THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN THE EASTERN ARCTIC: AN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF TELEVISION IN THE EASTERN ARCTIC

AN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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The purpose of this thesis was to examine the problem of education in the Canadian North, among Canadian Inuit. It was theorized that the imposition of outside cultural phenomena such as Southern education, and the Mass Media, has led to a diminution in the internal locus of control among the Inuit population.

An examination of the literature on the educational system in the Northwest Territories indicated a history of maladaptation with severe cultural breakdown among the Inuit population in the schools. Seligman's concept of "helplessness" was suggested as an explanatory model.

A survey to measure the locus of control of the Inuit students in the high school in Frobisher Bay, NWT, was carried out. The results suggest that the level of external locus of control, which is equated with helplessness, increases with exposure to the apparently deculturalizing influences of Frobisher Bay. Television exposure was conceived of as one of those influences. However, the study could not discern a definitive link between television and external locus of control.

Abregee

Le systeme d'education des Territoires du Nord-Ouest a ete etudie. Les recherches precedentes ont demontre qu'il existe parmi la population scolaire des Inuits, des problemes de mesadaption associes a un phenomene de disintegration culturelle. Le concept de "learned helplessness", tel que decrit par Seligman, fut adopte comme explication plausible du probleme enonce.

Une etude fut effectue de facon a mesurer le "internal locus of control" chez les eleves de l'ecole secondaire de Frobisher Bay, dans les territoires du Nord-Ouest. Les resulats ont demontre que le niveau de "external locus of control", equivalent a celui de "helplessness", s'accroit progressivement sous les influences apparement deculturalisantes de Frobisher Bay. Le nombre d'heures de visionnement de television fut considere comme etant l'un des facteurs preponderant dans cette etude. Cependant, il a ete impossible de discerner un lien decisif entre les heures de visionnement de television et l'"external locus of control".

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Introduction

An Inukshuk is a stone cairn built on a hilltop to serve as a navigational device. Translated typically into English as "beacon", the word really means "something that looks like a human being". Fineberg (1971) suggests that they are an artifact of Norse contact with Dorset Inuit.

The recent study of the Canadian North by Berger (Canada, 1977) notes in the chapter devoted to education in the North that two cultural contexts appear in the educational system (ibid.:Vol. I; 181-182). Berger describes the introduction of Southern education as a disaster for the Native Peoples. The United States Congress and the Canadian Parliamant have admitted so in law (ibid.:182-183). Berger concludes that what the Native People seek in education and in all other aspects of their lives as they approach the Twenty-first Century is control (ibid.:194).

The Inuit of the Eastern Canadian Arctic are attempting to establish control over another area in which they have had little or none since its inception, namely, the Mass Media, and specifically television via the Inukshuk Project (Inukshuk News, May, 1980a). This project is "designed to train Inuit film and video producers (to organize Inuit-television production centres by carrying out a series of programming) experiments during a six-month period on the Anik-B satellite" (ibid.:4). The rationale for this project is that television has had a powerful effect on young Inuit. The word "alienating" is used to describe the effect (ibid.:5). "People fear that the young Inuit are

losing their language and growing away from their parents and their culture. They fear that television is accelerating this process" (ibid.).

The example of Pond Inlet shows that Inuit children have experienced a loss of functional vocabulary and syntax in the Inuit language with the consequences of increased reliance upon English, and a distancing effect between the generations at a deep emotional level. The Inuit believe television has a major contributory effect (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 1980c).

The Inukshuk News notes that in consequence "The Inukshuk Project is designed to overcome the negative impact of television by giving the Inuit the opportunity to use this powerful medium to support Inuit life and culture" (Inukshuk News, op. cit.:5.

The purpose of this study is to establish inductively and empirically the actual and potential effect of the presence of Southern television in the Canadian North. The term "Southern" and its analogue "White" will refer to the Metropolitain Euro-Canadian majority culture or ethnic group. The term "Quallunaq", is the Inuit word for "White person". It will be used interchangeably with both "Southern" and "White". Despite the discrepancies in the literature (cf. Brody, 1975; Valaskakis, 1979) the spelling used will be "Quallunaq", which reflects the researcher's experience teaching in Nouveau Quebec, from 1974-1975. The term "television" will refer to all signals beamed to the Canadian North from outside, and in the special case of Inukshuk, from the North itself. Television usually refers to the Northern service of the Canadian Broadcating

Corporation (CBC), and cases which refer to other signals will be so qualified.

Geographic Setting

When one first arrives in what is called "The North" from Metropolitain Canada, one becomes aware that this area of the country is radically different from the "South". The first factor is that, from the air, the ground appears to have no depth or texture. It is extremely difficult to say whether one's altitude is one hundred feet, or ten thousand.

Even with aircraft in the late Twentieth Century, reaching the North takes several hours. The longitudinal size of Canada may be easily demonstrated to incredulous Europeans, among others, by reflecting upon how far to the north one can fly and still be in Canada. Seven hours non-stop flying time north from Montreal would bring one over Ellesmere Island's northern shore with the Arctic Ocean. Seven hours flying time to the East from Montreal, however, brings one over Paris, France! Hamelin (1970:7-9) suggests defintions of the terms "North" and "South" which are useful for this study. A line drawn across Canada through the centre of

> Newfoundland Island and the North Shore of the St. Lawrence passes north of Lake of the Woods in Ontario, cuts across Saskatchewan to the east of Prince Rupert, takes in the Peace River in Alberta and British Columbia, and reaches the Pacific at the southern tip of Alaska (ibid.:7).

Southern Canada therefore, lies to the south of this imaginary line, Northern Canada to the north. Due to the

demographic characteristics of Canada, 98% of the population lives south of Hamelin's line, the remainder to the north. This line represents a value of 200 on Hamelin's index of what he calls "northness" (ibid.:7). The scale runs from 35, at Toronto "because of its winter", to 1000 at the North Pole.

Hamelin points out that the "South" must be further subdivided. The "core" where most people live is identified for economic purposes as

> four distinct areas:(a) the three Maritime provinces, (b) Southern Quebec and Southern Ontario,(c) southern Alsama (contraction of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba), and (d) the Vancouver-Victoria axis.(ibid.:8)

A second region in order of least northerly, is the "southern cordillera". It consists of the southern half of British Columbia (except for the core area outlined), and includes a narrow strip of south-western Alberta to the foothills of the Rockies. This area has less than one tenth of the population of the first (1,000,000 as opposed to 16,698,228 ca. 1970)

The third and most northerly part of the South is the "Near North",

> the interior of Newfoundland Island, and the Lac St Jean-Chibougamou-Abitibi triangle in Quebec, the northern rim of Lake Superior in Ontario, the pioneer fringes of Lake Manitoba, and along the Athabaska in Alberta. In these frontier regions, the climate is severe and agriculture is marginal. The mean "northness" of this strip exceeds 100

polar units but does not reach 200 (ibid.:8).

The population of this region is 2,000,000 (ca. 1970). To the north of this lies what he calls the "Middle North".

The Middle North claims 210,546 (ca. 1970) people, and includes the territorial capitals Whitehorse and Yellowknife, of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, respectively.

> (It) is clear that the North is unevenly populated and that it is the main northern zone of Canada. Most of its inhabitants are not Native Peoples and they live not in the Territories but in the northern parts of the provinces (ibid.:9).

The northness of this area ranges from 200 to 500 units.

To the north of this lies the "Far North". Its northness ranges from 500 to 800 units, and generally follows the northern shore of the Canadian mainland in the West. In the East it goes right to the northern shore of Baffin Island. Its "population is less than 18,000, of which the Eskimos form some 60 percent" (ibid.:9).

The northernmost section is the "Extreme North", at 800 to 1000 on the northness scale. It has few permanent settlements, a notable exception being Resolute Bay.

In this thesis, the term "North", will mean the three regions of North specified in Hamelin's paradigm. Each will be specified when used. When the author uses the simple term "north", it should be taken to refer to the three regions as a generality, lying to the north of the southern limit line. The term "South" will refer to the region of Canada lying to the

south of the southern limit line, specifically the Core, or the Southern Cordillera and the Near North taken together as a generality.

Changes in the North

Brief Historical Overview

White contact with the Inuit of the Far North began as a trading affair (Valaskakis, 1979:50). As the Inuit acquired a taste for White technology the value of Inuit trading items declined. This entailed an inflation in the price of what the Inuit were able to obtain by trade from the Whites. The control of this market thus lay exclusively with the Whites (ibid.). White influence was transformed into authority;

> The stage was set for Kabloona (the Whites) to convert their influence into authority, to set the hierarchical structure of their social organization upon the Eskimo community, creating new interaction patterns which redefined Eskimo social position on the basis of access to technology (ibid.).

The Inuit came to be employed as hunters and whaling helpers in the ensueing whale trade. In the process they were paid by the accoutrements of White technology; metal pots, pans, knives, etc. Consequently, Inuit technology came to be replaced by White (ibid.:64).

As the demand for whales grew, the Inuit were progressively employed as whalers. As Valaskakis notes, the necessity of employing the Inuit as a labour resource tranformed the relationship into one of mutuality; The Inuit needed White

technology. But the process of increasing interaction was always under White control;

> Kabloona began to direct the process by which it occurred. European technology influenced interaction patterns within the Eskimo community, reinforcing some relationships and transforming others (ibid.:66).

