how many skills they possessed for solving each of the five categories of problems. Thus, students not only identified their life skills needs; they also crudely quantified their ability to deal with various types of personal problems.

Activity 1B-1, printed in Appendix 5-C, was a "Life Skills Problems Checklist" that contained 131 statements. To each statement, individuals had to indicate if the issue described either was, was not, or was sometimes, a problem in their life. As Appendix 5-C reveals, these statements involved various issues, such as housing conditions, relations with family and friends, finding and keeping good jobs, involvement with community affairs and the legal system, personal finances and shopping habits, leisure time

activities, setting personal goals, physical and mental health, and feelings of unhappiness, despair, and alienation. All 131 statements required individuals to recognize a situation, and declare whether or not that situation was a problem in their lives. Together, the Life Skills Checklist and the Life Skills Problems Checklist encouraged participants to recognize the objectivity of life skills needs.

Once students had identified their life skills needs, A.L.S.T.P. provided a variety of activities aimed at alleviating those needs. A.L.S.T.P. offered students a strategy through which they could resolve their life skills needs, and become better people. Each unit recommended the same five-step problem solving strategy: recognize the problem; define the problem; choose a solution; apply the solution; and evaluate the result. This strategy encouraged people to recognize and name certain elements of their lives as problems, and to pursue rational, individualized courses of action to remedy such problems. Specific activities gave practice in using this individualized problem solving strategy. For example, learning activity 1B-2 was the following "Problem Solving Worksheet:"

1. What are some of the personal problems or difficulties that are facing you at present?
2. Select one of these problems and try to explain or describe the problem in your words.
3. List as many possible solutions to the problem as you can think of.
4. For each of the possible solutions list the good and bad results that might happen.
5. Which solution do you think is the one worth trying?

6. What are the difficulties you might have in trying to implement the solution?
7. Make a plan of action for implementing the solution listing the steps to be taken and the dates they will be taken.
8. What were the results of your action?

Life skills activities not only objectified particular patterns of behavior as problematic; they also encouraged people to assume individual responsibility for historically constructed patterns of social relations, and to try to change circumstances over which they had little control.

Learning activities in A.L.S.T.P. consistently encouraged students to interpret social problems as individualized life skills problems. To solve such personal problems, these activities also encouraged students to recognize and confess their life skills needs as objective components of themselves. Activities 1A-1, 1B-1, and 1B-2 consistently referred to each participant as an abstract individual. None of the statements in these activities connected problems or individuals to any sort of social or historical context. Problems were assumed to be an individual's own possession, and solutions were possible only through rational, individual action. Such assumptions were ludicrous in the Kitikmeot, given the obviously collective nature of issues such as poverty, unemployment, crowded housing conditions, and lack of recreational activities.

Adult educators' pedagogical practices in English, mathematics, and life skills created a cumulative set of experiences in which students were positioned, and encouraged to see themselves, as inadequate individuals. On a daily basis, these pedagogical

practices specified the learning needs of individual students, who actively participated in activities aimed at alleviating those needs. Often, such pedagogical practices explicitly positioned the individual subject as an objective entity, inherently possessing learning needs. Together with administrative and evaluative routines, adult educators' pedagogical activities created a field of social experience which materially individuated Kitikmeot Inuit, and objectified learning needs.

V.6 Conclusions: From the Objective Construction of Deficit Learners, To the Subjective Experience of Inadequate Individuality

In the 1980's, Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs were structured in a manner analogous to contemporary models of medical intervention. Adult educators endeavored to identify and meet the learning needs of individual students, much as doctors try to diagnose and cure the physiological problems of individual patients. A.B.E. practices were temporally structured in routines of diagnosis, prescription, examination, and check-up. For each new student, adult educators used counselling sessions and formal placement examinations to diagnose and objectify putative learning needs. Educators tried to cure learning needs through individually prescribed educational remedies. Adult educators measured the success of these prescriptions with regular evaluations of student progress, and periodic formal examinations to quantify such progress. At the end of each student's educational treatment, adult educators provided a detailed check-up, consisting of standardized examinations and

reports. Finally, annual student follow-up surveys monitored participants after their direct A.B.E. involvement was over. Kitikmeot adult educators' practices implied distinctively individualized and pathological conceptions of A.B.E. students.

There is no doubt that the structure of Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in the 1980's objectively constructed individuated subjects with specific learning needs. I have presented compelling evidence that the cumulative weight of adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices objectively positioned each participating student as a deficit learner. The objective individuation of students and objectification of needs can be easily perceived through the extensive documentation produced by A.B.E. programs. Each student's involvement with A.B.E. was recorded through personal files containing exam results, performance reviews, copies of school work, and various administrative forms.

Processes of subjective individuation and the inculcation of inadequacies are more difficult to substantiate. I have presented no direct evidence with respect to the subjective impact of A.B.E. experiences on Kitikmeot adults. However, I argue that certain subjective impacts can reasonably be inferred from the objective structure of A.B.E. programs, and the degree of student participation in such programs. Chapter Five has documented the objective structure of A.B.E. as a field of social experience. In the 1980's, adult educators examined, counselled, registered, placed, taught, terminated, and monitored A.B.E. students as inadequate individuals. A.B.E. students actively participated in most of these practices, and

directly experienced themselves as inadequate individuals.

The significance of A.B.E. experiences for students' subjectivities obviously varied according to the length of their involvement with A.B.E. programs. Students who attended for only a few days may have had themselves and their needs objectively documented through registration processes and standardized examinations, but it is unlikely that their subjective sense of individuality was changed at all. In contrast, students who attended for several months were frequently positioned as objectively individuated subjects with specific learning needs, and directly participated in repetitive activities designed to have them subjectively recognize, and try to alleviate, their own putative learning needs. It seems reasonable to infer that the cumulative weight of A.B.E. experiences would have subjectively individuating implications for long-term students.

To recall from Table 4-6 and Appendix 4-C, there was substantial variation in the number of days attended by A.B.E. students in different communities. Out of 1381 total periods of attendance, 370 (27%) lasted ten days or less, while 254 (18%) lasted between eleven and twenty days, and 757 (55%) lasted more than twenty days. Clearly, the subjective impact of A.B.E. programs on students who attended for less than two full weeks would be negligible. However, the subjective impact of A.B.E. experiences upon those students who attended for more than four weeks would likely have been significant. Certainly, for the 310 students who attended more than twelve weeks in a single year, it would be difficult to imagine how they could

have avoided the subjective experience of adult educators' administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical practices.

