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The Influence of the School on Acculturation with Special Reference to Greenland

In most societies education is the process through which the mature members of the society seek to prepare their children and adolescents for the responsibilities and opportunities which exist in the society. In simple hunting, fishing, gathering societies, much of "education" is essentially "learning by doing" through imitation and apprenticeship. Formal instruction, if present at all, is brief, and is often a part of puberty initiation rites. Even in folk societies where formal education does exist it usually consumes but a small portion of the child's day, for a brief period of his life, and this is overshadowed by the "learning by doing," informal aspects of his education.

Children in advanced societies of course learn very much less through informal education. In the school system they acquire *two* different kinds of knowledge. They not only learn the material taught in the classroom, but they also learn to play the increasingly differentiated roles which must be played in the higher grades in the increasingly large and complex schools which teach these grades.[1] In the mastery of both kinds of learnings they are usually helped by parents and older children whose conversation serves to socialize them with respect to the educational experiences which await them, and to the significance of that education. Further, of course, they are surrounded in daily life by people whose work activities illustrate the importance of the skills they are taught in the class. The orientation toward work of these people illustrates the patience, persistence, and self-discipline which is assumed to be "normal human nature" in advanced societies, and is increasingly expected at school.[2] As in simple societies, there is a *basic continuity* between the preschool life and the earliest school experiences of most children in the Western World, and there are many points of obvious articulation between the lessons of the classroom and the activities of mature adults which the child is aware of as he advances in school.

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[1]See, for example, the description of the high school in C. Wayne Gordon, *The Social System of the High School* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1967).

[2]See Robert Presthus, *The Organizational Society* (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1965).

For some children in the Western World the experience of school is the polar opposite of that just described. Here the conception and implementation of schooling programs is by authorities who have never experienced life as it is lived by the children, and the lessons of the classroom are little related to the experience of kin and community. Such an experience of school is common to most North American Indians and Eskimos, and is becoming more common for some Greenlanders as well.

Thus, there exist today two polar ideal types of educational arrangements. The first involves continuity between the preschool life and the early school life of the child, and between the lessons taught in school, and the lives of people he can see through the classroom window. The other involves very little continuity, either between the preschool and the early classroom experience of the child, or between the material he studies and the lives of the people he knows in the community in which he lives.

These different types have different implications for the acculturation of the children who are taught in the school, and indeed for the kinds of acculturation of which they are personally capable.

An Analytic Scheme

This section presents a paradigm for the analysis of the social psychology of acculturation, as it is affected by the school. The emphasis is on the more subtle effects of educational arrangements, effects on self-regard, identity feelings, values, and motivations, since they are infrequently discussed and yet are profoundly consequential for the individual and his society. We shall consider the determinants of the kind of educational system which comes into existence, and the determinants of the student behaviors which result from exposure to the system.

Determinants of the Educational System

Control of the school system differs sharply in autonomous and in colonial or wardship societies. In the former, members of the society allocate a portion of its resources for the training of the next generation, conformably with the core values and the master trends of the society.[3] There is rarely debate over where or how or what kind of education is to be offered; societal consesus usually exists on these questions. In colonial or wardship societies, however, the decisions as to where and how and what kind of education is to be offered or imposed are usually made by representatives of the dominant society rather than by representatives of those affected. A wide variety of considerations may enter into these decision-making processes. The following is an extensive, but not exhaustive, listing:

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[3]For a study of sources of control of the school system in contemporary America see Neal C. Gross, *Who Runs Our Schools?* (New York: John Wiley, 1958).

1. Pedagogic considerations, whatever the goals of the professional educators and their educational programs may be.
2. Logistic considerations, the supplying of the school with needed materials, fuel, etc.
3. Engineering considerations — problems of site advantage and disadvantage, ease of construction, accessibility of water, etc.
4. Economic considerations — costs of building, maintenance, operation, etc., of various types of schools in different locations.
5. Administrative considerations — ease of consultation and supervision, possible implications for empire building, etc., of diverse types of schools.
6. Public Relations considerations — possibilities of exploitation of schooling arrangements for favorable public reaction; invulnerability to public criticism.
7. Teacher and other staffing considerations — ease or difficulty of hiring staff members deemed qualified for various kinds of teaching positions.
8. Political considerations — the influence of pressure groups, including religious organizations, and constituencies served by a school system, etc.

Many of these considerations of course overlap, but each one is analytically distinct.

Determinants of the Behavior of Students in the System

Understanding the consequences of exposure to the educational system requires consideration of the learnings which may be acquired in the system, and the ways they may influence post-school life. The argument may be summarized in a series of propositions. The starting point is the assumption that behavior patterns are learned which have problem solving or tension reducing significance: in general, people seek to attain gratifications, circumventing such obstacles as they encounter, and to avoid pain or punishment.

1. The techniques or solutions which are learned in one context will be generalized to other seemingly similar situations.

2. One of the major goals of education is to prepare people to cope with the opportunities, and to solve the problems they will encounter as mature adults.

3. However, every educational institution poses an *immediate* set of problems, and of opportunities because it is a certain distinctive kind of organization to all who encounter it anew. Thus, formal education always involves solving the present problems encountered by the stu-

dents in the *educational institution,* as well as preparing the student for the solution of future problems.