The introduction of firearms, as an example of White technology, increased the interaction, and reinforced what Valaskakis calls "interaction sets";

> Indirectly, access to technology began to define status within the Eskimo community. And since Kabloona continued to gain dominance through their dominance of technology, the need to interact with Kabloona held the potential to transform relationships among Eskimos. Technology was the catalyst in this process, but social interaction with Kabloona caused Eskimos to perceive their interrelationships in a new way (ibid.:72).

Among the new concepts apparently transferred from White to Inuit were the "Kabloona concepts of time" (ibid: 73) Valaskakis suggests that this was an alien idea to the Inuit (ibid.:345). The whalers, however, were only one in a string of "change agents" who have periodically come upon the Inuit. A change agent is defined according to Rogers (1969) as "a professional who influences innovation decisions in a direction deemed desirable by a change agency (193)." A change agency here refers to "formal organizations, such as Government ministries or commercial companies" (ibid.:171). The whalers therefore fit

such a definition, being commercial companies.

Rogers provides valuable models for considering the role of communication among pristine societies as a prime determinant of change. The early traders and whalers may be thought of as antecedents of modern Governments in this role.

Rogers (ibid.:17) defines social change as "the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system". Pre-contact Inuit society is defined as such a social system. Communication "is the process by which messages are transferred from a source to one or many receivers" (ibid:18). Within the rubric of social change, three distinct steps are involved;

> (1) invention, the process by which new ideas are originated or developed; (2) diffusion, the process by which these ideas are communicated throughout a social system; and (3) consequence, the sum of the changes occurring within the system as a result of the adoption or rejection of innovations (ibid.).

Within social change itself, two categories are defined;

> (1) immanent change, which occurs when invention takes place within a given social system with little or no external influence; and (2) contact change, which is introduced from sources external to the social system under analysis (ibid.).

Contact change, however, must be further subdivided into;

> (1) selective contact change, which occurs when outsiders, unintentionally or spontaneously communicate a new idea to

> members of a social system, who in turn select those ideas they wish to adopt; and (2) directed contact change, which is caused by outsiders who, on their own or as representatives of programmes of planned change, seek to introduce new ideas in order to achieve definite goals (ibid.:17-18).

While Frobisher and his contemporaries may be deemed initiators of selective contact change in that their actual objective was the acquisition of natural resources, the whalers seem to fall into the second category (Valaskakis, op. cit.:78). The whalers were after the whales. In their interaction with the Inuit, while exercising a dominant influence, their objective was the harvesting of whales. The next change agent to enter the scene was the Church. Their objective was the Inuit (ibid.).

The missionaries built upon the "earlier patterns of interaction" (ibid.:79). Although the first missionary came to the North with Frobisher's third expedition in 1578 (ibid.:80), it wasn't until 1894 that the Anglican Rev. E. J. Peck established a mission at Blacklead Island on Cumberland Sound, off Baffin Island (ibid.:82). The Rev. Peck brought his modification of an existing syllabic script originally created by the Anglican Rev. James Evans for the Cree Indians in the 1840s (Brody, 1975:139). His goal was to Christianize the Inuit and this necessarily entailed the introduction of literacy (Mayes, 1972:19).

Literacy and the Oral Tradition

Harold Innis (1950,1951) suggested that the medium of communication a culture uses may influence its cultural and historical development. Rogers defines communication as;

> the process by which messages are transferred from a source to one or many receivers (op. cit.:18).

Innis (1951:64) concluded that the medium of communication "tends to create a bias in civilization favourable to an overemphasis on the time concept (religious organization, cf. Innis, 1950:170) or on the space concept (political organization)". What he means is that if the medium such as stone, which was used for writing, "is heavy and durable and not suited to transportation" (ibid.), the culture will be inclined toward temporal and religious organization, superstition, and mysticism, as the Inuit could have been described before White contact (Jenness, 1965:38). In the case of light transportable media, like papyrus and paper, the culture would be biased toward centralized political organization. It is the lightness and transportability of these media which Innis (1950) proposed facilitates the diffusion of authority, out from the region of central authority, to the outer region(s) which Innis called the margin. Historically, an example of the latter would be the Roman Empire, communicating with its outposts in Britain, a marginal area, via the light, easily transportable medium of paper.

The introduction of a written alphabet brought the Inuit from an oral tradition, which was time-biased, into a literate tradition, which was space-biased. Valaskakis summarizes that

the oral tradition gave people a feeling of always "being";

> As oral tradition linked people to the past, it ". . . built consensus on the sharing of mutually affirmed and celebrated attitudes and values" (Carey, 1967:11). Social organization emerges from the oral base of social cohesion and ". . .recognized standards and lasting moral and social institutions" (ibid.). As oral culture emphasizes temporal relations, knowledge is founded on moral order and . . . religion, hierarchy, and contraction. . ." (ibid.:10) are stressed.
>
> Written traditions on the other hand, tend to be ". . . space-binding and favoured the growth of political authority and secular institutions and a culture appropriate to them" (Carey, 1967:11-12).

The literate culture tends to base authority on;

> secular authority. Rather than emphasizing the temporal relations among kinship, written tradition emphasizes spatial relations. Rather than emphasizing the past, it emphasizes the present and the future, particularly the future. Rather than emphasizing knowledge grounded in moral order, it emphasizes the technical order and favours the growth of science and technical knowledge. Whereas the character of storage and reception of the oral tradition favours continuity over time, the written tradition favours discontinuity in time through continuity in space (ibid.).

The implications of instituting literacy in a previously non-literate society are far-reaching. It implies switching

people over from one way of looking at the world, to another. Understanding that necessitates a further discussion of communication in the context of development. Rogers defines development as;

> a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living, through more modern production methods and improved social organization (op. cit.:18).

The introduction of literacy by the Anglican missionaries cannot therefore, be considered "development" since "production methods" implies a wage economy.*

However, in working for the whalers, the antecedents of a wage economy may be discerned. By that standard the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic in that era may be considered to have been in "development". How then, may one define the introduction of literacy in this area? Mayes notes that

> the most important role of mass communication in a developing area is to provide the information necessary for the personal discussions among individuals that will directly result in social change (1972:3).

Clearly, this was the intention of the Protestant missionaries when they introduced literacy (ibid.:13). And, the Inuit appear to have been eager to acquire this new medium (ibid.:22).

The missionaries encountered a problem, however. It may be defined as a paradox between literacy in the Inuit language and the calling of the missionaries.

It will be recalled that the missionaries' objective was to

turn out Christian citizens, not what Mayes refers to as "literate savages" (ibid.:26).

> As representatives of Western society, the missionaries considered Western standards to be the ones the Eskimos should strive to attain. This included the ability to speak, read, and write, in English, rather than in Eskimo (ibid.).

As English and the influence of White culture spread the literate Inuit became further and further divorced from the dominant society of which, Christianity taught them, they were supposed to be a part. The missionaries felt less and less able to produce materials for reading in the Inuit language. As a result,

> the value to the Eskimos of being able to read and write their own language was thrown into doubt when the apparent utility of the language as a channel of communication between dialect and culture groups declined (ibid.:33).

Stepping back to analyze this, one must note the change-agent role of the missionaries. One can apply the Innis paradigm of an oral-to-literate switch-over. At this point, however, it is of questionable utility because the situation was not resolved. It is primarily because of the influence of their role as a change agent that the episode of the missionaries in the Eastern Arctic is important. It is in their role as successors to the whalers in the role of change agents, that they must be considered. They brought the first attempts from the outside to institute a systematized educational scheme. The teaching of the precepts of Christianity represents the first

attempt to introduce directed contact change into Inuit society. This episode stands in contrast to earlier episodes. Literacy, and the attempted switch-over from the oral to the literate context are part of this and subsequent periods.

Establishment of Government

The Government arrived in the far North, via the Royal North West Mounted Police, in 1903. The Police established some Government control over the area, particularly over the Inuit. It was the Police who performed the task of registering the Inuit for Family Allowance benefits (Paine, 1977:10). However, it was only with the Second World War that the Government of Canada began to take its North seriously. The principal motive was strategic. Canada lies directly across the shortest path between the United States and the Soviet Union. The DEW Line was built across the Far and Extreme North at a cost of five hundred million dollars (ibid.: 11). The Government became aware of the presence of the then 9000 Inuit. Political pressures over the precarious Nomadic existence of the Inuit caused the Government to react by initiating its already extant Family Allowance and Old Age Pension policies in the North, as well as in the South (ibid.:13). To facilitate the distribution of these services, the concept of the nuclear settlement was devised. This involved taking the Inuit off the land and resettling them in Government-run settlements. Typically, one larger than the rest would provide the administrative centre from which to administer the others. In Nouveau Quebec, Fort Chimo, on Ungava Bay, is the administrative centre. In the Eastern Northwest Territories, it

is Frobisher Bay. The manoeuvre was executed over about a decade and was helped by what Paine refers to as "the pushes of the land (starvation, disease, uncertainty. . . By the mid-1960s, most of the Inuit were living in permanent settlements, and visited the land a few times a year. Some were using modern technology (motor toboggans and planes) to continue hunting and trapping with wage employment" (Lotz, 1976:26).