To summarize, I have documented how Kitikmeot A.B.E. programs in the 1980's constituted a field of intervention which objectified both individuality and learning needs. From the objective structure of A.B.E. programs, and the degree of student participation in these programs, I have inferred that adult educators' practices subjectively individuated some participants, and inculcated a sense of learning needs within those participants. These objective and subjective processes occurred by means of three sets of practices: administrative practices through which student activities were monitored; evaluative practices through which student abilities were examined; and pedagogical practices through which students were encouraged to recognize and overcome their learning needs. Alone, these practices could not structure patterns of individuality and subjectivity in the Kitikmeot. However, A.B.E. programs operated within a wider set of individuating projects of governance. Together with organized practices in fields of health, welfare, economic development, justice, and children's schooling, adult educational practices helped create a cumulative series of individuating experiences. It seems reasonable to infer that these experiences had a significant impact on contemporary forms of individuality and subjectivity. From the cradle to the grave, Kitikmeot Inuit became subject to a repetitive set of state organized practices which both presupposed and produced individuated forms of subjectivity.

CONCLUSIONS

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

The growth and strength of our country will depend in no small part on how, and how well, we manage the development of our northern lands. Every Canadian should know more about the North and about the commitment that we as a nation must make to its future.

Department of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development, 1989
*Looking North: Canada's Arctic
Commitment*

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political 'double bind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures. The conclusion would be that the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the state and from the state's institutions but to liberate us both from the state and from the type of individualization which is linked to the state. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries.

Michel Foucault, 1982
"The Subject and Power"

Summary

At the beginning of this dissertation, I asserted that particular forms of individuality and subjectivity are historically constructed, as human beings experience and engage in social practices and relations. Through five chapters, I have argued that the development of contemporary adult education programs and practices in the Kitikmeot created a field of social relations that individuated subjects, and objectified learning needs. In Chapter One, I: problematized the sociality and historicity of individual subjects; theorized the connections between individuated forms of subjectivity, and particular relations of production and power; located schooling as an important institutional site for the individuation of subjects, and the objectification of needs; and established the conceptual and methodological foundations for my empirical case study of adult education in the Kitikmeot.

In Chapter Two, I argued that contemporary forms of adult education became possible in the Kitikmeot through a long series of political-economic changes in which aboriginal subsistence practices were disorganized, and administered settlements were constructed. I organized these historical developments into four eras: an era of first contacts (1771 to 1910), in which Kitikmeot Inuit practiced fundamentally collective subsistence activities, and Euro-Canadians gradually navigated a Northwest Passage through Kitikmeot waterways; a fur trade era (1910 to 1950) in which traders, missionaries, and R.C.M.P. officers organized the first sustained Euro-Canadian interventions in the region, and Kitikmeot Inuit gradually adapted

their subsistence practices in response to the opportunities afforded, and constraints imposed, by fur trapping, new hunting technologies, relief assistance, and changing game distributions; an administered settlement era (1950 to 1980), in which state personnel constructed permanent communities, and Inuit became involved with wage employment, statutory transfer payments, wooden houses, health and welfare programs, and schooling; and a contemporary era, in which economic activities in the Kitikmeot have been integrally connected with a variety of individuating projects of governance in fields of health and welfare, economic development, justice, and schooling. Contemporary educational practices would have been unthinkable and impossible during the first contacts era. I argued that such practices gradually became possible as aboriginal subsistence practices were disorganized, and as individuating fields of intervention were constructed in the process of state formation.

While Chapter Two documented how contemporary adult education practices became possible in the Kitikmeot, Chapters Three and Four narrated the historical construction of adult education as a state organized field of intervention. These chapters were periodized into three eras: an era (pre-1960) in which state organized adult education programs did not exist, and official discourses only gradually constructed a significant relationship between Inuit, adult education, and modernity; an era (1960 to 1978) in which administrative structures and local programs emerged to organize and control adult educational practices within the parameters of "cultural deprivation" and "deficit learner" regimes of truth; and an

era (1979 to 1991) in which complex administrative structures and numerous local programs operated within the hegemonic parameters of meeting the needs of individual learners. I argued that the development of administrative structures, local programs and official regimes of truth actively created adult education as a significant field of social experience.

While Chapters Three and Four documented the construction of adult education as an organized field of intervention, Chapter Five analyzed how adult educators' practices from 1979 to 1991 individuated A.B.E. participants, and objectified those participants' learning needs. I described the general characteristics of A.B.E. programs, and demonstrated how students were monitored through particular administrative practices, examined through particular evaluative practices, and taught through particular pedagogical practices. I argued that these practices objectively positioned A.B.E. participants as individuals with learning needs, and tended to inculcate a subjective sense of inadequate individuality.

Limitations and Contributions

To conclude, I outline four basic limitations of my dissertation, and review the main contributions that I have made to the practices of sociology and adult education. First, I do not claim to have told the whole story of adult education in the Kitikmeot. I have written a history exclusively "from above," without endeavoring to represent the varied and important responses of Kitikmeot Inuit to state organized educational interventions. My

research was based primarily upon archival and documentary sources, without using the methods of ethnography or oral history. I have looked at state organized forms of adult education, without documenting the emergence of training programs provided by Inuit organizations such as Atli, Tungavik Federation of Nunavut, or the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation. I have focused almost entirely upon the development and operation of adult education as an individuating and objectifying field of social experience; I have not analyzed other significant impacts of educators' practices, such as knowledge provision, cultural assimilation, or economic integration. However, I do claim to have told an important, original, and interesting story. The analytical connections which I have made between individuality, power, and schooling are not new, but the empirical case study which I have used to ground these abstract concepts is clearly unique. The detailed history which I have written is unprecedented in literatures on adult education in the North, and on state organized activities in the Kitikmeot. By connecting recent educational practices with long-term political-economic and symbolic processes, I have created a unique analysis of the relationship between adult education and social change in the Kitikmeot.

Second, I do not claim that my empirical findings may be generalized to all studies of adult education or of governance. In different times and places, the processes which I have analyzed may be more or less salient, and the concepts which I have employed may be more or less relevant. However, I do claim to have identified processes and concepts which are relevant to some empirical contexts

outside the Kitikmeot. For example, similar analyses of power and subjectivity could probably be made with respect to: other organized projects of governance in the Canadian Arctic; schooling of other aboriginal groups in North America; and other contexts in which state formations have expanded to incorporate new territories and populations. While not claiming universal generalizability, the concepts and processes I have identified could be applied beyond the immediate context of adult education in the Kitikmeot.

Third, I do not claim to have elaborated an abstract model which defines the nature of, and interrelationships between, individuality, subjectivity, power, schooling, and societal transformation. I constructed no formal set of "hypotheses" linking these "variables" in a causal chain. However, I have provided a case study which demonstrates how these abstract concepts could be investigated in a diverse number of social and historical settings. In my study, I combined empirical research and analytical perception to deconstruct: political-economic developments through which contemporary forms of adult education became possible in the Kitikmeot; discursive and organizational processes through which adult education was constructed as an organized field of intervention; and material practices through which participating students were individuated and their putative learning needs were objectified. My findings may not be portable to other settings, but the methodological organization of my investigation could be applied to a variety of questions within historical sociology.