5. The greater the dissimilarity between the student's life within and without the educational institution, the greater the set of problems which it poses. Solving these problems takes precedence over the mastery of classroom lessons for pupils, because they are problems of immediate adjustment to the organization in which lessons are taught. They involve immediate gratification or pain.

6. Since these problems are similar for the majority of students in school, the solutions to them will be collective and shared; they will take the form of a distinctive student subculture. Children sent to a new school situation will learn the subculture which preceding generations of students have evolved to solve the problems it posed.[4]

7. There are at least six important ways in which the school situation may, or may not resemble the home community life experiences of the students it seeks to educate:

a. The physical setting, including food, clothing and housing arrangements.

b. The language spoken in the classroom and on the school grounds.

c. The norms which are formally or informally enforced and the value hierarchy which is explicitly taught or implicitly communicated.

d. The social organization of the school including the patterning of interpersonal relationships and the complexity of the organizational hierarchy.[5]

e. The skills taught in the classroom, and on the playground, and assumed to be important by teachers or peers or both.

f. The personnel of the school, including both teachers and students.

The more closely the pattern of life and learning inside the school resembles that outside the school, the more accurately may the consequences of schooling be anticipated. The greater the disparity between life inside and outside of the school, the less adequately can the results of schooling be anticipated, and the greater the likelihood of unanticipated, and perhaps dysfunctional consequences of such schooling. Moreover, where the school is a boarding school and when children are placed in the school at the age of six or seven, the predictability of the consequences of such education is further decreased.

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[4]A description of the contemporary American adolescent subculture is found in James S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), and a discussion of the process of emergence of deviant subcultures is found in Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1965).

[5]Parsons' pattern variables are discussed in Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 46-51.

Consequences of Formal Schooling

The scheme described above should provide a basis for understanding the variety of behavioral consequences which may flow from the experiences of Northern indigenous children in the school. In the remainder of this paper I want to discuss briefly some of the *sources,* and the *consequences* of continuity and discontinuity between the school and the home community experiences of Canadian and Greenland Eskimo students. These consequences will be analyzed in terms of (1) first-order or determinant of behavior consequences and (2) second-order or overt behavioral consequences. The former are more individual or phychological, the latter are more social, though not entirely so. They may be outlined as follows:

First order consequences: behavioral determinants.

1. Attitudes toward one's origins, including attitudes toward parents, and toward the home community as place, people and way of life.

2. Attitudes toward self, including sense of identity; and value of self as worthy or unworthy, adequate or inadequate, etc.

3. Life goals: Are they meaningful, realistic, realizable?

4. Means toward the attainment of goals: Does the student learn skills and motivations prerequisite to the attaining of goals.

Second order consequences: overt behavior. The following overt behavioral consequences of schooling are possible:[6]

1. Conformist behavior reflects adequate learning of goals and means and adequate opportunities for the employment of these means.

2. Criminal behavior reflects adequate learning of success goals but not of the implementing skills or motives, leading to illegal goal seeking behavior.

3. Conflict behavior results where the actor has internalized the goals of the dominant society but is unable to strive for these goals either legitimately because of lack of skills, opportunities, etc., or illegitimately, because the skills and "connections" are not available. Frustration is vented in excessive drinking and other more distinctively conflict behaviors.

4. Retreatist behavior involves a retreat from both the goals and the means of attaining these goals offered by the dominant society. It results when the context in which goals and/or means were taught was so punishing that repudiation of the goals came to symbolize rejection of the associated frustration. An example of this behavior would be reversion to a more traditional, "living off the land" source of livelihood.

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[6]This typology is based on Robert K. Merton's "Social Structure and Anomie" in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 131-160, and Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin's *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: The Free Press, 1960).

5. Inactivism, which reflects incapacitation or immobilization, results when the actor acquires a self-concept as totally inadequate. It is further aggravated by an education which prevents identification with traditional cultural goals or with the goals of the dominant society.

The implications of this analytic scheme are suggested in the comparison of arrangements for Eskimo education in Greenland, and in the Mackenzie District of the North West Territories. I shall first elaborate briefly on the origins, characteristics, and consequences of the Mackenzie District system. This description will serve to point up contrasting features of the Greenlandic system which is discussed next.

Education in the Mackenzie District of the Canadian Arctic

Almost every voice was heard in planning the design of the school system in the Mackenzie District except the voice of the Eskimo and the behavioral scientist. Government officials decreed that the goal should be primarily replacement of the native culture by Euro-Canadian culture, rather than an emphasis on cultural continuity or a synthesis of the two. The competing church missions wanted a boarding school, seeking to operate the hostels and thus obtain the opportunity for religious indoctrination of the children. They wanted a large school in order to justify two hostels, one under Anglican and one under Roman Catholic auspices. Educators demanded that the teachers be fully accredited, but apparently saw no need for special training to equip teachers to work with northern children. They further wanted schools in larger, more accessible locations, rather than in all communities above a minimum size, to ease problems of recruiting "fully accredited teachers" to such schools. Engineers wanted to locate the school in a large preplanned community where the school and all conceivable ancillary services, laundry, residences for teachers, etc., could be served by a central heating system, utiladore, etc. Transportation experts and budget-minded administrators argued for its location on the Mackenzie River. Those with an eye to public relations were mindful of the good press coverage available if "ragged," "dirty," "ill-housed" and perhaps "ill-fed" Eskimo children could be brought into a central location and there bathed, dressed in new outfits, housed and educated according to the best of Eurocanadian middle-class standards. The result of this series of considerations and pressures was the Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik, which in 1964 was attended by 44 per cent of all Eskimo school children in the district. Children were brought to this school from Arctic settlements without schools of their own, from age six on.