Clearly, another change agent had intervened. As with the missionaries the pattern of directed contact change continued. In fact, as Paine points out, the Government seems to have acted against the wishes of the missionaries "(believing) that part of its job was to 'free' the Inuit from the missions" (Paine, op. cit.:14). The educational system was designed to replace the Church schools, despite Church protestations that "more than 80% of the Eskimos were literate in their own language" (Marsh, 1977:14).

It is here that one sees a pattern of the change agent acting to impose policy upon a population that may or may not have desired it, but in any case had little choice. All forms of communication between the Inuit and the rest of the world were controlled by the Government. In the missionary period the missionaries introduced and controlled the changes. In the days of the missionaries the facility of communication between the Inuit and the outside, and between the Inuit and other Inuit was a function of transportation. But as Mayes (1972:34) observes, electronic media which change that entered the North at "about the time that the disutility of the Eskimos' literary skills was

becoming apparent". Before going on to the significance of electronic media, however, a discussion of the consequences of the Government's involvement in the North, and with the Inuit, is necessary. The problem is well illustrated by examining the educational system.

The Arrival of Formal Education

Government-run education came to the Northwest Territories in 1955 (Paine, op. cit.:16). The educational situation at the time, as defined by the percentage of children in school, showed that "less than 15% of the school-age children of the Territories had received any appreciable amount of formal instruction. The remainder, largely children of the indigenous population, were almost completely illiterate in either their own language or in English". (Paine, op. cit.:16). This contrasts quite sharply with Church claims Paine reports earlier. The Report goes on to remark that the establishment of the "school system which was free and universally accessible was a primary requisite to meet the desires and needs of northern people" (ibid.). Neither the n in "northern" nor the p in "people" are capitalized, although it is obvious from the context and phrasing that "northern people" is intended to refer to the Native Peoples of the Northwest Territories. This point, while perhaps obscure, will become important when television is considered. The implication is that the system was intended to serve the Native Peoples throughout the Northwest Territories, that is to say, to meet their perceived needs. A better example of Rogers' definition of a "change agent" would be hard to find. It is apparent that the

Government had succeeded the missionaries in the role of change agent to the Inuit in the Eastern Northwest Territories.

One factor that operated most powerfully to pull the Inuit into the settlements from the camps out on the land, in addition to the already cited factors of famine and disease, was the system of residential schools (Brody, op. cit.:166,186). The families had to make periodic trips into the settlements to bring the children to the residential schools. There the children would be assigned to hostels and the parents had an opportunity to observe the range of Government services "(medical services, housing, proximity to store and church)" as opposed to the disadvantages of staying on the land "(no camp schools, illness. .)" (Brody, ibid.:167).

In many cases the children were taken straight out of the Far North and sent to the South for their education. Many went to Ottawa, Churchill (Manitoba), Great Whale River (Quebec), or Frobisher Bay (ibid.:186). Later on, day-schools were established in the out-lying settlements.

Rogers defines "modernization" as "(parallelling) at the individual level what development represents at the national level . . . . (it) is the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life" (Rogers, op. cit.:18). Moving from the land into nuclear settlements appears to qualify under that definition.

One cannot understand the consequences of that modernization, however, unless one first examines the ideological

motives of the White change agents, in this case the educational authorities.

Ideological Motives of Southern Educators

From the beginning, the educational authorities' objective was to replace the Inuit culture with the White culture, so as to assimilate the Inuit into Canadian society (Canada, op. cit.:90; hereafter referred to as "Berger"). As Paine (op. cit.:14) notes, the educational authorities seem to have believed that they were "saving" the Inuit from the Church. However, Brody (op.cit.:138-9) observes the deep attachment that the Inuit had formed with Christianity. They appeared to him and to others (Wilkinson, 1955:253) to have integrated Christianity - in the case of the Eastern Arctic, Anglicanism - into their world view. It was through the syllabic script that the belief in Christianity was diffused. The script as Brody notes "is still widely regarded as an important aspect of the things that are essentially Eskimo" (op. cit.:139). In the new Government schools, however, the children were taught English. (The exception to this is Nouveau Quebec. Children there go through the first three grades entirely in Inuktitut, using the syllabic script. At the Grade One level they enter instruction in either English or French. There is still half-an-hour a day of instruction in Inuktitut. The Nouveau Quebec School Board, however, is run by the Quebec Government. It was established in the mid-1960s after the effects of immersion in a second language had been realized.)

The use of the Native languages was banned in early

residential schools in the West (Berger, op. cit.:90). Although the later Government schools didn't go this far, English was the language of instruction. The children were taught with a curriculum designed for Alberta. It excluded any cultural content on the Inuit themselves (ibid.:91). By making this educational process compulsory, by 1970 ninety-eight percent of the school-age population of the Northwest Territories was in school (ibid.).

The transplantation of a Southern curriculum to the North carried as a corollary the innate superiority of White culture and values over those of the Native Peoples, to the extent that Native values and culture were discernable to the Whites at all. Berger summarizes the White view of the Inuit and other Native cultures:

> European institutions, values and use of land were seen as the basis of culture. Native institutions, values and language were rejected, ignored or misunderstood, and - given the Native peoples use of the land- the Europeans had no difficulty in supposing that native people possessed no real culture at all. Education was perceived as the most effective instrument of cultural change; so educational systems were introduced that were intended to provide the native people with useful and meaningful cultural inheritance, since their own ancestors had left them none.

The assumptions implicit in all of this are several. Native Religion had to be replaced; native customs had to be rejected; native uses of the land could not, once the fur

trade had been superceded by the search for minerals, oil and gas, be regarded as socially important or economically significant (ibid.:85).

This depreciative evaluation is reflected by two officials of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA):

> The school has provided a social experience different from anything in the Eskimo culture. Here, large numbers of young people are given the opportunity to communicate with each other. . . to be exposed to a new culture and social system. In such situations people are more receptive to social innovations and changes in routine (Simpson and Bowles, 1973:355).

The Simpson and Bowles paper was presented at a Paris Symposium on the North in 1973, under the auspices of the Sorbonne. Dr. Jean Malaurie, the emminent French anthropologist, whom it was the researcher's pleasant fortune to meet in Nouveau Quebec in 1974, edited and published the reports from representatives of the Arctic countries. Simpson and Bowles' report represents DINA's effort to put its best foot forward.

But the paragraph above displays evidence of that attitude of superiority on the part of White authorities, discussed through practically the entirety of Berger's Report. The words "innovation", "communication", and "change" appear to be construed intrinsically favourable concepts. Do the Inuit, however, not "communicate" through the use of their own language, and, in written form? Can they not do sb without the good offices of a school residence? Brody's scathing indictment of

the residential schools (op. cit.:188-190) proves enlightening. Rape, drinking, and physical violence, or at least the threat of violence, are scarcely "communication", or at least not the kind Simpson and Bowles seem to have been thinking of when they wrote their report.

Objectivity demands, however, that this superior attitude be recognized as benevolent since, earlier in their report they do say;

> The primary overall objective was to establish a system of education which would give the Eskimo and other Northern people equality of opportunity with other Canadians (Simpson & Bowles, op. cit.:355).

It is the authors' assumption that it is only natural and right for the Inuit to enter the wage economy and that they be extended the technical and material means to do so. (ibid.:357).

The assumption is that the Inuit concur in this plan for their future as evidenced by the younger people's increasing rejection of the traditional way of life (ibid.:366). This phenomenon is well documented but apparently misunderstood. Berger pointed out that the younger Native people are returning increasingly to their heritage and traditions. He concluded on the basis of the testimony he heard that in fact, Native self-esteem was higher (in 1977) than it has been since the introduction of universal standardized education in 1955, due to this return to their Native heritage (op. cit.:109-110). This appears to be the phenomenon which Rogers calls "neotraditionalization";

> (This) is the process by which individuals change from a modern way of life to a more traditional style of life. It may be motivated by a desire to conform to traditional norms, to symbolize national identity, to synthesize modern with traditional ways, or it may result from disenchantment with modernization (Rogers, op. cit.:18).

In the case of the Inuit, this phenomenon appears to be a reaction to the introduction of a school system that seems to have been established in a spirit of benevolent superiority. It is to the consequences of the implementation of that system that we now turn.

Chapter II

The Influence of the Educational System

The Native Peoples of Canada are served by an education system designed for the White children of the South. As noted, the curriculum is that of the Province of Alberta. Of Inuit communities in Canada, the exceptions to this are in Quebec and Labrador. The author taught in Nouveau Quebec following the Provincial curriculum. Brantenberg notes that in Labrador it was the Provincial Government of Newfoundland that took over from the Moravian missionaries (1977:346).

It has been observed that the establishment of the NWT's system of education was an attempt to assimilate the Native Peoples' youngest generations into the culture of the White majority (Berger, op. cit.; Vol.I: 90;92). Officers of the NWT Dept. of Education and DINA have publicly defended this policy in stating their belief that assimilation would enable the Native Peoples, specifically the Inuit, to "enter the Canadian labour force (Simpson and Bowles, op. cit.:366). It is important to remember that these intentions were benevolent. It was for many whom the author met while teaching in Nouveau Quebec a sincere expression of their own humanitarian concern.