Fourth, my dissertation has been critical of contemporary A.B.E.

practices, but I do not claim to have outlined a basis for progressive forms of adult education. I suggest that we need to problematize and debate both the explicit objectives of adult education policies, and the unintended consequences of adult educators' practices. We need to challenge the hegemonic notion that A.B.E. programs exist to identify and meet the learning needs of individuals. We need to understand and debate the consequences of administrative, evaluative, and pedagogical routines. I do not presume to know what the most appropriate objectives and practices would be for adult education in the Kitikmeot; however, with the emergence of Nunavut over the next decade, these objectives and practices should be debated as important political and social issues.

Despite these limitations, my dissertation has the potential to make significant contributions to sociology and adult education. Within sociology, I have: brought forward an original body of empirical materials on the histories of adult education and the Kitikmeot; provided a sophisticated case study which speaks to contemporary debates about governance, subjectivity, and power; and problematized connections, infrequently made, between forms of schooling and forms of individuality. Within adult education, I have: challenged the hegemonic assumption that A.B.E. programs exist to identify and meet the objective learning needs of individual learners; and problematized the social and political significance of everyday classroom practices. Ultimately, I hope that this dissertation may lead to critical debates on both the sociology of education, and the practice of adult education.

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Part B: Files from the National Archives of Canada

<u>Record Group</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>File</u>	<u>Part</u>
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85	65	164-1	2, 3
85	66	164-1	3a
85	1275	164-1	5
85	1359	164-1	7, 8
85	1127	201-1-8	2, 2a
85	1275	205-4/150	1
85	571	244	1
85	1127	250-1-1	1a
85	632	250-16	1
85	1069	251-1	1, 1a
85	1234	251-1	2, 3
85	1235	251-1	4
85	1473	251-1	5
85	1069	251-1	6, 7
85	1931	A251-1	1
85	1274	251-1-4	1
85	1275	251-1-4	2
85	1276	251-1-4	3, 4, 5
85	518	251-8/150	1
85	1893	251-8/150	2, 3
85	98	252-1-2	1, 2
85	365	252-5/145	1
85	384	252-5/165	1
85	678	A252-5/165	1
85	481	252-7/150	1
85	1129	253-1	1, 1a
85	1130	253-1	1b, 2, 3, 4
85	1475	253-1	5, 6, 7
85	1130	254-1	1, 1a
85	1072	254-1	2, 2a, 3
85	1476	254-1	6
85	1476	254-1	7, 9-14

<u>Record Group</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>File</u>	<u>Part</u>
85	1389	405-6	1, 2
85	1497	405-6	3
85	1215	405-6	5
85	210	600-1	1
85	1505	600-1-1	1, 2
85	1506	600-1-1	2a-6
85	1507	600-1-1	7, 8, 9
85	1337	600-1-1	10-14
85	1338	600-1-1	15-17
85	1434	600-1-1	18, 20
85	1338	600-1-1	19
85	1462	600-1-1	21-23
85	1874	600-1-4	1
85	532	600-1-4	2
85	1340	603-5	1
85	228	630/145-1	1
85	400	630/145-1	5
85	644	630/145-1	6
85	1443	630/145-1	7
85	1468	630/145-1	8
85	1983	630/145-2	1
85	228	630/145-2	2
85	400	630/145-2	3
85	401	630/145-2	4
85	541	630/145-2	5
85	542	630/145-2	6
85	644	630/145-2	7
85	710	630/145-2	8
85	710	630/145-3	1
85	644	630/146-3	1
85	497	630/147	1
85	644	630/149-3	1
85	1225	630/150-1	1
85	1469	630/150-1	2
85	442	630/150-2	2
85	442	630/150-3	1
85	644	630/151	1
85	711	630/163-3	1

<u>Record Group</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>File</u>	<u>Part</u>
85	1375	630/165-1	1
85	1469	630/165-1	2
85	498	630/165-2	1
85	645	630/165-3	1
85	1063	630/190-3	1
85	645	630/191-3	1
85	506	690-1	10
85	1266	1000/65	1
85	1118	1000/145	1, 2, 4
85	1266	1000/145	5
85	1347	1000/145	6, 7
85	746	A1000/145	1
85	1119	1000/150	1
85	1348	1000/150	2, 3
85	1951	A1000/150	1
85	1902	1000/165	3
85	746	A1000/165	1
85	1348	1000/185	2
22	805	40-8-9	1
22	869	40-8-9	2
22	940	40-8-9	4
22	871	40-10-4	1
22	872	40-10-4	3

Part C: Records From the Government of the N.W.T.,
Cambridge Bay Records Storage Centre

(1) "Adult Educators' Monthly Reports"

Cambridge Bay

September, 1980 to May, 1981
August, 1981 to May, 1982
August, 1982
June, 1983 to October, 1983
December, 1983 to June, 1984
August, 1984 to October, 1984
December, 1984 to April, 1985
June, 1985
August, 1985 to November, 1985
February, 1986 to June, 1987
August, 1987 to May, 1988
August, 1988 to November, 1988
January, 1989 to April, 1989
June, 1989
September, 1989 to December, 1989
February, 1990 to April, 1990
September, 1990 to April, 1991

Coppermine

December, 1982 to April, 1983
October, 1983 to June, 1984
August, 1984 to June, 1985
August, 1985 to May, 1986
August, 1986 to May, 1987
September, 1987 to June, 1988
August, 1988
October, 1988 to June, 1989
August, 1989 to June, 1990
September, 1990 to April, 1991
June, 1991 to July, 1991

Gjoa Haven

October, 1980 to November, 1980
January, 1981 to April, 1981
August, 1981 to October, 1981
December, 1981
March, 1982
September, 1982 to May, 1983
August, 1983 to January, 1984
March, 1984 to April, 1984
October, 1984 to May, 1985
August, 1985 to January, 1986
March, 1986 to May, 1986
September, 1986 to November, 1986
January, 1987 to April, 1987

September, 1987 to May, 1988
 October, 1988 to December, 1988
 February, 1989 to March, 1989
 September, 1989
 November, 1989 to December, 1989
 February, 1990 to May, 1990
 October, 1990 to November, 1990
 January, 1991 to March, 1991

Holman

September, 1986 to February, 1987
 April, 1987 to May, 1987
 August, 1987 to April, 1988
 September, 1988 to March, 1989
 August, 1989 to March, 1991
 June, 1991 to July, 1991

Pelly Bay

September, 1987 to March, 1988

Spence Bay

September, 1982 to March, 1983
 September, 1983 to October, 1983
 December, 1983 to May, 1984
 July, 1984 to February, 1985
 April, 1985 to June, 1985
 September, 1985 to April, 1986
 August, 1986 to May, 1987
 July, 1987
 September, 1987 to August, 1987
 December, 1987 to January, 1988
 March, 1988 to April, 1988
 September, 1988 to December, 1988
 September, 1989 to December, 1989
 March, 1990 to June, 1990
 August, 1990 to April, 1991

(2) "Kitikmeot Campus Reports" (Arctic College)