The keynote of this school is *discontinuity.* Neither in terms of physical facilities, nor language, nor food, nor fellow students, nor the patterning of relationships, nor time schedules, nor disciplines, motivations, nor content of the curriculum is there any precedent in the preschool experience of most of the Eskimo children who go there. The

extent of dislocation is further maximized by the fact that children come at an early age, and that the school is a total institution, effectively seeking to break all continuities with the child's pre-school life.

The consequences are, of course, that in addition to learning his lessons in the classroom the child has *much* to learn in adjusting to the total institution in which he finds himself. He must cope with his emotional reaction to separation from home, and to the strangeness of the situation in which he now finds himself — shower baths, over-heated rooms, foreign social controls. He must learn to adjust to masses of peers, to hostel staff members, and hostel routine. One pervasive and effective coping device appears to be embracement of the American-Canadian adolescent subculture, which may be symbolized as "Elvis Presleyism," and which Parsons characterizes as hedonistic and irresponsible.[7] Its function, for North American, as for Eskimo adolescents is to provide an escape from the ambiguities and the conflicts of the situation in which the adolescent finds himself. Involvement with this subculture is reflected in the dress and personal grooming, music, and dance preferences of the school children. An equally serious effect is the loss of tolerance for the cold, dirt, and crowding found at home, and for distasteful chores like emptying the honey bucket, skinning animals, etc.

The first and second order consequences of this educational system may be quickly summarized. The children early lose their appreciation of their parents, their home communities, and the way of life that is lived there, and indeed come to disdain all of these. Obviously it is the world and the knowledge of the white man which is important, since this is all that is taught to them in school, and equally obviously since their parents and neighbors know little or nothing of these they are not worthy of respect. Clairmont's data clearly documents the fact that men and women who are products of this type of schooling actively reject traditionally-oriented subsistence activities, preferring unemployment to sullying themselves with activities seeming traditionally Eskimo.[8]

My interviews with Eskimos in the Mackenzie District yielded numerous examples of alumni of such schools who were profoundly confused in their sense of identity, who were ashamed of being Eskimo, and who felt inadequate, and unable to compete. It must be emphasized that they had acquired the goal of living the good life that they had known in the hostel. But underneath many reflected a pathetic yearning to return to the warmth and emotional security of the parental home from which they were taken at an early age to the residential school, a home whose discomforts and privations they now rejected. Thus in their life goals many were profoundly at odds within themselves.

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[7]Talcott Parsons "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," in his *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Revised Edition (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), pp. 89-103.

[8]D. H. J. Clairmont, *Deviance Among Indians and Eskimos in Aklavik, N.W.T.*, published by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1963.

The most maladjustive consequence of this schooling system is that its alumni are commonly unable to adjust to either the world of their parents or the world of the white man. Weaned to "the good life" of the hostel as they were, they are unable to go home and live the way of life available in the home community. They have been taught to crave values which they cannot buy for lack of skills and/or disciplines.

As a result of these first order, or determinant of behavior consequences, several patterns of overt behavior are commonly characteristic of the residential school alumni. *Conformist* behavior is rather rare because, as we have noted, the ex-students have well learned an escape-oriented adolescent subculture, because they are confused in their goals, feel inadequate personally, and in fact do not have the skills, motivations or disciplines to live Euro-Canadian conformity patterns. Although petty theft is on the increase, *criminal* behavior likewise is rare because the illicit channels for the disposition of stolen goods are not available.

There are, however, evidences of *conflict, retreatist and apathetic inactive* adjustments. Clairmont has written of the emergence of conflict gangs in the Mackenzie Delta, as the frustration of being unable to obtain the style of life to which they became accustomed in the hostel is vented in a variety of expressive and anti-social ways.[9] In the more remote areas one encounters a certain number of people who have retreated from the way of life experienced in the residential school, usually because they were unable to solve the problems which the hostel and the school, rather than the classroom lessons, posed for them. One also encounters cases of apparent apathetic inactivism, commonly associated with blaming whites for one's difficulties, and with a certain amount of alcoholism.

Education in Greenland

The Greenland school system presents a picture which contrasts at almost every point with that just described. Little is known of the voices which were influential in shaping the pre-1955 system. It would appear that there was a consensus on the part of all, educators, religionists, governmental administrators, etc. that prime considerations in establishing schools were not to disrupt the life of the local community, and to train people to take better advantage of the sources of livelihood available to them.

In many respects the same kind of concerns were yet operative in the reshaping of the school system that has taken place since 1955. There was apparently a general concern to broaden the number of alternatives available to those who had gone through the system. We shall see below that a major technique for the attainment of this end was the massive introduction of Danish teachers into the system. But even this

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[9] *Ibid.*

very significant change is being accomplished largely within the confines of the previous educational philosophy. The system which came into existence is remarkable in a number of respects. I shall discuss briefly the variety, continuity, flexibility, and relevance of the educational system in Greenland.