The results of such policies do not seem to have been what the educators or their host communities had wished. The schools' task was to prepare the young people to work in a wage economy. The young people, however, had been raised in the traditional Inuit way of life. A incongruity of philosophies appears to have disturbed many Inuit. Berger heard testimony to this effect;

> This thing of shutting a person off, shutting an Inuit off from any expression that was related to his own culture . . . didn't only stay in hostels. It went into schools. It went into just everything that you tried to do in just living in a town. You were more or less told that you couldn't express yourself as an Inuit and you had to adopt a totally different life-style. What the hostels and schools were put there for was to make stereotype images of native people, setting them up or educating them where they would be able to fit into the mainstream of Canadian society . . . A lot of these students couldn't cope with this southern image of a second-class white person and going home in the summertime and trying to cope with going back to their parents or their villages and trying to live as Inuit . . . They would get home and couldn't relate to their parents. They couldn't speak the language any more and when they got back to the larger town say in Inuvik, they couldn't fare any better there. They couldn't cope just being half people (op. cit.:92).

This kind of testimony indicates that the people put into these schools experienced a sense of distancing from their family groups. This may have been partly due to the fact that in many cases the children were billetted in residences away from their home settlements. However, as Brody notes, it is the entire system of education, residences, and the settlement schools, which causes concern;

> Then, at school, they were taught differently, and come home

again with their heads full of things they had learned, and things they had been taught away from home. (Brody, op. cit.: 186).

Parents express concern that their children are left in a nether world in which they are neither White, nor Inuit; The Whites would not accept them and their own Inuit People no longer understood them. "They were sort of half White and half Eskimo" (ibid.: 187). The drop-out rates at the larger schools particularly, is high, not the least because of the atmosphere of fear that seems to have been present (ibid.: 189-190).

Language instruction appears to have introduced a deep division between the older generation, those who never went to school and consequently whose knowledge of English is minimal, and the younger generation, those who have been to school, who speak English most of the time, and whose command of Inuktitut is thereby much weaker than that of the older group. The problem is that their loss of functional Inuktitut is not really offset by greater facility in English. This results in situations of the kind Brody describes;

> Most settlement Eskimos between 12 and 16 years of age speak and write a little English, and even those with the most slender knowledge often like to use English among themselves . . . It is startling to see an elderly couple, perhaps with a visiting neighbour, sitting at the kitchen table, drinking tea, listening attentively to one another's anecdotes and reflections in Eskimo, while in another corner of the same room a group of teenagers more excitedly

exchange remarks-their grasp of the language usually permits nothing more detailed- in English. (ibid.: 199-200).

As for the results that the system has been able to produce, these are not encouraging: Melling summarizes these;

two thirds of all native Canadians do not go beyond Grade Eight in their schooling (1967: 64).

There is little evidence that these figures have improved in recent years. In fact, Berger's Report of 1977 confirms these figures. As of 1970 "only seven percent of the Northern native population had completed high school or technical school and none had completed university (Gemini North Ltd., 1974: Vol. 2, Table 7.38, p. 723).

The effect of what is classed as failure in school is devastating. The children drop out, as has already been noted. That, however, is only the initial consequence. Brody describes the secondary consequences of suicide, alcoholism, and drug experimentation (op. cit.: 207-210). These behaviours may be the effects of the modernization process, and most particularly the educational system (Finkler, 1973; Graburn, 1969; Honigman and Honigman, 1970).

What is more pertinent is the root cause of these behaviours. It will be easily accepted that the change agencies' introduction of modernization resulted in what Berger refers to as the "social pathologies" that typify modern Native life. Breaking down the actual cause would likely be the task of historians, or sociologists. Berger offers a synthesis of what they have produced so far;

> various historians . . . all more or less agree that the white presence- from the missions and the fur trade to the advent of industry and the proliferation of government institutions-represented, and continues to represent, a domination of native society. Moreover, historians also agree that there is an intrinsic relationship between this domination and the cluster of social pathologies and economic difficulties that native people have experienced, especially in recent years. (Berger, op. cit.: Vol. II:5).

It is useful, at this point, to consider briefly the meaning of this domination.

External Domination and Perceived Control

Arriving in the North, one is struck by the reliance the Inuit appear to have on White society, and the accoutrements of White technology. As was pointed out earlier, the Government intervened in the North at a point where the Inuit were leading a perilous existence (Paine, op. cit.). Walking around in Frobisher Bay or Fort Chimo today, in 1980, it is difficult to perceive a clear and present danger to the Inuit's future. They all drive around on ski-doos, summer and winter, and use firearms for hunting. When in town they buy their food at "The Bay" just like the Whites. And just like the Whites they smoke too much and line up on Friday nights at the Co-op to buy more beer than is probably good for them. They seem to be fulfilling Simpson and Bowles' blueprint and all appears as it should.

The clothing the people wear is a blend of traditional and

White, with the younger, early and pre-teen tending toward cheap ski jackets bought at "The Bay", and the older people, in this case the older teens and up, preferring the duffel-lined "attigi" parka. Indeed, in walking around a settlement it is astonishing to note the preponderance of White technology upon which the Inuit now depend.

This technology was extended in the assumption that White is intrinsically superior to Inuit, as has already been noted. It is arguable that in accepting the technology so readily, the Inuit themselves acknowledged that superiority. That, however, is to commit the error of affirming the consequent; "Post hoc, ergo prompter hoc." Simply because one event occurs in time after another event does not imply that the first event caused the second. The Inuit did accept the White technology proffered by the White change agencies because these did materially improve their lives. Mayes (1978) chronicles those events in Cumberland Sound; Valaskakis (op. cit) does the same for Lake Harbour. Both establish convincingly that the White society brought a materially superior life-style, more of everything. What it brought less of, however, was de facto control by the Inuit over their own lives. This is implied in the title of Mayes (1978) thesis; "The Creation of a Dependent People". Berger points it out too;

> Insofar as experts have sought to identify the causes, they have pointed equally to the speed of social change and to the difficulty native people inevitably experienced in trying to comprehend and adapt to the resulting

> transformations in their lives. A . . . lack of control over their society and their economy lies at the heart of many of the social and economic difficulties (Berger, op. cit: Vol. II, 5).

That control lies with the Territorial and Federal Governments. It is they who administer the Northwest Territories. In the northern parts of the Provinces, control lies in Provincial hands. In no instance does "control over their society and their economy" lie in Native hands, Metis, Dene, or Inuit. This point is made repeatedly in the literature (Berger, 1977;Brody, 1975; Collier, 1973; Finkler, 1973; Honigman & Honigman, 1970; Malaurie, 1973; Mayes, 1972, 1978; Paine, 1977; Valaskakis, 1979); et al.).

Something in the educational system evidently induces the behaviours Brody and others have observed. Taylor and Skanes (1976) have advanced the thesis of "cumulative deficiency". Inuit students cannot but help notice the discrepancies between themselves and the White school system. While education stresses the subject matter, Native societies stress the more humanistic-related values. This is the by-now familiar duality: the relation of self to the environment versus achievement and success. Native students who encounter this discrepancy between their own culture and the White, experience disorientation and value disruption, which is reflected in later poor performance in school as the discrepancy becomes more boldly defined. The terms "disorientation" and "value disruption" refer to the types of behaviours described by Brody (op. cit.: 188-90, 199-200). What

is most interesting about Taylor and Skanes' work is that their parametric tests, conducted in isolated communities in Labrador showed no significant differences in Arithmetic, Vocabulary, and Mazes tests (1976: 4). In fact, the Inuit children scored higher than two of the three White communities on the Arithmetic test, although not significantly so (ibid.). The authors conclude that the Inuit children's lack of success in school therefore, is attributable to the system itself.

Although none of his work deals with Inuit or Canadian Native Peoples, Martin Seligman (1975) offers a cognitive framework for the understanding of what happens to people who experience the loss of control over their lives that the Canadian Inuit appear to have.

It is Seligman's thesis that when an individual, or a group of individuals, experiences a loss of control over the factors of their lives that are most important to them, a behaviour which Seligman terms "helplessness" ensues. This behaviour is characterized by the individual's "giving up" against an aversive situation. He or she simply does not react anymore on their own behalf because they have learned that it is futile to do so. They do nothing because they have come to learn that responses they make to the aversive situation are ineffectual. They have in effect, no control over their own life. Seligman's hypothesis is supported by a large variety of empirical data gathered from human and animal subjects.

Seligman makes the point that the phenomenon of helplessness may be so powerful as to cause death (ibid.:168-9) in humans. He

contends that is a factor sadly overlooked in modern life.

In education helplessness seems to play an important role in determining success or failure in school. For Inuit children, and indeed for all Native children, the situation of a classroom as Taylor and Skanes point out is a very foreign and in many cases frightening experience. If they fail and come to learn to associate school with failure, they may enter a helplessness condition which may persist even outside the school. School may in fact teach them that they are failures. The result for the young people who fail in school, which is as we have seen a large proportion of the population, is grim;

> Time weighs heavily on the young. Those who feel unable or disinclined to hunt and trap must spend many hours trying to amuse themselves by meandering here and there in the villages visiting, gossiping, sitting, dreaming. (Brody, op. cit.: 208-9).

That the young people should resort to alcohol and drugs should therefore, not come as a surprise. People who experience a sense of powerlessness have been shown to resort to alcohol as a means of fantasizing power and escape (McClelland, 1972:334). Native Peoples seem to be no different from Whites in this regard (Finkler, op. cit.; Honigman & Honigman, op. cit.). The researcher observed similar behaviour among the people of the Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The long winter months hang heavily upon one; The consumption of alcohol in that community was beyond anything that the researcher had ever observed among White, Southern Canadians.