November 21, 1988
 January 24, 1989
 March 23, 1989
 May 10, 1989
 August 21, 1989
 September 29, 1989
 January 3, 1990
 April 11, 1990
 May 22, 1990
 July 9, 1990
 October 4, 1990
 November 14, 1990

January 18, 1991
April 3, 1991
July 22, 1991
September 10, 1991
September 26, 1991

(3) "Continuing and Special Education Project Approval Forms"

1979 - 1980: 10 forms
1980 - 1981: 23 forms
1981 - 1982: 23 forms
1982 - 1983: 37 forms
1983 - 1984: 19 forms

(4) "Arctic College Computerized Student Records System"

1979 to 1991 inclusive

Appendix 4-A: Adult Education Courses, by Community and YearCambridge Bay

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
A.B.E.	D	D	D(2)	D	D	D
Inuktitut	E	E	-	-	E	-
Typing	E	E	-	-	E	E
Nutrition	E	E	E	E(2)	-	-
Evening ABE	-	E	-	-	-	E
Sewing	E	E	E	E(2)	-	-
Ceramics	E	E	-	-	-	-
Macrame	E	E	-	-	E	-
Clerk-typist	D	E	D	-	-	-
Bookkeeping	D	-	-	-	E(2)	E(2)
Small Engines	E	-	-	-	-	-
Photography	E	E	-	-	-	-
Crafts	-	E	-	-	-	-
Quilting	-	E	-	-	-	-
Accounting	-	E	E	E	-	-
Housing Maint.	-	D	-	-	-	-
H.E.O.	-	D	-	-	-	-
Cooking	-	-	E	-	-	-
Welding	-	-	E	-	-	-
Driving-5	-	-	D	D	-	-
Sign Language	-	-	D	-	-	-
A.B.E. Tutor	-	-	-	U	-	-
Computers	-	-	-	-	E,U	E
B.O.P.	-	-	-	-	-	D
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	-	D

(Note: In this, and subsequent charts in Appendix 4-A, "D" refers to daytime courses, "E" refers to evening courses, and "U" refers to courses that may have been offered in either daytime or evening. Where a number appears in parentheses, more than one such course was offered in a given year.)

Cambridge Bay (Continued)

	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
A.B.E.	D(2)	D(2)	D	D(2)	D	D
Inuktitut	E	E	-	-	-	-
Typing	E	E(2)	-	-	E	E
Literacy	-	-	-	-	D	D
Evening ABE	-	E	-	-	-	E
Bookkeeping	-	E	E	-	-	-
Accounting	E	-	-	-	-	E(2)
H.E.O.	-	-	-	-	U	-
Driving-5	-	-	-	-	D	U
Sign Language	-	-	-	-	E	-
Computers	E	E	-	-	D(3)	E,U
B.O.P.	-	D	D	D	D	D
Writing	D	-	-	-	-	-
Tourism	E	-	-	-	-	-
First Aid	-	U	-	U	D	-
C.P.R.	-	U	-	U	D	-
Calligraphy	-	-	E(2)	-	-	-
Word Process.	-	-	E	-	D(2)	U
Hair styling	-	-	-	D	D	-
Drywall	-	-	-	D	D	-
power engineer	-	-	-	D	-	-
Pre-apprentice	-	-	-	-	D	-
Sociology	-	-	-	-	D	-
Small business	-	-	-	-	D	-
Lotus 1-2-3-	-	-	-	-	D	U
Dbase	-	-	-	-	D	-
Guide training	-	-	-	-	D	-
Board training	-	-	-	-	D	-
W.O.W.	-	-	-	-	D	-
Abuse prev.	-	-	-	-	D	-
Suicide prev.	-	-	-	-	D	-
Pers. commun.	-	-	-	-	D	-
P.V.T. 10-12	-	-	-	-	-	D
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	-	U
Life skills	-	-	-	-	-	D
Parenting	-	-	-	-	-	U
Anger Mgmt.	-	-	-	-	-	U
Drawing	-	-	-	-	-	U
Drama	-	-	-	-	-	D

Coppermine

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
A.B.E.	D	-	D	D	D	D
Inuktitut	-	E	-	-	-	-
Evening ABE	-	-	-	E	-	-
Nutrition	-	E(2)	-	E	-	-
Sewing	-	E	E	E	-	-
Cooking	-	-	E	E	-	-
Ceramics	-	-	-	E	-	-
Typing	-	-	-	E	-	-
Parenting	-	-	-	U	-	-
Music	-	-	-	E	-	-
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	D	-
Drug Awareness	-	-	-	-	D	-
Literacy	-	-	-	-	-	D
Guide training	-	-	-	-	-	D
	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
A.B.E.	D	D	D	D	D(2)	D(2)
Inuktitut	-	-	-	E	-	-
Evening ABE	-	-	-	-	E	E
Typing	-	E	-	-	-	E
Parenting	-	-	-	-	D	-
Literacy	D	-	-	-	-	-
B.O.P.	-	D	D	D	-	-
Bookkeeping	-	E	E	-	-	-
Computers	-	E	-	-	D	-
Family life	-	D	-	-	-	-
Assertiveness	-	D	-	-	-	-
Local history	-	E	E	-	-	-
Wildflowers	-	E	-	-	-	-
Guide training	-	-	D	D	-	-
Coaching	-	-	D	-	-	-
Minute taking	-	-	-	D	-	-
Tourism	-	-	-	D	-	-
Prospecting	-	-	-	D	D	-
Radio	-	-	-	E	-	-
T.E.P.	-	-	-	-	D	-
H.E.O.	-	-	-	-	U	-
Local studies	-	-	-	-	E	-
Clerk-typist	-	-	-	-	-	D
Word process.	-	-	-	-	-	E
Life skills	-	-	-	-	-	D

Gjoa Haven

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
A.P.E.	D	D	D	D	D	D
Inuktitut	E	E	E	E(2)	E	E
Evening ABE	E	E	-	-	E	E
Sewing	-	E	-	E	-	-
Literacy	-	E	-	-	-	-
Nutrition	-	E	-	E	-	-
Clerk-typist	E	-	-	-	-	-
H.E.O.	D	-	-	-	-	-
Inuktitut math	-	E	-	-	-	-
Family budget	-	E	-	-	-	-
Typing	-	-	D	-	-	-
Housing maint.	-	-	E	-	-	-
Skidoo maint.	-	-	E	-	-	-
Guide training	-	-	-	D	-	-
Small engines	-	-	-	E	E	-
Driving-5	-	-	-	E	D	-
Cooking	-	-	-	-	E	E
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	D	-
Senior A.B.E.	-	-	-	-	-	E
Computers	-	-	-	-	-	E
Income taxes	-	-	-	-	-	E

Gjoa Haven (Continued)