One of the most distinctive aspects of the system is its variety. The number of different kinds of schools which were yet operating in the spring of 1965 was remarkable. There were small one-room schools taught by a Greenlandic catechist such as had existed for almost 200 years, and large multi-room schools wherein almost all of the teachers had had professional training. There was instruction solely in Greenlandic, and instruction solely in Danish, with the exception of the religion and Greenlandic literature classes. There were day schools and boarding schools, at all levels. There were schools where native crafts were taught and schools where western vocational training was provided.

Such variety in schooling arrangements may be attacked in terms of the inequality of opportunity which inevitably results—this is obvious. But the explanation for this variety, and to my view, the value of it, lies in the continuity with other aspects of local life which thus becomes possible. To my mind a major disadvantage of the Canadian Arctic schooling system lies in the radical and perhaps traumatic discontinuities it inflicts.

There are many aspects to the continuities between life in and out of school which the child in Greenland experiences. There is considerable continuity between the parent's own schooling experiences and those of his children since he, too, went to school, and was commonly exposed to most of the subjects his children study, including Danish. There is continuity between the child's school and his home experiences. This is true of physical facilities: in very small or remote areas both the homes and the school facilities are likely to be primitive, while in the larger towns both are likely to be quite comfortably equipped even by North American standards. There is a considerable degree of continuity in language, although the most recent educational innovations are changing this. At any rate, the amount of emphasis on Danish language in terms of both the time spent in study of it, and of its use as the language of instruction, tends to vary with the amount of Danish used in the rest of the community. Usually it is in the communities where Danish is most commonly spoken that Danish figures most importantly in the curriculum, both as subject and as instructional medium. However, aggressive efforts are being made to extend the teaching of Danish in all areas. These efforts include, of course, the massive increase in proportions of teachers who are Danish (about which more later), the sending of Greenlandic catechist teachers to Danish language

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[10]Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: III Laboradore,* Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper No. 16 (May 1965), p. 39.

seminars, and to year-long training programs in Denmark, and the development of tape-recorded and radio instructional programs for remote communities having catechist teachers with minimal knowledge of Danish.

There is continuity in the skills and values taught in the school, and characteristic of the community, for the same reason. In more modern communities, where more of the values lived and skills used are of Danish origin, a higher proportion of the teachers is Danish. The skills taught, including vocational skills and communication skills, and the values taught both consciously and unconsciously are more characteristically Danish. In more remote communities the skills and values taught in the school, unconsciously as well as by design, tend to be more traditionally Greenlandic — but not exclusively so, it should be emphasized. The school is not primarily conservative in what it teaches, but the continuity is there.

There is, furthermore, continuity in concepts taught in the school system. In contrast to the problems mentioned repeatedly by Canadian teachers in the Arctic, of attempting to explain school book terms common to Euro-Canadians but foreign to Eskimos, such as "tree" and "fence," teachers in Greenland make use of a rich collection of instructional materials in both the Greenlandic and the Danish languages, designed for Greenlandic children. There is sufficient variety of these materials to select those which will be most appropriate to the community in which the school is located. Moreover, if the teacher finds that the materials available to him are not as appropriate or relevant to the students he teaches as he would like, he is free to write and reproduce new material. Indeed, he is encouraged to do so, and if his material is deemed worthy of publication it will be published and he will be paid for the contribution he has made.

It should not go unmarked that there is also continuity in the patterning of interpersonal relationships in school and community. In the remote community, where interpersonal relationships are traditionally defined, the relationships in the school will tend to be similarly defined. The nature of the interaction between teacher and pupils is similar to that between religious leader and congregation members. In both cases the social structures are simple. In the larger towns, however, many people are employed by or served by large bureaucratic organizations, whether governmental or private, and relationships are more commonly secondary relationships. Here, too, the school is larger and more bureaucratic in structure, and interpersonal relationships are more secondary.

Finally there is similar, and interrelated continuity between motivations, disciplines, self-concepts and senses of identity which are taught in schools in different kinds of community situations. There is little doubt that schools in the smaller and more remote settlements are more "lax." Parents can more easily, and do more frequently pull their

children out of school for a few days when they go on hunting trips. Because of the crowdedness and the inadequate lighting facilities of many of the homes the homework performance expected of children is at a lower level. Absence from school because of weather conditions is more frequent. The result is that less of a hard work discipilne is learned by children in school and this is appropriate to the hunting and fishing sources of subsistence of their community. In larger communities, of course, the schools are able to enforce more self-disciplined schoolwork performances and these are both similar to the performances expected of the children's fathers "on the job," and to the expectations the youngsters will have to live up to after they go to work. It is clear that somewhat different motivational patterns are learned in these contrasting situations.

The senses of identity and the self-concepts which are learned will differ also. There will be differences in the felt importance of in-school and out-of-school (family subsistence, and home chore) activities, between town and hamlet, such that an inadequate performance in school will be more threatening, a more salient failure experience, in the former than the latter setting. Clearly the importance of success in mastery of Danish will differ in the two situations. The senses of identity acquired in these two contexts — that is, "I am he who is able to do so and so, and is skilled in doing so and so" — will differ, and they will differ in ways relevant to the livelihood prospects of the student in the community in which he lives. To repeat then, the disciplines and motivations he learns, the skills and abilities he becomes proud of, the liabilities of which he is ashamed, are all relevant to the way of life most immediately available to him.