With a high rate of unemployment, and no industry in sight to promise relief, much of the population subsisted on Unemployment Insurance Benefits. The eight-week summer lobster fishing season ensured that those who could work would be able to meet the minumum qualifying period requirement. Those who could not work were supported by welfare. Seligman cites examples of the role of "helplessness, powerlessness, and poverty in Harlem" (Clark, 1964: 160). Welfare does not help the situation except to keep people from starving to death; "it undermines the dignity of its recipients because their actions do not produce their source of livelihood" (ibid.: 161). Another possible factor may be the crowding in the ghetto (ibid.). Rodin (1974:162) observed that it may "(undermine) the child's desire or ability to make active choices" (ibid.). The result may be to meekly accept the situation. One of the worst problems in the North is the problem of crowding in Government-provided housing. In Leaf Bay, where the author taught in Nouveau Quebec, there were cases of three families having to share the same small, five-room, plywood house. T. Sowell, the Black economist, notes that his experience in the educational system in New York, "communicated to him almost daily that he was stupid and that little success could be expected of him . . . he argues . . . that because of this belief in helplessness blacks do not persist equally with whites in the face of academic difficulty. Such a process could easily account for I.Q. discrepancies" (Seligman, op. cit.: 164).

This sounds rather like the hypothesized cause of what

Taylor and Skanes (1976) called "cumulative deficiency". Years of this kind of education may produce individuals who have been stripped of their sense of control over their lives, as the testimony cited in the Berger Report seems to suggest.

The question therefore arises, how may a solution be derived? Since the problem appears to be one of control, or rather, the lack of it in the educational as well as other settings, the recovery of control is indicated. The role of self-esteem is crucial here;

> If the Nunamiut are to take a more active part in determining their own destiny they need to become more intimately concerned with both the product and the process associated with the school. If they are to develop feelings of independence and self-worth, Nunamiut needs, as they interpret them, must become the basis of the educational program. The school needs to show the Nunamiut that it considers them capable of participation by drawing them into all phases of school operation. The key figure in bringing about this change is the teacher. If he can see his position as a change agent in a pluralistic society, rather than in an assimilative mission, the more relevant and positive will be the resultant education and the more independent the Nunumiut will become (Cline, 1975: 197).

The parallel with the reversal of helplessness should be clear. Cline observed (ibid.: 193) that the ideas of "grade progression and report cards . . . have implications for student failure".

Collier (1973) has chronicled the situation in Alaska

through the medium of film. He found that the students there responded far more animatedly when taught by an Inuit teacher, even one untrained. In fact, it was the White students in that class in Bethel who looked bored and frustrated (ibid.: 118). In contrast, Collier found that the most bored and discouraged-looking students he filmed were those Native students in an Anchorage high school taught by White teachers;

> The Indian boy sat rigidly, not enjoying the situation, and when he did participate, it was with extreme effort as his body signaled slow defeat, finally sinking completely down on his desk. Indeed, this is a sample of one, but maybe it does describe how a Native student gives up (ibid.: 109).

The importance of Collier's findings is that they empirically, through the visual film evidence, suggest that Native students will respond to and perform far more enthusiastically taught by their own Native teachers, who, were actually from the students' own settlements (ibid.: 117-119).

The students exhibiting lethargy and listlessness in Anchorage seem to be displaying a total inability to cope with the situation of being in school. Put another way, they appear to be evincing an incapacity to respond to the contingencies of the school environment. What they seem to be lacking is control; control over the contingencies of their school environment, or control over what they are being asked to undergo in school. They can be said to have no control since they cannot influence the outcome of the situation; It does end predominantly in

failure.

Breaking out of the helplessness behaviour can be affected, however, if the subject is shown or taught a response to a situation that works and if the subject can see that it works (Seligman, op. cit.: 105). Collier makes the point that until Inuit students receive the positive self-esteem from being taught for their own future by those of their own Nationality, they will neither be fully equal to Whites, nor, most important, perceive themselves to be. Equality as he says is "lastly in the mind" (ibid.: 123).

That perception of equality may be analagous to Seligman's principle of the recognition of control. "Depression" is what Seligman terms the perception that one has no control over the events that effect one's life (Seligman, ibid.: 93, 105). To eliminate depression therefore, one must restore a perception of control over those events (ibid.: 105). The introduction of Native teachers into Native schools in Alaska represents an extension of that model to the educational scene.

Locus of Control and Requisite Variety

A discussion of the phenomenon called "locus of control" seems to encounter a semantic problem. The problem consists in the apparent necessity to express descriptions of the phenomenon in terms of itself. This results in a tautology which may be illustrated by reference to Bateson's definition of a hypothesis (1972:38-9).

Bateson defines a hypothesis as a link between any two explanatory principles. Any statement that purports to join,

link, or otherwise associate explanatory principles can be considered a hypothesis. The reason for this is that a hypothesis is by definition a proposal of at the very least an association between the explanatory principles in question.

This raises a problem for social scientists interested in deriving explanations for puzzling phenomena. How can they know that an explanation they derive is not merely a tautological construct that grows simply from consideration of the problem? In other words, how can they be sure that the explanation of the problem is not merely a rephrased description of the problem- (Hofstadter, 1979)?

Consider for instance the question, why is the sky blue? We learned in school that the explanation for the blueness of the sky lies in the fact that the Earth's atmosphere is permeated with dust. By the the process of refraction the dust filters out certain wavelengths of light leaving us with those wavelengths of light which are perceived by our retinae as the colour blue. This results in the sky appearing to be blue. In point of fact without the dust the sky would be black.

Well that's all right, but all it tells us is that the sky is blue because the dust makes it blue, and therefore it is blue. The next question is usually, why is there dust in the air?

The explanation for this lies in the fact that the air supports the dust. This is established by the fact that in a vaccuum there is no air and therefore no dust, and that therefore the sky is black as seen in astronauts' photographs taken on the moon.

The next question is why does the air support the dust? The researcher won't go into that because he is interested only in the following: The semantic dependence of phenomena upon previously established explanatory principles expressed in the same terms illustrates the intellectual property of recursion. This is the property that an explanation has of relying upon a previously established term expressed, however, in other words. The other words, however, draw their legitimacy from previously established explanatory principles similarly legitimized. Bateson describes this tautology by saying to his daughter in the "metalogue" that Newton didn't discover gravity; "he invented it" (Bateson, op. cit:39).

This kind of tautology appears unavoidable unless we accept the suggestion that the repetitive explanation of knowledge is itself a reflection of the compartmentalization of knowledge. This is what Schoderbeck refers to (1975) as the mechanistic approach. This is the seemingly endless redirecting of knowledge into different disciplines. Schoderbeck credits Ludwig Von Bertalanffy with suggesting the "holistic" approach as an antidote.

The basic argument is that if we persist in splitting up knowledge into disciplines we are not really explaining anything at all. We are merely generating more and more explanatory principles like "instincts" which Bateson points out can be used to explain anything one wants them to (op. cit.). This problem appears to be present in the discussion of locus of control. It might be more enlightening if we dropped for the moment, the

"locus" from "locus of control" to concentrate our curiosity on the term "control".

It is the "control" over one's own life that concerns us in this thesis. The researcher has tried to convey the understanding that, basically, an individual has or doesn't have such "control". That is to say, control is a property apparently within or without the individual. Using the term "locus of" suggests that there is control which exists as a quantifiable phenomenon. It resides in the case of an external, in someone else's apparent possession. That it doesn't reside with the individual is unfortunate. It is our duty, pursuit, preoccupation - call it a "concern" - (Boyd, 1979), to draw the individual's attention to his non-possession of control. If he went out and got some he really might be better off. Control, like gravity therefore, might be merely an explanatory principle.

Seligman and his colleagues, however, seem to have been on to something, in that their idea reflected a situation which many people would call "experience", or "reality". It would seem that the problem is not "locus of control"; The solution is "locus of control". The problem may be more adequately described using Ashby's term (1957) as "locus of requisite variety".

The term "requisite variety " simply means that "there must be as many actions available to the system's controller as there are states in the system" (Schoderbeck, op. cit.:350). In the case of Seligman's "helplessness" requisite variety may be said to be absent because the "system's controller", the individual living his or her life, does not have the necessary action

available to him or her to deal with the array of "states in the system". By viewing helplessness, locus of control, and the terms "internal" and "external" in this perspective we come closer to understanding the phenomenon of helplessness in terms of the total operating life system, that is to say the individual. It is in other words, the individual's incapacity to deal with the situation, or as Ashby might say, a lack of requisite variety.

The reason for submitting this analysis is that it seems to make a more cogent explanatory principle, (Bateson, ibid.), to refer to helplessness as a lack of requisite variety than to describe a phenomenon which we will agree to call "helplessness", or whatever, and leave it at that. Calling it requisite variety opens a systems perspective upon the problem from which to further examine it. To stop at "helplessness", seems to fall into the "black box" problem which Bateson refers to as "a conventional agreement between scientists to stop trying to explain things at a certain point" (op. cit.:40). We would like in studying helplessness as a disorder to be rectified, to derive solutions from our "explanatory principles". To stop and be satisfied with "helplessness" as a black-box mechanism would be ultimately tautological. Consequently, from this point "helplessness" will be considered a lack of requisite variety in the individual's inventory of responses to deal with his life. It probably visually resembles the example Collier gives of the boy in the Anchorage High School giving up, and lowering his head onto the desk.