	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
A.B.E.	D	D	D	D	D	D
Inuktitut	E	E	-	E	D,E	E
Evening ABE	-	-	-	-	E	-
Literacy	-	-	-	-	D,E	D
Nutrition	-	-	-	-	-	E
Typing	-	-	-	E	E	-
Guide training	-	-	D	-	-	-
Income taxes	E	E	-	E	E	E
Small business	D	E	-	-	D	-
Bookkeeping	D	-	E	E	-	D
Commun. Admin.	-	-	E	-	-	U
Prospecting	-	-	D	-	-	-
Parenting	-	-	E	-	U	-
B.O.P.	-	-	-	-	D	-
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	-	D
Read to kids	-	-	-	-	-	D
Driving-5	-	-	-	-	-	D
Driving-3	-	-	-	-	-	D
Resumes	-	-	-	-	-	U
Wall hangings	-	-	-	-	-	U

Holman

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
Evening ABE	E	-	-	-	E	E
Inuktitut	-	E	-	-	-	-
H.E.O.	D	-	-	-	-	-
Cooking	-	E	-	E	-	D
Sewing	-	E	-	E	E	-
Woodworking	-	E	E	E	E	-
Crafts	-	-	E	-	-	-
Quilting	-	-	-	E	E	-
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	-	D
	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
Evening ABE	E	-	-	E	-	E
A.B.E.	-	D	D	D	D(2)	D
Inuktitut	-	-	-	E	-	-
Woodworking	-	E	-	-	-	-
Carpentry	-	-	-	-	D	-
Typing	-	E(2)	-	-	-	D
Bus. writing	-	D	-	-	-	-
Handloading	-	E	-	-	-	-
Music	-	E	-	-	-	-
Xmas crafts	-	E	-	-	D	D
Dress making	-	-	E	E	-	-
Accounting	-	-	E	-	-	-
Computers	-	-	E	-	-	-
Literacy	-	-	-	E	E	-
Knitting	-	-	-	E	-	-
Better bus.	-	-	-	D	-	-
Income taxes	-	-	-	E	-	D
Shorthand	-	-	-	-	E	-
Board training	-	-	-	-	D	-
Carving	-	-	-	-	D	-
Decoy making	-	-	-	-	E	-
Reading guide	-	-	-	-	-	D
Elder literacy	-	-	-	-	-	E
Read to kids	-	-	-	-	-	E
Drawing	-	-	-	-	-	U
Stained glass	-	-	-	-	-	D

Pelly Bay

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
Inuktitut	-	E	-	D	E	-
Evening ABE	-	-	-	-	-	E
H.E.O.	D	-	-	-	-	-
Nutrition	-	E(2)	-	E	-	-
Parenting	-	E(2)	-	-	-	-
Cooking	-	-	E	-	-	-
Sewing	-	-	E	E	E	E
Income taxes	-	-	-	E	-	-
Typing	-	-	-	-	E	-

	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
A.B.E.	-	D	D	-	-	-
Evening ABE	-	-	E	-	-	-
Literacy	D	-	-	-	D	D
Carpentry	D	-	-	-	-	-

Spence Bay

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
A.B.E.	D	D	D	D	D(2)	D
Inuktitut	E	E	E	E	-	E
Literacy	-	E	E	E	-	-
Nutrition	E	E(2)	-	-	-	-
Tape measure	E	-	-	-	-	-
H.E.O.	D	-	-	-	-	-
Parenting	-	E	-	-	-	-
Crafts	-	-	-	E	-	-
Small engines	-	-	-	-	E	-
Evening ABE	-	-	-	-	-	E
Driving-5	-	-	-	-	-	E
	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
A.B.E.	D	D(2)	D	D	D	D
Literacy	-	-	-	-	U	D
Typing	E(2)	-	-	-	-	-
Evening ABE	E	E	-	-	-	-
Knitting	-	E	-	E	E	-
Carpentry	-	U	-	-	D	-
Stained glass	-	E	-	-	-	U
Word process.	-	-	-	E	-	-
Const. safety	-	-	-	D	-	-
Computers	-	-	-	-	D	-
Board training	-	-	-	-	D	-
Life skills	-	-	-	-	-	D

Appendix 4-B: Detailed Estimates of Student Participation**Number of Students By Type of Course**

	<u>Academic</u>	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Trades</u>	<u>Life Skills</u>	<u>General Interest</u>	<u>Totals</u>
known full-time	1434	202	111	66	0	1813
estimated full-time	8	24	32	0	0	64
total full-time	1442	226	143	66	0	1877
known part-time	306	515	143	896	349	2209
estimated part-time	88	168	64	264	152	736
total part-time	394	683	207	1160	501	2945
grand total	1836	909	350	1226	501	4822
per cent of total	38.4%	18.9%	7.3%	25.4%	10.4%	100%

Number of Students by Community

	<u>Cambridge Bay</u>	<u>Coppermine</u>	<u>Gjoa Haven</u>	<u>Holman</u>	<u>Pelly Bay</u>	<u>Spence Bay</u>
known full-time	538	387	359	204	61	264
estimated full-time	32	0	16	0	8	8
total full-time	570	387	375	204	69	272
known part-time	734	299	588	302	169	117
estimated part-time	248	64	160	96	32	136
total part-time	982	363	748	398	201	253
grand total	1552	750	1123	602	270	525
per cent of total	32.2%	15.5%	23.3%	12.5%	5.6%	10.9%

Number of Students By Academic Year

	<u>1979-80</u>	<u>1980-81</u>	<u>1981-82</u>	<u>1982-83</u>	<u>1983-84</u>	<u>1984-85</u>
known full-time	69	46	93	90	129	162
estimated full-time	8	16	0	8	0	0
total full-time	77	62	93	98	129	162
known part-time	61	139	193	294	224	125
estimated part-time	64	184	0	16	8	32
total part-time	125	323	193	310	232	157
grand total	202	385	286	408	361	319
	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>	<u>1987-88</u>	<u>1988-89</u>	<u>1989-90</u>	<u>1990-91</u>
known full-time	139	182	215	224	276	188
estimated full-time	24	8	0	0	0	0
total full-time	163	190	215	224	276	188
known part-time	87	180	57	175	383	291
estimated part-time	72	96	64	80	32	88
total part-time	159	276	121	255	415	379
grand total	322	466	336	479	691	567

**Appendix 4-C: Participation of Students, By Number of
Days in Kitikmeot A.B.E. Programs, 1979 to 1991**

1979 - 1980

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	11	3	5	1	3	23	22.2
Coppermine	-	1	-	-	-	1	17.0
Gjoa Haven	8	5	2	2	1	18	20.4
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	1	-	-	1	34.5
Spence Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	19	9	8	3	4	43	21.6

1980 - 1981

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	6	6	4	4	6	26	32.5
Coppermine	-	-	1	-	-	1	33.5
Gjoa Haven	3	2	1	6	7	19	51.7
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	9	8	6	10	13	46	40.5