The same point may be made with respect to the impact of the school on the world view of students. For example, a view emphasizing mastery over nature is clearly appropriate to most employment positions in the town, whereas a view emphasizing man as subject to nature is more appropriate to the fishers and hunters of the small hamlet. Enough has been said already to make it clear that little of the latter orientation will be communicated in the more modern school system of the town. On the other hand, more of the latter will be inadvertently communicated, we suspect, by the catechist teacher of the single-room school in the hamlet.

It follows from all that has been said here on the subjects of variety and continuity that the schooling offered children is relevant to the way of life they must envision for themselves after they leave school. Given that they identify with their fathers and older brothers in the case of boys, and with their mothers and older sisters in the case of girls, and anticipate somewhat similar career patterns for themselves, they are not cast into confusion by the schooling they receive.

There is, of course, a great potential weakness in any school system which emphasizes immediate relevance: rapid change in the rest of the

society will make what is relevant today obsolete tomorrow. Greenlandic school officials have been aware of this and have sought to cope with this possibility. One of the most effective antedotes is flexibility in the educational system. Just as surely as change does come, it is sure that new opportunities will not come to all equally. And so the teacher in Greenland is free, and he is encouraged, especially in the case of the more sophisticated Danish teachers, to choose materials appropriate to the changing situations of the local community. Instruction may be in Greenlandic or Danish; training in native skills and crafts, or in Danish vocations may be offered. The content of the curriculum, the balance of subjects offered is subject to easy modification. While the overwhelming majority of children are educated in their home communities, those who show unusual promise for advanced or more demanding training are encouraged to go to a boarding school having a more rich and demanding curriculum at whatever age is appropriate, given the educational resources of the home community. Once the permission of the parents is obtained the youngster is sent at governmental expense.

The immediate consequences of this educational system are indeed impressive. It should be noted in passing, however, that it is impossible to determine to what extent these are consequences of the *schools,* and to what extent they may derive from other admirable aspects of Greenlandic society, including (1) a judicial system which incorporates traditional Greenlander conceptions of justice and morality, (2) the remarkably non-punitive Danish penology, (3) an economic system designed not for profit but for public benefit, and (4) other aspects of an administration dedicated to protection of the people and the society from disruptive culture shock.

Here again I shall discuss the first order, determinant of behavior consequences, and the second order, overt behavioral consequences. There is little need for a detailed discussion of the first: attitudes toward one's origin — parents, home community, etc., toward self, sense of identity, internalization of life goals, and possession of means for the attainment of goals. Since education is provided in the home community, and in most cases by a fellow Greenlander using Greenlandic as the language of instruction, the basic continuities do insure adequately appreciative attitudes toward parents, home community, and self. They insure further that the growing sense of self-identity will be clear, adequate, competent. The flexibility of the system tends to insure that the life goals taught are attainable, and relevant in terms of opportunities available, and the skills learned for the exploitation of these opportunities.

In terms of the second order consequences it need only be said that the behavior of the school alumni in Greenland is apparently predominantly conformist. Criminal and conflict behavior has been very rare, so rare in fact that no town gaols existed in Greenland before 1960. No penal treatment facilities were in existence there as of 1965, and the

first Greenlander was sent to Denmark for penal treatment in the summer of that year. There may be some of retreatist behavior, that is, retreat to smaller and more traditional hamlets, but I was able to find no clear indications of it. Similarly I was not aware of apathetic inactivism. It appears quite clear, in sum, prior to the most recent educational developments at any rate, that the school system was performing excellently in producing people able to take advantage of the opportunities available to them and free of need dispositions to deviate in socially disruptive ways.

Some other, more general consequences of this system should be noted. These include the early achievement of literacy throughout Greenland, the development of a Greenlandic literature, the development of effective native leadership, and the cultivation of an open-minded approach to acculturation on the part of the populace, characterized by neither the slavish limitation of Danish and other western ways, nor the compulsive affirmation of the traditional Eskimo culture. I shall comment briefly on each of these in turn.

It is noteworthy that illiteracy was abolished a century ago, and that a Greenlandic literature has developed which includes both compositions by native writers and translations of the works of others. This literature is published in Godthaab, as well as in Denmark, and a selection of these works is to be found in the stores of the Royal Greenland Trading Company in even the smallest hamlets. It is a sufficiently rich literature that the Moravian missionaries to the Laborador Eskimos, eager to make it available to that Eskimo group, changed their syllabic script to the Roman alphabet of Greenland over sixty years ago.

The school system in Greenland has trained not only a literate population, but one able to provide much of its own leadership as well. Throughout Greenland the clergy is almost everywhere of native origin, and until 1955 virtually 100 per cent of the teachers were Greenlanders. In 1965 Greenlanders headed the school system, the Police Department and the broadcasting system.