The Legacy of Education

Change-agency intervention as defined by Rogers (1969), first came to the Inuit of the Eastern North America with the early exploratory voyages of the European traders in the 16th Century. Although earlier contact is strongly suggested on archeological grounds it has not been demonstrated that such contact was as intensive as later contact, beginning with Martin Frobisher in 1578, became.

The early venturers were interested in extracting the natural resources of the region. It turned out that the gold they thought they had discovered was worthless pyrite. Later change-agents, however, had as their objective the people of the region; the Inuit. Anxious to save souls missionaries came north to bring literacy and through it, salvation from paganism.

The Federal Government of Canada followed the missionaries into the North in the early fifties. They were initially worried about the strategic possibilities that Canada's North entailed, lying as it did directly across the ballistic trajectory between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The Government became aware, however, that the region of its North outside the Provinces, which constitutes forty percent of Canada's land mass was inhabited by people, who at the time were in rather dire straits. Partly because of humanitarian concern and partly because it was at the time instituting comparable programmes of social welfare in the South, the Federal Government moved into the North socially in a massive way, ousting the missionaries. Two far-reaching innovations were introduced. One was the taking of

the Inuit off of the land and placing them into nuclear settlements where it was assumed, they could be better looked after. Services could be centralized so that the Territorial Government could bring more people under its wing. The other innovation was education. This entailed the switch-over of a previously oral traditional culture to a literate culture.

The Government established schools and staffed them with White teachers. At first only residential schools in the larger settlements were available. Children had to be transported from the out-lying settlements. Later, day-schools were established for the primary grades in all of the out-lying settlements. For the high school grades, however, the children still had (and still have) to be transported to residential schools in the larger centres like Frobisher Bay, and Churchill, Manitoba.

The result of all of these benevolently-intended measures was the perceived loss of control by the Inuit over most of the functions of their daily lives. The further result of this was a behaviour which is termed "helplessness". This entails that the individual sees all control over his life removed from his own hands. He is powerless to influence events. Nothing he does has any effect. Seeing that nothing he does is effectual the individual sinks into a lethargy of despair characterized by withdrawal and pathological activities like high alcohol consumption, drug experimentation, and compulsive sexual promiscuity. All are directed toward the re-establishment of control over one's life. However, since the individual knows that he has no control, the result is a "thrashing-around" which

is totally ineffectual.

The only way out of this cycle is to break the ring of failure; to re-establish the individual's perceived control over his own life. This solution obtains in the classroom as well as in all areas of every-day life. The only exit from the cycle of failure and despair is the learning of techniques of control. These re-establish the individual's self-esteem and the subsequent perception that he is a worthy individual with control over the vital events of his life. At this point the cycle of depression, hopelessness, and helplessness is terminated. The individual is then free to construct the rest of his life as best as he is then able.

The model may be illustrated by observing that the use of Native teachers in Alaska and Nouveau Quebec seems to give the Native students a greater sense of control over the educational events in their lives.

Chapter III

Mass Communications in the Eastern Arctic

The Link with Education

Research dealing with the presence of television in the Eastern, or in the rest of the Arctic, is sparse. Before proceeding to a discussion of what is available, however, it is usefull to link the introduction of television into that area of Canada with the foregoing discussion of helplessness.

Mayes (1972) provides a clearly-defined starting point. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation provided the only television service in the Eastern Arctic until 1980. Noting that Rogers' (op. cit.) theory would hold that the media content in this area would be "pro-development",

> The analysis of message content and . . . of the utility of accessible information . . . indicate that this is not the case in Arctic Canada. Therefore the mass communication system of the region cannot be considered to be playing a useful part in the adaptation of Eskimos to western culture (Mayes, op. cit.:119).

The reason for this is that such is not the CBC's purpose in the North. Its purpose is to serve the White middle-class residents of the North who were the people who pushed for its introduction in the first place (ibid.). The conclusion to be drawn is that television is a Southern institution which has been parachuted into the North. As a Southern artifact introduced into a Northern environment it may be put into the same context as the educational system. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether an

effect analagous to what Seligman calls "helplessness" (op. cit.) may result from the introduction of television into previously naive areas.

The literature on the effects of television on anybody and everybody, is large. Comstock (1975), in a highly useful quick guide to the more than 400 major studies on the subject notes that there is general agreement that television does induce a propensity to violence. In fact, the great majority of the studies he includes in his resume deal with some aspect of the induction of violent behaviour. The study that represents the most definitive examination of the phenomenon of TV violence and its possible transference effect upon impressionable viewers is the U. S. Surgeon General's Report (1972).

For the purposes of this study it is important to discriminate between the actual induction of violent or aggressive behaviour in impressionable viewers and the fact that television does seem to have some discernable effect upon an impressionable viewer's behaviour at all. Bandura notes that "children may acquire behaviour patterns simply by observing them" (1965). The child according to Bandura's research, may simply observe the behaviour on the screen and internalize it as his own (ibid.).

This view departs from the early studies of TV effects on young viewers and is representative of much of the TV-effects literature (Comstock, op. cit.; Winick and Winick, 1979). What effects might one expect television to have upon a previously naive audience?

According to Bandura's Social Learning Theory (Comstock, op. cit.), one might expect an increase in violent behaviour. Indeed, studies in Canadian Arctic and sub-Arctic non-TV communities support this view (Steinbring et al., 1979:248). Reporting similar incidents in Rankin Inlet, however, Watson (1977) notes that they occurred during a period of non-reception of the Anik-B Satellite signal. They may simply have been due to boredom (ibid.:103). This raises an interesting point. Even in the presence of a high observed correlation between two distinct events such as their co-incidence in time, no inference may be drawn about causality. Correlation does not imply causality. Watson's point about aggressive behaviour and television is well taken. The same may be said to apply to any other behaviour(s) observed in coincidence with television: Causality may not be inferred. Other processes may be operating.

Strodtbeck offers an approach around this problem. He refers to it as retroductive logic:

> a. Surprising phenomena, p1, p2, p3 . . . are encountered.
>
> b. They would not be surprising or astonishing if (s) hypothesis were true. They would follow as a matter of course from the from the hypothesis.
>
> c. Therefore, there is good reason for elaborating the hypothesis and proposing it as a possible hypothesis from whose assumptions p1, p2, and p3, might be explained (1969:27).

Although it is at first glance an attractive option one

should be careful about inferring an absolute explanation of the hypothesis from the phenomena. This approach could, immoderately used, degenerate into a justification for circumstantial evidence. It is merely a tool. It should not be interpreted as a solution. Properly used, however, it might lead one to something other than the immediately obvious.

What the literature indicates is that television plays a major role in inducing violent behaviour (Comstock, op. cit.), if the propensity to violence is present in the viewer. What might be expected in the North?

The television that the residents of Canada's North watch is that of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Northern Service. Until early 1980 this was the only regular network television broadcasting to the North. Radio is received via shortwave, again from the CBC, transmitted from Sackville, New Brunswick. In addition many communities operate local AM and FM radio stations. The shortwave is strictly network fare, however. There is also a wide variety of foreign shortwave and in the case of American radio, AM signals receivable in the North.

The Inuit receive far more Inuit-language programming from CBC radio than from CBC television (CBC, 1979). A breakdown of the daily CBC radio schedule for the Keewatin, which is representative for the Eastern Arctic as well, shows that approximately 50 percent of the weekly schedule is in the Inuit language, Inuktitut. The television schedule, however, with the exception of the programmes "Tarqravut" and "Nunatsiakmiut", is entirely in English or French. The two Inuktitut programmes are

each fifteen minutes long and are broadcast twice a week, for a weekly total of one hour of Inuit-language programming (ibid.).

What is broadcast is the regular CBC network programming from St.John's, Newfoundland. Depending upon which time zone a viewer is in they may see the feed from either St. John's, or in the case of the Central and Western Arctic, from Vancouver (personal communication from Earnie Fraser, CBC research). The inventory of the settlements which are presently (1980) receiving television indicates that exposure is very high; 3.5 hours of television per day, which is 1.5 hours per day less than radio. These figures are based on a sample of 263 Inuit viewers in the settlements of Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake, and Eskimo Point, in the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories. In consonance with earlier studies in the Central Arctic (Watson, op. cit.), among Manitoba Cree (Steinbring, op. cit.), and in the Eastern Arctic (Coldevin, 1977; O'Connell, 1974), as well as a later one in Alaska (Forbes and Lonner, 1980) comedy and high-action programmes were reported to be the most popular, more so than among White viewers. However, the serial "The Edge of Night " is the most-watched entertainment programme. Steinbring (op. cit.) suggests that the popularity of "Edge of Night" is due to its portrayal of the aspects of White life that Native Peoples never, or at least seldom ever see; weakness and jealousies;

> This exposure to the scandalous side of non-Native life allows some Cree people to recognize that there is not as much to envy as previously believed (op. cit.:48).