1981 - 1982

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	11	6	2	7	5	31	32.9
Coppermine	2	1	1	-	-	4	11.8
Gjoa Haven	3	1	13	-	-	17	29.4
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	8	3	6	1	8	26	37.1
Total	24	11	22	8	13	78	32.5

1982 - 1983

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	11	6	1	-	-	18	9.7
Coppermine	10	3	6	2	-	21	17.5
Gjoa Haven	6	8	5	5	10	34	48.3
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	1	-	-	1	22.5
Spence Bay	2	2	4	3	5	16	43.1
Total	29	19	17	10	15	90	32.2

1983 - 1984

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	7	4	10	5	9	35	45.4
Coppermine	7	4	6	5	5	27	36.6
Gjoa Haven	2	1	4	8	15	30	69.7
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	1	-	-	-	-	1	1.5
Spence Bay	1	9	1	3	8	22	49.9
Total	18	18	21	21	37	115	50.2

1984 - 1985

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	3	6	5	3	13	30	61.9
Coppermine	13	4	2	2	8	29	36.0
Gjoa Haven	8	7	5	7	8	35	38.7
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	4	6	6	1	8	25	40.9
Total	28	23	18	13	37	119	44.4

1985 - 1986

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	9	3	9	3	10	34	45.2
Coppermine	8	9	5	1	7	30	34.4
Gjoa Haven	3	4	5	7	10	29	34.4
Holman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pelly Bay	-	-	3	-	6	9	76.7
Spence Bay	2	1	4	5	10	22	51.0
Total	22	17	26	16	43	124	48.1

1986 - 1987

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	8	7	5	6	10	36	43.8
Coppermine	11	5	9	2	4	31	27.1
Gjoa Haven	7	9	11	4	8	39	41.8
Holman	11	6	7	5	-	29	41.8
Pelly Bay	-	-	1	-	-	1	34.5
Spence Bay	2	7	3	3	10	25	47.0
Total	39	34	35	20	32	160	36.5

1987 - 1988

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	8	4	6	2	8	28	41.3
Coppermine	14	3	10	-	5	32	29.1
Gjoa Haven	5	7	4	4	8	28	47.2
Holman	11	5	12	6	1	35	25.4
Pelly Bay	9	3	13	2	1	28	25.4
Spence Bay	3	8	5	5	7	28	40.1
Total	50	30	50	19	30	179	33.9

1988 - 1989

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	12	5	3	1	6	27	29.8
Coppermine	10	10	9	6	14	49	36.8
Gjoa Haven	6	8	4	5	8	31	37.7
Holman	17	3	2	4	6	32	28.3
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	6	5	5	5	6	27	37.2
Total	51	31	23	21	40	166	34.3

1989 - 1990

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	8	9	7	4	6	34	29.9
Coppermine	12	6	7	5	-	30	20.0
Gjoa Haven	9	2	5	1	5	22	29.4
Holman	12	5	2	2	6	27	27.5
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	3	4	8	1	5	21	40.4
Total	44	26	29	13	22	134	28.7

1990 - 1991

<u>Community of origin</u>	<u>1-10 days</u>	<u>11-20 days</u>	<u>21-40 days</u>	<u>41-60 days</u>	<u>60+ days</u>	<u>total students</u>	<u>mean days attended</u>
Cam. Bay	18	7	9	2	5	41	22.9
Coppermine	10	10	7	2	4	33	28.0
Gjoa Haven	2	-	4	3	10	19	62.4
Holman	1	2	5	4	5	17	47.4
Pelly Bay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spence Bay	6	9	1	1	-	17	13.6
Total	37	28	26	12	24	127	32.2

Appendix 5-A:N.W.T. Adult Life Skills Training Program (1979)Unit 1: Increase Self-Awareness**Module 1A: Explore Personal Strengths and Limitations****Objectives:**

1. Identify stages of personal development in the human life cycle.
2. Identify personal needs during the human life cycle.
3. Identify personal strengths and limitations.
4. Accept counselling concerning personal strengths and weaknesses.

Module 1B: Utilize Problem Solving Techniques**Objectives:**

1. Recognize a problems in his/her life situation.
2. Define the problem.
3. Choose a solution to the problem.
4. Apply a solution.
5. Evaluate the result.

Module 1C: Practice Assertiveness Skills**Objectives:**

1. Identify basic assertiveness rights.
2. Identify the characteristics of an assertive person.
3. Practice assertiveness skills.

[* note: Unit 2 was missing from both copies of A.L.S.T.P. which I was able to find.]

Unit 3: Maintain Good Personal Health**Module 3A: Identify the Effects of Good and Bad Nutrition****Objectives:**

1. Define the terms nutrition and nutrient.
2. Identify the six basic nutrients.
3. Identify foods available in the North which supply essential nutrients.
4. List some of the nutrition related problems commonly found in the North.
5. Identify some of the consequences of poor nutritional choices.

Module 3B: Select Nutritious, Low Cost Foods**Objectives:**

1. Classify food according to the four food groups.
2. Identify the four food groups that should be included in one's daily diet.
3. Compare the nutritional value of "land" food with "store" food.
4. Plan a nutritious, well-balanced meal.

Module 3C: Maintain Personal Physical Fitness**Objectives:**

1. Provide reasons why physical fitness is important to good health.
2. Identify activities and facilities in the community which contribute to good physical fitness.
3. Prepare a personal plan of action to improve his/her physical fitness.

Module 3D: Assist in Controlling the Spread of Communicable Disease**Objectives:**

1. Define the term communicable disease.
2. State the causes, symptoms and treatment of some of the more common communicable diseases e.g. the common cold, tuberculosis, scabies.
3. Practice appropriate methods of personal and domestic cleanliness in order to control the spread of communicable disease.
4. Identify appropriate health resources available in the community.

Module 3E: Promote Good Mental Health**Objectives:**

1. Define the terms mental health and mental illness.
2. State ways of maintaining good mental health.
3. Identify resources.
4. Distinguish between fear and anxiety.

Unit 4: Manage Personal Finances**Module 4A: Draw Up and Follow a Budget****Objectives:**

1. Calculate his/her own monthly income and expenses.
2. Prepare a personal monthly budget.
3. Maintain a record of his/her expenditures.
4. Revise or amend his/her budget when necessary.

Module 4B: Use Financial Services Appropriately**Objectives:**

1. Write cheques correctly.
2. Endorse cheques.
3. Complete application forms for bank accounts.
4. Complete deposit and withdrawal slips.
5. Balance a cheque book with a bank statement.

Module 4C: Select Basic Types of Insurance**Objectives:**

1. Define the following terms: (a) insurance, (b) insurance premium, and (c) insurance policy.
2. Distinguish between the basic types of life insurance.
3. Identify basic types of coverage available in: (a) home insurance, and (b) automobile insurance.
4. Select appropriate insurance coverage.

Module 4D: Make Appropriate Use of Credit**Objectives:**

1. Define the term consumer credit.
2. Identify various types of consumer credit and where they may be obtained.
3. Identify the obligations and responsibilities of using credit.
4. Identify ways of maintaining a good credit rating.
5. Calculate the cost of using credit for a given purchase.
6. Determine points to be checked before signing a contract.