One of the remarkable features of the Western and Central Canadian Arctic is the rapid, and virtually complete disappearance of much of the traditional artifactual culture. Nowhere is a kayak or an umiak yet to be found in use. Much of the traditional clothing is now disdained, although it provides better protection from the cold than does the clothing purchased in the store. Square-back canoes, jolly boats, and motorized toboggans are widely encountered, and yet more widely wanted by the Eskimo populace even in areas where white contact has lasted no more than forty or fifty years. The contrast of this pattern with that in Arctic Alaska and in Greenland suggests clearly that the motivation is to imitate whites, quite slavishly. There is little indication of such an attitude in Greenland. Kayaks are still encountered wherever there is use for them. Native boots, fur pants, and parkas

are widely used during winter sled travel. Changes there are, of course, and many of them, but they appear to be based on considerations of efficiency and economy, rather than imitations of whites. Many have been encouraged directly by the government out of concern for the health and welfare of the populace.

It may sound from the above as though this educational program is the best of all possible systems. It is my conviction that it is very close to that. It is varied to the demands of the local situation, it provides continuity between the school and the non-school worlds of the child, thus aiding him in developing an integrated conception of himself, of his society and the part he will be able to play in it; it is flexible and relevant; it tends to instill the kinds of motivations, disciplines, self-concepts and world views which are appropriate to the life prospects of the student; and rather than "tarring all students with the same brush" it tends to encourage differential training for students having different abilities and different prospects.

However, it does appear that there is a severe, and potentially very consequential flaw in the system as it is evolving today. The origins of this flaw go back to the period just after World War II. It became apparent at that time that Greenland must change very rapidly in the next few decades, and that this change must involve fluency in Danish for a large and ever increasing proportion of the Greenland population. The reasons for the rapid change need not be elaborated: they include a revolution of rising expectations in Greenlanders resulting from contact with military bases in Greenland during the war, changes in the technology of cod fishing, sensitivity on the part of Danes to the charge of colonialism in their governing of Greenland, signs of nationalism in a handful of Denmark-trained Greenlanders, etc.

It appears to me that the Greenland administration has acted somewhat precipitously, violating the patterns of cultural continuity and cultural synthesis which had guided their educational policy for so long. It is probable that Denmark was preoccupied with problems of the post-occupation readjustments in many sectors of the society. Thus it was not immediately aware of the early postwar changes in Greenland, and awoke late to the need for innovations in the educational system that should have been introduced immediately following World War II, if not during the war. The prime need was obviously the upgrading of the entire educational system. The economy of the area was changing from a subsistence economy to an exchange economy. The upgraded wants of the populace could only be met if it had the cash to satisfy these wants, and this would be forthcoming only if Greenland industries, particularly the fisheries, were able to compete in world markets. This required an increase in the productivity of Greenlander workers which could only be accomplished through mechanization and mass processing — mass fishing, processing, and marketing. All of this presumed an upgrading of the technical spills of work-

ers, and this in turn meant higher educational attainments and the learning of new work disciplines. The vehicle for the rapid accomplishment of these changes was the school. But the new learnings which must be transmitted — training in navigation for captains of fishing trawlers and coastwise trading vessels, in marine mechanics of the engineers of these vessels, in machine installation, operation, and maintenance for those responsible for the machinery in the new canneries and fish freezing, and fish meal manufacturing plants, in motor mechanics for maintenance workers in electric power plants, in vehicle garages, etc. — these learnings could not easily be taught in Greenlandic. And if the Greenlandic economy was to become more complex and more closely integrated with that of Denmark, then clearly the most successful Greenlanders must be linguistically equipped to climb the ladder of success in Denmark as well as in Greenland, if they were not to be condemned to employment under a job ceiling which denied higher level jobs to them. Clearly, there must be a very rapid expansion of Danish language training in Greenland schools, as well as an increase in the upper-grade offerings in the system.

It should be emphasized that those changes were in a sense "altruistically" motivated: they were advocated by those seeking to promote the best welfare of the Greenland population. But there are crucially important questions that must be asked of the way in which they were implemented. One possibility would have been to seek to expand the Greenland teacher training facilities, placing special emphasis on Danish language training, and to mount a "crash program" for improving the accuracy and fluency in Danish of the native catechists who as recently as 1952 made up nearly 100 per cent of the teaching staff. A second possibility would have been to depend on Danish teachers, imported from Denmark, to implement the changes in the system desired. A third would have been a compromise, involving upgrading Greenlandic teachers in so far as possible, but importing Danish teachers as specialists in language instruction, in technical subject matter, and wherever else an instructional need could not be met using local teachers.

It is not inaccurate to state that the second alternative was basically the plan followed. The number of Danish teachers in Greenland jumped from one in 1935 to about eighteen in 1950, about seventy in 1956 and about 300 in the fall of 1965. By contrast the effort spent on upgrading the teaching competence of the Greenlander catechist teachers was minimal. As nearly as could be discovered no program at all existed prior to 1962, and as late as the summer of 1965 only a few dozen Greenlanders were enrolled in summer school courses designed to upgrade their competence. Fewer than that number were being sent to Denmark for a full year of training, primarily in Danish language.

It should be emphasized that this massive infusion of the system with Danish teachers did not affect every school, but the reason for this

was probably budgetary limitations and problems in recruiting a sufficiently large number of teachers. Occasionally Danish teachers in some very small and very isolated Greenland hamlets could be found in Kulusuq and Kungmuit in East Greenland and Satut in West Greenland, for example.