Interestingly, the most-watched programme overall is the

"National" news at 11 PM, with 33% of the total Inuit sample viewing, versus 28% for "Edge of Night". The "prime-time" offerings are different each night of the week, although they do exceed "Edge of Night", 30-31% to 28%. Since the programmes are different each night of the week it is difficult from the tabular data to see which programme, MASH, "Three's Company", or "The White Shadow" is more popular. Comedy, however, seems to compete well against "Edge of Night's" middle-class depravity. The post-"National" action shows also do well. These results also agree with the earlier studies and with the later Alaskan one (Forbes and Lonner, op. cit.).

The last study is very interesting because it suggests that exposure of a previously naive audience to network television may act analagously to the educational system in reducing the sense of control a person feels he or she has over their own life (ibid.:56). Lefcourt (1976) has noted a general tendency on the part of AmerIndian Peoples to a low sense of control. For purposes of clarity, a person with a low sense of control over his own life will hereinafter be referred to as "external"; The converse will be referred to as "internal". These terms refer to Lefcourt's model (ibid.) of locus of control. Learned helplessness, according to Seligman's model, may be considered a concept analagous to locus of control (op. cit.). Forbes and Lonner (op. cit.:22) made the point of grouping the above two concepts with fatalism, defined by Rogers as the

> degree to which an individual perceives a lack of the ability to control his future . . . a sort of generalized

sense of powerlessness (Forbes and Lonner, op.cit.:22). Rogers' data indicated that fatalism and mass-media exposure were inversely related. Forbes and Lonner suggest that the discrepancy is explicable by Rogers' data having been drawn from adults;

> while our subjects were children. A preferred alternative explanation is that television was confounded by other forces of modernization in Rogers' study, (ibid.:22).

They further suggest that the fact that in Alaska there existed at the time of their study villages both with and without network television, enabled them to factor out the confounding variables so as to get at the unconfounded variable of television exposure (ibid.).

To return to Fraser's research, young Inuit appear to watch far more television than the older people, which is not surprising since the young appear to understand significantly more English than their elders; Chi-square (8) = 113, $p < .001$, (CBC, op. cit.:32). It is interesting to note that attention is different between the ages as well. The young pay more attention than their elders when English is spoken on the radio or television; Chi-square (8) = 89.7, $p < .0001$, ibid.:34).

It is initially a surprise to discover, however, that this is also the case when Inuktitut is spoken; Chi-square (8) = 17.5, $p = .03$, (ibid.). Subject sex does not appear to make a difference. And there appears to be no preference among bilingual Inuit; They "are just as likely to pay attention to English as to Inuktitut"; Chi-square = .65, statistics by this

researcher (ibid.:36-7). Language does not appear to be a factor influencing viewing. Television appears to be more popular than radio among the young (under twenty-five); less so among older people.

Further analysis of Fraser's data indicates a high degree of difference between the viewing patterns of young people and older people. The tabulated Chi-square value of 256 for radio yields a Z-score transformation value of 5.3 (Blalock, 1977:613), $p<.0001$. This would indicate that as age increases radio usage increases. Interestingly, the younger groups sampled are past the age at which they would be in school. Not being in school they would have the same opportunity as the older people to be listening to the radio. This would indicate that as age increases radio usage tends to increase with a corresponding fall-off in television viewing.

The difference between the two groups is less for television viewing. The Chi-square value was less than the one for radio. However, the relative popularities of the two media appear to fluctuate between the age groups with the time of day:

> In terms of the relative popularity of radio vis-a-vis television, the situation is different for each of the age groups. For the Inuit under 25 years of age, television is more popular than radio between 2:00-2:30 PM. For the middle age group, television is the clear choice only between 7:00-7:30 PM and 9:00-10:45 PM. And, finally, for the older Inuit, television is the more popular between 3:30-4:00 PM, 5:00-5:30 PM, and 9:00-10:45 PM (Fraser, op.

cit.:25).

Fraser's major conclusion is that television is more popular among the under-fifteen age group (ibid.:25) and interestingly, that "the proportion stating that they did not view television 'yesterday' is directly related to the age of the Inuit viewers" (ibid.).

Self-esteem of Native Peoples

The role of self-esteem among Native Peoples, both in the Eastern Arctic and elsewhere in North America is integral to this discussion. As Seligman notes it is a complement to learned helplessness and/or locus of control (op. cit:82, 84-85). It seems to flow from a high perceived sense of control, or be a characteristic of one whom one would term "internal". Consequently, following Strodtbeck's reasoning (op.cit.) one might in attempting to establish a sense of helplessness among a specified population expect to observe several phenomena if the hypothesis obtained.

One of these, in reverse order, would be a low self-esteem among the population being studied. Just how this attribute would be established will be discussed later. In order to have a low sense of self-esteem, if Seligman is correct, the people concerned would have to have a low sense of control over their lives. They would have to be classifiable as "externals". They would have to feel, to absolutely believe that control over their lives, their future, resided in other's hands. And if there are others who are highly visible, hold powerful positions, are observed to act powerfully and have access to powerful devices

for travel and communication; who, in a shorter phrase act as change agents, the people under study may conclude that their future lies in those hands. If the outside agents are initiating change in people's lives they may be perceived to be controlling those people's lives. If they were so perceived by the controlled people it would be reasonable to draw the subsequent conclusions above. One would at least find subsequent phenomena that would be expected pursuant to feeling controlled.

In the case of the Canadian Arctic, the Native Peoples as has been demonstrated are not according to reliable sources displaying behaviour that would lead one to conclude that they felt a high internal locus of control. In the case of the younger generation the most powerful outside agency to act upon them has been assumed to be the educational system. A large number of authors, of whom Brody (1975), Graburn (1969), Honigman & Honigman (1970), McElroy, and Schwartz, (1975) are representative in the case of Canada, and Cline (1975), Coles (1977), and Collier (1975), in the case of the United States, have observed the low self-esteem which would follow from an external locus of control and sense of helplessness.

Another behaviour that one would look for would be high alcohol consumption. McClelland (op. cit.) and Marlatt (1976) note that heavy drinking seems to be one way people, particularly men, have of retreating from a state of perceived powerlessness. McKirnan (1978) found that heavy drinking was related to an external perception of control among lower socio-economic groups. Anyone who has been to the North cannot help but notice the

alcohol phenomenon, Brody, (op. cit.) et al.. It is, in fact, one of the things that Native People believe is most wrong with their societies (Schwartz, op. cit.). The link of external locus of control, or learned helplessness, with network television, however, is not as easy to get at as the one with education.

Research on TV Effects in the North

Network television is available in all of the settlements of the Eastern Arctic except Lake Harbour and Igloolik, although for purposes of defining the study area the Eastern Arctic will be taken to refer to the District of Franklin, in the Northwest Territories. The place in the Eastern Arctic where television has been installed the longest is Frobisher Bay on southern Baffin Island. With network television and radio as well as daily jet connections to Montreal, Frobisher Bay is in far more intimate contact with the South than the smaller nearby settlements such as Lake Harbour (cf. Valaskakis, op. cit.) which have no television (Note 1). Pangnirtung on Cumberland Sound (cf. Mayes, 1978, op. cit.) has regular air service from Frobisher only, and CBC television, although the air contact is only three times a week.

From a telecommunications point of view all the settlements of the Eastern Arctic, including Quebec, are not nearly so isolated as in previous years. Dial telephone service is available between all of the settlements, and between the North and the South. Calls from Frobisher to Pangnirtung are transmitted from Frobisher to Ottawa via satellite, and then back

from Ottawa to Pangnirtung via satellite again. The only noticeable difference between a call between Northern communities and a call between Southern communities is that of a slightly greater background noise and a perceptable delay between calling parties' statements and responses. The satellite telephone system operates analagously to a two-way radio signal in that one person only may speak at a time.

Frobisher is the administrative hub of the Eastern Arctic. A glance at the Frobisher telephone directory (1980) will reveal that it is the centre of Government and of education. It was also the first settlement in the region to receive network television (Coldevin, 1977, op. cit.).

Lonner and Forbes measured the comparitive effects of TV on Alaskan settlements with a long history of television exposure, and those with none. An earlier study (O'Connell, 1974) attempted similar comparisons of the people of Frobisher and of Fort Chimo, Quebec. He found that the introduction of TV in Frobisher appeared to have induced a greater desire for change there than among the Inuit of Fort Chimo. Lonner and Forbes tried to find differences due to the introduction of television in Alaska. As already reported they found what they described as a "decreased feeling of control over one's life" (op. cit.:56).

Frobisher is unique in the Eastern Arctic in that it groups into one educational institution Inuit children from Frobisher as well as from the outlying settlements. Since television in those settlements is quite recent the opportunity was available to recreate, albeit imperfectly, Lonner and Forbes' study (Coldevin

& Wilson, 1980). The basic model for Lonner and Forbes' study was, it should be pointed out, devised by Coldevin, in his studies of 1974 and 1975. Consequently, the author should be considered to be recreating Coldevin's 1975 Frobisher Bay study. Lonner and Forbes (1980) study was run on a far greater scale and, it should be pointed out on a far greater budget.

As an additional factor there are a substantial number of White children in the same school. These are the children of the White community. The school, the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC) therefore affords, as it did for Coldevin in 1975 a valuable, although not ideal site for cross-cultural research on both the effects of television and the differences between groups in reacting to, or with television.