Module 4E: Develop Habits of Wise Consumer Buying**Objectives:**

1. Name and locate consumer help agencies.
2. Obtain information concerning consumer products available in the N.W.T.
3. Select a consumer product on the basis of an informed decision.
4. Practice wise consumer habits in purchasing food, clothing, transportation and housing.

Module 4F: Demonstrate Consumer Rights and Responsibilities**Objectives:**

1. Define consumer.
2. Identify basic consumer rights and responsibilities.
3. Identify the steps in making an effective consumer complaint.
4. Identify helping agencies in the N.W.T.
5. Define commonly used terms in consumer protection.

Unit 5: Maintain a Suitable Living Environment**Module 5A: Select Living Area to Suit Personal Needs****Objectives:**

1. Differentiate between different types of housing units.
2. Identify advantages of multiple-family housing units.
3. Identify his/her family's housing needs.
4. Identify advantages and disadvantages of renting a home.
5. Identify sources of financial assistance in buying a home.

Module 5B: Effectively Use and Maintain Household Appliances and Equipment**Objectives:**

1. Demonstrate good usage and care of an electrical range.
2. Demonstrate good usage and care of a refrigerator.
3. Demonstrate good usage and care of a washer, dryer, and other electrical appliances in the home.
4. Demonstrate good usage and care of plumbing equipment in the home.
5. Demonstrate good usage and care of heating equipment.
6. Identify channels for maintenance and emergency service of household appliances and equipment.
7. Practice energy conservation in the home.

Module 5C: Maintain Effective Safety Standards**Objectives:**

1. Maintain effective safety procedures when using household electrical appliances.
2. Maintain effective safety procedures when using furnaces and stoves.
3. Practice household security when leaving the home unoccupied for more than 24 hours.
4. Implement fire prevention practices in the home.

Appendix 5-B: Life Skills Checklist

The following statements constitute activity 1A-1 in the Adult Life Skills Training Program produced by the territorial Department of Education (1979). In the original checklist, the student is given the choice of marking, for each statement, either (1) "I have that skill," or (2) "I do not have that skill." The letter and number that precede each statement are the same as in the original text. The letters refer to five categories of questions: 'S' for self; 'F' for family; 'L' for leisure; 'J' for job; and 'C' for community. There are ten statements for each category.

- S.1 You are late for work. The boss is mad and tells you that you don't do a lot of things right. You do not want to lose your job. You know what to do and you do it.
- F.2 You fight with your wife and you know she is right. You know what to do and you do it.
- L.3 You and a friend are having a beer. You know you should go home. He coaxes you to have 'one more for the road.' You know what to do and you do it.
- C.4 You visit strange towns without money or friends. You want help. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.5 You have just had a chance for a good job. The boss asks you references. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.6 You helped a friend fix his house. He compliments you and says nice things about you. You are embarrassed. You know what to do and you do it.
- F.7 Your marriage is not working out. You fight all the time and feel it is best to separate for awhile. You know what to do and you do it.
- L.8 You want to meet new people but you don't want to get into any trouble. You know what to do and you do it.
- C.9 You are in a pub when a fight breaks out at the next table. You try to stop it. You are arrested. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.10 You want a job. Employment Canada tells you there are no jobs available. You decide to find out for yourself. You know what to do and you do it.

- S.11 Your friend does some little thing that annoys you. It annoys others too. You think he would stop it if he knew it bothered people. You know what to say and you say it.
- F.12 You are (or know) an unmarried mother. You (or your friend) need help supporting the child. you know where to get help and you ask for it.
- L.13 You want to find something fun to do but everything you think of seems to need money. You decide there must be some interesting things to do without money. You know what to do and you do it.
- C.14 You can't find your wallet. You think someone stole it. You want the police to start an investigation. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.15 You feel your boss has treated you unfairly. You want to talk to him about it but don't want to lose your job. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.16 You have just been asked to make a speech at a community meeting. You know how to plan a speech and you give it.
- F.17 You are having trouble making ends meet from one pay day to the next. You always seem to run out of money three days before you get paid. You know how to plan a budget and you stick to it.
- L.18 You like to play poker once in awhile but don't have the money to play often. You can plan do play, and how much to spend and you stick to your plan.
- C.19 You want to make a motion at a meeting. You know what to say and you say it.
- J.20 You don't like your job. You want to quit but don't want to spoil your chances for another job. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.21 You think you (or a friend you know) may have a drinking problem. You try to quit drinking but always weaken. You know where to get help and you go there.
- F.22 You have children to support. You do not have a husband (wife) to help you. No one understands your problems. You know where to go to find help from others with the same problem and go there.
- L.23 You know how to make friends and you keep them.
- C.24 You have been charged with an offense you didn't do. You need legal help. You know what to do and you do it.

- J.25 You apply for a job. There are many forms to fill in. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.26 You've lost a job; you owe money; your wife says you drink too much; and your child is sick. Problems keep piling up. You know what to do and you do it.
- F.27 You know how to shop wisely and get the best value for your money. You stick to your plans to shop wisely without buying things you don't really need.
- L.28 Friends drop into your house every evening for a drink. You would like to have some time with your family or do other things. You know what to do and you do it.
- C.29 Your neighbor's house burned down; you want to organize a community project to help them. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.30 You have a job you like but there are other employees you can't stand and you have to work with them. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.31 You wait for a bus in the bus depot. A man makes a pass at you (another man). You know what to do and you do it.
- F.32 You and your husband (or wife) have all the children you think you can support. You don't want any more babies. You know what to do and you do it.
- L.33 You want to start a hobby (painting, writing, building a boat, cooking). You know how to get started and you do it.
- *note* C.34 is missing from the original text.
- J.35 You have to speak at a union meeting. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.36 You have tried some drugs and find you want more. You might get "hooked." You know where to get help and you get it.
- F.37 Your child is not doing well at school and he is getting into trouble in the community. You wonder what is upsetting him. You know how to find help and you help him.
- L.38 Your teenagers complain about nothing to do and not enough money to spend. You want to help them have fun that won't cost money. You know what to do and you do it.
- C.39 You would like to join a group or take part in sports, the arts or other recreational activities. You know where to go to find out about clubs, how to join them and you do it.

- J.40 You have a new job. You want to look your best but haven't had much experience shopping for clothes that are in style. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.41 You have a problem and you ask for help. The person you ask for help is blunter than you expected him to be. You handle the comments he makes.
- F.42 You live in a rented house that needs fixing. Your landlord keeps putting it off. You know what to do and you do it.
- L.43 You have too much time on your hands. You decide to do something about it. You know what to do and you do it.
- C.44 You have nosey neighbors and are sick of their gossiping. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.45 You have a hobby you really like. You'd like to get a job that was as interesting. You decide to find out about different jobs. You know what to do and you do it.
- S.46 You know what you want to do with your life. You have goals you think you can reach. You know what to do and you do it.
- F.47 You know what you would like for your family. You know how to go about getting it and you do it.
- L.48 You know what you want to do in your leisure time. You can plan and do it.
- C.49 You like the community you live in and you want to help keep it a good place for your family to live in. You know what to do and you do it.
- J.50 You know of a job you want. You know how to apply and you do it.