Perhaps the most destructive aspect of the way in which these Danish teachers were introduced was their status *vis-à-vis* the catechist teachers in whose stead they were placed. It should be emphasized that a high proportion of the Danes were fresh out of teacher training in the *seminarium:* these were the people whose single status or lack of children made the decision to teach in Greenland free of the complications that it had for older and more mature teachers. Again there were three status possibilities: subservience of the Danish to the Greenlandic teacher, subservience of the latter to the former, or equality of the two. The decision was made to subject the Greenlander to the authority of the Dane. This decision was justified by the more adequate professional training of the latter. It might have been argued that the contrary alternative would be justified on the basis of teaching experience, since many of the catechists had had ten, twenty, even thirty or more years of teaching experience while most of the Danes had had little or none. It could also have been justified on the basis of knowledge of the community, the way of life and the psychology of the people. There have been many examples of Danish teachers inadvertently acting in ways to confuse and impede the education of their pupils, through their ignorance of local folkways and mores. In fact, to declare the formal equality of the two teachers, and to coach the young Danish teachers intensively on techniques of arriving at compromise agreements with their Greenlander colleagues for use when differences arose would perhaps have been best.

The effects of this series of policy decisions have been profoundly consequential, and the repercussions of them must reverberate indefinitely down through the subsequent history of Greenland. The immediate effect was to unseat, and to some extent disgrace the catechist who had been one of the most influential as well as most able men in every hamlet, by placing him in subordination to a "mere boy" perhaps only twenty or twenty-one years of age, but who was Danish. The speed with which school arrangements and curriculum matters were reorganized was eloquent testimony to the disdain felt for the planning and decisions of the catechist. The downfall of the catechist in the eyes of the community was furthered by his own reactive behavior, which not uncommonly included increased drinking and apathy and neglect of duties in the classroom.

Clearly this upsetting of the social structure of the community — since the unseating of a high ranking individual cannot help but have system wide repercussions — was the result solely of fluency in Danish language and mastery of Danish skills. The Danish cultural heritage

was virtually magically potent: capable of unseating the mightiest. This conception was furthered of course by the fact that those with Danish fluency qualified for advanced training, often in the storied land of Denmark itself, and were hired for interesting and rewarding positions. Those without fluency found all of the newest and most exciting opportunities closed to them.

The point is that all things Danish tended to become marked as unquestionably superior. Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the recommendations of the Greenland Council (whose members are all Greenlanders but one) concerning qualifications required of Greenlanders for certification to teach in Greenland. The unanimous decision of this group was that the certification requirements should be exactly the same as in the rest of Denmark. In brief, to qualify for certification a Greenlander would have to be fluent in three languages, Greenlandic, Danish, and English, and to have a reading knowledge of German as well.

The consequences of this decision may be easily anticipated: since the number of Greenlanders able to meet these requirements will be very small, the proportion of Danish teachers in Greenland must increase massively. Because it is already difficult to recruit Danes to teach in Greenland for more than two years, the proportion of very short-term teachers will increase even more sharply. Because these Danish teachers will lack knowledge of the living conditions, and the psychology of the Greenlanders, and so of how to reach the children, they will be less effective. Further, since many of the motivational and disciplinary techniques which are most effective with Danish children serve to alienate Greenlander children, one must perhaps anticipate an increase in the dysfunctional, alienative consequence of schooling. This will occasion the appearance of increasing criminal, conflict, and perhaps apathetic behavior in school alumni, the appearance of behaviors which Clairmont suggests are beginning to emerge in Inuvik in the Western Canadian Arctic. The consequence of such developments tends to be low learning rates and high dropout rates among the alienated adolescents. Lacking many Greenlander teachers to identify with, as the school staffs become more exclusively Danish, Greenlander youngsters must tend increasingly to think of higher education as a purely Danish phenomenon, and so must fail to aspire to similar attainments for themselves.

I must argue, then, that such a course of developments cannot help but be *miseducative* for Greenland as a whole. The inevitable consequence will be an inadvertent, but nevertheless pervasive and persistent caste-type stratification of Greenland society. Skilled and professional positions will tend to be restricted to Danes, especially since a number of studies have shown that for upwardly mobile members of acculturating groups, the teacher's certificate often serves as a springboard into training for the higher professions. Employment of Greenlanders under

these circumstances must be increasingly restricted to hard, distasteful, unskilled and semi-skilled work. And Greenlanders as a group must become increasingly impoverished, powerless, and apathetically despairing of the future. The speed of acculturation of the Greenland population, and of their adaptation to the "jet age" twentieth century in which they must increasingly live, will be slowed down.

This analysis does not point toward any villain in the picture to be identified and condemned. It was not the desire of a corporation for profits which led the Northern people astray, as was perhaps true of the encouragement of fur trapping by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was not the narrow, culture bound, professional perspective which was at fault as in the case of those who designed the educational system for Canadian Eskimos. It was simply a judgment as to how the teaching of fluent Danish could best be accomplished, which turned out to have significant latent consequences. The increasing import of this language for the acculturation of Greenlanders cannot be questioned.