Appendix 5-C: Life Skills Problem Checklist

The following statements constitute activity 1B-1 in the Adult Life Skills Training Program produced by the territorial Department of Education (1979). In the original checklist, the student is given the choice of marking, for each statement, either (1) "This is a problem;" (2) "This is not a problem;" or (3) "This is sometimes a problem."

1. I have trouble keeping up my rent or mortgage payments.
2. I need a better place to live but I cannot afford it.
3. I think that I and members of my family have a lot of sickness because of the place we live in.
4. I feel bad because of my surroundings.
5. I don't know where I can find room to have fun out of doors.
6. I don't look after my yard or grounds.
7. I waste money because I don't have things fixed on time.
8. I don't bother with warranties on things I buy.
9. Garbage causes a bad odor in the place where I live.
10. My place gets very cold in the winter.
11. I can't find things I want in the place where I live.
12. I can't find a place in my home to be by myself when I want to be.
13. People in the place where I live can't agree on the use of appliances.
14. People in the place where I live can't agree on the use of money.
15. People in the place where I live can't agree on the use of space.
16. People in the place where I live can't agree on the use of time.
17. People in the place where I live are too noisy.
18. I have trouble getting people where I live to understand me.
19. I have trouble discussing things with other people in the place where I live.

- 20 We don't seem to be together as a family very often.
21. I feel left out of things at the place where I live.
22. I feel that other people in the place where I live look down on me.
23. People in the place where I live argue.
24. People in the place where I live fight.
25. I have trouble working with the people in the place where I live.
26. I argue a lot with the people in the place where I live.
27. I feel uncomfortable when I am with people.
28. I do not understand how the local government operates.
29. I feel left out of community affairs.
30. I do not know how to go about starting changes in the community.
31. I don't know enough about things happening in the community to discuss them.
32. I do not know where to get the information I want about community affairs.
33. I do not know where community activities take place.
34. I would rather draw unemployment than work.
35. I feel the world owes me a living.
36. I cannot decide what type of work I want to do.
37. I can't get the type of work I want in my community.
38. I do not want to move away from my community.
39. I would move away but my family is holding me back.
40. I do not know how to apply for a job.
41. I feel very uneasy during a job interview and can't seem to say what I would like to say at the time.
42. The people I work with don't seem to like me and I don't understand why.
43. When working I am often not sure exactly what I should be doing.

44. I feel that the work day is too long.
45. Other people on the job bother me.
46. I can't seem to get along with the people I work with.
47. I complain a lot about my work.
48. I think I have some good suggestions which might improve working conditions but I am afraid to talk them over with the boss.
49. I do not know hoe to leave a job without causing hard feelings.
50. I often complain to me fellow employees rather than taking my complaints to the boss.
51. I am often late for work.
52. I cannot always pay my regular bills. I do not have enough left for living expenses.
53. I have to spend too much of my income on clothing.
54. I have to spend too much of my income on fuel.
55. I cannot afford luxuries.
56. I have a problem getting credit.
57. I do not know how to draw up a budget.
58. I have to pay very high interest on loans.
59. I am not sure which place is the best to get a loan from.
60. I cannot manage to save for a vacation.
61. I have trouble sticking to a budget.
62. I am not familiar with the services offered by banks and credit unions.
63. I cannot get credit.
64. I have difficulty affording even the essential things I need.
65. I do not know how to go about drawing up a will.
66. I am unable to save money.

67. I feel that I pay too high a service charge on things I buy on credit.
68. I buy things I don't need.
69. I have trouble resisting sales.
70. I do not know where to complain when I feel that I have been cheated.
71. I cannot tell good products from poor products.
72. I do not know where to find information which will help me be a wiser shopper.
73. I do not know the cost of operating appliances.
74. I do not know the cost of upkeep of appliances.
75. Some of the things I buy don't last as long as I think they should.
76. I do not know my rights under the law.
77. I am not absolutely sure that I understand the role of the police.
78. I do not feel that the law treats me the same way as it might treat some other people.
79. Changes in the law upset me.
80. I do not know where to make a complaint if I feel that society has treated me unjustly.
81. People will not listen to me when I complain about an unjust society.
82. I do not know what community services are available to me.
83. I do not know how to contact community service agents such as police, fire department, welfare department.
84. I don't use the community services because I don't want to become involved.
85. I don't know the function of most community services.
86. I do not know my personal role in the community.
87. I do not understand my family's role in the community.

88. I do not know what protection is available to me.
89. I know something is wrong with my life, but I don't know what it is.
90. I don't know what I should be doing with my life.
91. I blame other people when things go wrong.
92. My life is not as interesting as I think it should be.
93. I hate to ask advice or help from people who might be able to give it to me.
94. I know there are solutions to a lot of my problems, but I never seem to get around to finding them.
95. Rather than trying to solve my problems, I ignore them and hope they will go away.
96. I don't try new ways of doing things.
97. I don't take time to think about the things that I have accomplished or to take a little pride in them.
98. I put off making decisions until the last minute.
99. I don't set goals.
100. When I do set goals I seem to fail to achieve them.
101. I have no long range career plans.
102. Very few things in life give me much pleasure.
103. I do not find new ways to enjoy myself.
104. I don't enjoy meals because I don't have a good appetite.
105. I have a weight problem.
106. Something can be wrong with me for a long time before I see a doctor about it.
107. I don't bother about vitamins and minerals.
108. I and other members of my family have a lot of colds.
109. I take a lot of pills without thinking what effect they might have on me.

110. Tobacco, liquor or drugs seem to be messing up my health and my life.
111. I don't get very much exercise.
112. Some person (persons) is (are) making my life miserable.
113. I make life miserable for others.
114. I can't decide just what other people expect of me.
115. I get very depressed.
116. Certain things in and around my home are dangerous or unhealthful.
117. I drive when I have had more than a couple of drinks.
118. My teeth are in bad shape and often ache.
119. I don't bother brushing my teeth regularly.
120. I have unpleasant breath or other odors.
121. I feel guilty about my sexual desires and behavior.
122. I need to know more about the sexual part of marriage.
123. I don't know how to discuss sex with my partner.
124. I don't know how to discuss sex with my children.
125. I am worried about birth control.
126. I seem to watch television all evening whether I enjoy the programs or not.
127. I have no hobbies.
128. I don't seem to share any interest with other people.
129. I don't enjoy doing things with my family.
130. I used to have more friends than I have now.
131. The behavior and attitudes of some members of my family and some of my friends upset me.

END

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