Conclusions

My central concern in this paper has been with the acculturation significance of socialization of children in the public school system. I have considered briefly four aspects of the school system: (1) some determinants of the system in terms of the considerations entering into its design; (2) some of the elements of the system, in terms of its fetaures, pedagogic and otherwise, which had acculturation significance; (3) some possible goals of the system, and (4) some of the possible consequences or functions of the system including those which were anticipated and functional and those unanticipated and dysfunctional. I have drawn a contrast between the systems of the Mackenzie District of the Canadian Arctic and of Greenland and have concluded with an evaluation of the Greenlandic system, placing special emphasis on current developments.

To return to a more theoretical level, what generalizations can be made about acculturation and socialization of children in the school? The following statements seem valid in the light of the preceding discussion. When a child grows up in an environment in which there is continuity — in physical facilities, living arrangements, language, primary group daily associates, patterning of interpersonal relationships, skills, values, motivations, disciplines, world views — he is able to identify with role models, internalize values and disciplines, master skills, and grow toward a sequence of goals, some proximate, some more distant. Because he has unity, integrity, self-respect as a person, he is adjusted, is able to love and to work, as Freud epigramatically defined adjustment. He is capable of contentment, of conformity, of productivity. Where this is generally true of the populace, the process of acculturation, of synthetic cultural evolution, can take place smoothly, and even with surprising rapidity. Here the new builds on a solid foundation of the old, transforming the old, of course, but piece by piece, stone by

stone. There is no wholesale crumbling of the foundation, to which people must react by attempting to hold together that which has been destroyed, or by rejecting all of the past — which may mean much of the only ways of life available to them.

By contrast, when a child grows up in an environment characterized by discontinuity — in physical facilities, living arrangements, language, daily primary group associates (i.e., role models) patterning of interpersonal relationships, skills, values, motivations, disciplines, world views — he is not able to identify with role models, to internalize a coherent set of values and skills, to devote himself to the mastery of skills, or to grow toward a sequence of goals. He must be torn between the way of life of his family and the white, middle-class-oriented, school way of life. In the former, he experienced initial warmth and security, but in the Canadian Arctic he is often prematurely torn from his home and family. However, physical discomfort and privation were often normative in his home. The white middle-class-oriented, school way of life is barren of emotional sustenance. It does of course provide a wealth of distractions from grieving for the warmth and security of the home, and it makes available a comfort-laden luxury of living which the child could not even have dreamed of while at home. But under these circumstances he is not able to achieve a unity: he is two persons, two ways of life. Worse, he is clearly an Eskimo, but nevertheless one who comes to find the "Eskimo way of life" quite distasteful, who soon discovers that he cannot enjoy the "white way of life" to which he has become adjusted because he is not white-like enough. Thus his white aspirant self must come increasingly to condemn his Eskimo self. But for the latter he could live the life he wanted. The result must be a mounting self-hatred, and a deepening of the split within himself. Lacking integrity and self-respect he is unable to love or to work. He is incapable of contentment, conformity or productivity. He lacks the capacity to serve as an agent of creative cultural synthesis.

The recent developments in Greenland seem to me to demonstrate the terrible fragility of the conditions of optimum cultural evolution in dependent underdeveloped areas. This is particularly true when one is changing an institution which has such powerful implications for cultural affirmation and continuity or cultural repudiation and change, and is as centrally linked with the power and prestige structure of the local community, as are the schools of Greenland. To fully appreciate the situation, perhaps it needs to be emphasized that the post-colonial world in which we live is neurotically sensitive to color. Western civilizational achievements are white achievements; the power they have created is white power. In the stratification of relationships, white power often has the last word, or it is feared that it has the last word. Accordingly the reaction of a native populace to it tends to be compulsive, in affirmation or rejection. To want the Western good life is to want to be white-like in *some* ways. Thus all too easily it becomes, either wanting to be

white-like in *all* ways or in *no* ways. The decision of the Greenland Council clearly testifies to the unanimous wish of the Councilors for Greenlanders to be Dane-like in *all* ways, as well as Greenlandic. The impossibility of this goal can only deepen the Danish-Greenlander stratificational difference. This split is recent in Greenland, a post-World II development, but it is sharpening rapidly today. If the lack of mobility between "Danish work" and "Greenlander work" categories increases, as the recent developments foretell that it must, the result must be that the Greenlandic culture becomes a culture of poverty. Escape from this condition could not easily come through the processes of cultural evolution which we have described — the human agents for this cultural evolution would be lacking. It would have to come through cultural revolution, of a kind perhaps best currently exemplified in the Black Muslim and Black Power movements in the United States.

In brief, the carrier of the culture is finally the individual. So long as his integrity, his identity, his ability to identify with the past — as family and as heritage from which he came — and with the future toward which he is oriented is maintained, he is able to continue the process of cultural evolution. If this crucial ability is destroyed, he must react compulsively, usually with loss of capacity for contentment, conformity and productivity. In all "underdeveloped" countries, particularly those under such close western tutelage as is Greenland under Danish tutelage, the school system is the most important agency, next to the family, in shaping the child's sense of self. The ways in which it does so may be influenced by the unanticipated consequences of a variety of decisions which appear manifestly to have little direct relevance.