Another factor in the educational scene in Frobisher Bay is the billetting of non-Frobisher Inuit students in the Ukkivik hostel. Conversations with teachers, the Principal, and guidance counsellors revealed that the problems Brody (op. cit) and Graburn (op. cit.) described persist. In the previous school year five Inuit students, all from out of Frobisher committed suicide either by gunshot, or by hanging. Soft drugs are plentiful and absenteeism is a serious problem. The possible connection between these events and learned helplessness with television as a possible contributor seemed to deserve serious consideration for on-site research.

If there were a locus-of-control breakdown among the Inuit children in this area, what might one expect to see, using the example of retroductive reasoning (Strodtbeck, op.cit.)? Gilmor

(1978) suggests what one might look for.

He indicates that the main body of the research suggests that children of low socio-economic status are likely to hold "external control beliefs". This belief re-enforces the acceptance of such a status making it easier to live with. Recalling McKirnan (op. cit.) and McClelland (op. cit.), this is not surprising. This type of belief has been observed both within and across racial groups. Age, however, appears to contribute to internality. Gilmor theorizes that it is due to the "children's growing independence from parental dominance and increased exploration of the environment," (ibid.:7). He identifies this as a normally operating process which "continues through adolescence into adulthood" (ibid.). In some individuals, however, this does not occur.

Deviant behaviour such as juvenile delinquency has been correlated with external scores on the Nowicki-Strickland (1973) and Rotter (1966) locus-of-control scales. These are what Gilmor's research has indicated to be the most reliable and valid measurment instruments of this phenomenon (op. cit.:8). Emotionally-disturbed children were found to be more external than delinquents. This would be consistent with the holding of a "hostile-world" attitude. The same is evidently true of handicapped children, including the blind, cerebral palsy-stricken children as well as children with low reading abilities (ibid.:9).

Smoking among adolescent girls, as well as "pre-marital pregnancy among middle-class Whites", and compulsive drinking

have been found to correlate with external scores on the Nowicki-Strickland and Rotter scales, respectively. These studies, however, did not control for socio-economic status which could therefore have acted as a confounding variable (ibid.). Not so with Hall (1971) who found while controlling for socio-economic status a high correlation between high involvement in a cultural milieu and internal Rotter scores.

Self-esteem has been found to vary directly with high internal scores, both for children and adults (ibid.). The additional phenomenon of deferred gratification has been reported to correlate highly with internality. This calls to mind Rogers' (op. cit.) attribution of the lack of this trait to peasant societies. Strickland (1972) found it among White children, but not among Black, possibly reflecting the Whites' higher average socio-economic standing. Disadvantaged children have been demonstrated to hold external beliefs and at the same time be poor "delayers" (Walls and Smith. 1970). This has also been found among adolescents (Erikson and Roberts, 1971). The ability to defer gratification was highly correlated with internality.

The factor of persistence, a frequent problem area in Northern schools, has been found to correlate with internality. In the study cited (Dweck and Repucci, 1973) found that internal children persisted longer than externals in the face of an insoluble problem. Creativity has also been found to correlate with internality, again across racial groups with socio-economic status and race controlled (DuCette, Wolk, and Friedman, 1972).

Gilmor's list goes on, noting that interpersonal relations

were more satisfactory for internals than externals with teachers parents and peers (op. cit.:12). Class participation correlates with internality as one would expect. Also, the ability for "perceptual and social decentering, which is the ability to accomodate or interpret events from other than one's own point of reference" correlates with internality (ibid.:12). Consequently, locus of control may be expected to play a role in the quality and quantity of social relationships.

The same may be said for achievement in school. Internality appears to correlate with achievement scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (Buck and Austrin, 1971) as well as for Twelfth-Graders' achievement and G.P.A. scores (Nowicki and Segal, 1974).

A revealing finding for those interested in Native Students is that externals seem to prefer a co-operative, as opposed to a competitive classroom structure. This is interpreted as the ability or inability to work alone. The internals also semed to have a more positive attitude toward schools and teachers in general (Gilmor, op. cit.:15). Gilmor summarizes the research:

> In summary, this research demonstrates that internality is correlated with higher achievement-related behaviour and that this relationship is mediated by particular cognitive abilities. If an internal orientation is characterized by superior cognitive skills; more sensitive and efficient information processing, greater intrinsic motivation, etc., as it appears to be, it is not surprising that internals are superior, more successful achievers. Coupled with the

previously described findings of superior interpersonal relations with teachers, internality would indeed appear to be a condition for successful academic achievement (ibid.:16).

Teachers who have taught in the North, and others who have lived and worked with Native Peoples, specifically Inuit, have observed all of the foregoing behaviours. The evidence would seem to indicate that a locus-of-control breakdown has occurred among the Native People, the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, in consonance with Bergers' findings in the West (Berger, op. cit., Vol. II:5).

The absence of raw data to support this conclusion stymied a final conclusion. Consequently, the author, with his advisor, Dr. Gary Coldevin, undertook to travel to Frobisher Bay. The purpose of the trip was to attempt to examine the television viewing behaviour of the children attending the high school in Frobisher Bay. An attempt to measure the locus of control of these children was included in the survey.

Television in Frobisher Bay

The situation in Frobisher Bay turned out to be rather confused. The researcher and his advisor arrived on December 8, 1981, to find five operating television systems. First, and most known was the Northern service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, St. John's feed. This has already been described.

Within the past year (1980) four other services have been introduced: a signal from Atlanta, Georgia, in the United States, Ted Turner's super station, WTBS, broadcasting the latest sports

and movies. Third was another satellite signal, a Chicago station, Home Box Office. Fourth was the Video-Club. A local entrepreneur has a satellite-receiving dish which he has linked to a Betamax video-cassette recorder. For a modest fee one may receive copies of the movies, etc., which the proprietor is able to pull down from the satellite.

Fifth, and most interesting, was the Inukshuk system. This project is a television system centred in Frobisher Bay broadcasting to Frobisher and five other Inuit settlements in the Eastern and Central Arctic; Baker Lake, Cambridge Bay, Eskimo Point, Igloolik, and Pond Inlet. The project's objective is the preservation of Inuit culture, which those involved believe is being vigourously undermined by the proponderance of White broadcasting, and White education. Operating on a grant from the Federal Department of Communications, Inukshuk is beamed by the Anik-B satellite to those other five settlements. One of the most pressing concerns of the Inukshuk organizers is the preservation of language and culture. These appear to have already been seriously undermined by the educational system. It is a raison d'etre of Inukshuk that Quallunaq television has acted analagously (The Inukshuk Project, 1980b).

As of May, 1980, CBC television signals were being received in 19 Inuit communities (Inukshuk News, May, 1980). Fears were expressed in 1978 at a CRTC hearing in Pond Inlet that "young people often use English among themselves in the presence of older people" (ibid.:5), harking back to Brody's observation earlier;

This has contributed seriously to the generation gap which has developed over the last several years.

New values are introduced through television, but only those who understand English receive them. The older people who stand firmly in their culture, should be discussing these introduced values with their young people so that these new elements can be examined and evaluated, accepted and rejected (David Eyer, adult educator, Pond Inlet, ibid.).

Inukshuk News further points out that the level of comprehension of English CBC television by Inuit was about 70% in the 15 to 24 year-old age group. The study they cite is Fraser's 1979 report. Although the 70% figure is correct (the actual figure is 69%, Fraser, op. cit.:32) another 18% understand most of the English spoken, for a total of 87%. They do not, however, point out the fact that as earlier noted the young age groups' comprehension is significantly, Chi-square (8) =113 higher than the older people's. There should be cause for even more concern because the levels reported for the relative attention paid to the media when the announcer is speaking Inuktitut and English, are vastly different. The older people appear to pay significantly more attention when Inuktitut is spoken, Chi-square (8) = 17.5, p=.03, (Fraser, ibid.:34, with statistics by this researcher). That is to say, as age increases there appears to be a tendency to pay more attention to Inuktitut on radio or TV. The precise opposite, but even more accentuated appears to be the case when English is spoken. The young pay more attention,

Chi-square (8) =89.7, p<.001, (ibid.), with statistics by this researcher). That is to say, as age decreases there appears to be an inverse trend to pay more attention to English on radio or TV. However this trend is far stronger than the counter-vailing trend to Inuktitut with age, (17.7 vs. 89.7 with the same degrees of freedom).

The acculturative effect of CBC television therefore may be expected to be that much greater among those under 25 than among those over. This is substantially what Inukshuk News is saying without, of course, the statistics. Consequently, the Project is designed "to use this powerful medium to support Inuit life and culture" (Inukshuk News, op. cit.:5).

Inukshuk appears to emerge as a counter-weight to a pattern of learned helplessness arising from the educational system and continuing with the introduction of Quallunaq television. Significantly, and dangerously from the point of view of the Inuit culture the Inuit children the researcher and his advisor interviewed in Frobisher Bay repeatedly expressed preferences for Quallunaq television. Fraser's findings and Inukshuk's expressed fears do appear to be being confirmed in the East, as in the Keewatin. Quallunaq television seems to have a powerful hold on the young people. The fear emerges from Lonner and Forbes' findings that an intensification of the learned helplessness phenomenon is occurring in the Eastern Arctic, as it appeared to them to be in Alaska. There appears to be no question that an addiction of a sort exists among these children. The question is to what is the addiction attached; to television as a medium, or

to Quallunaq television which the Inukshuk Project may in fact use to counteract the acculturative process.

Chapter IV

Conceptions of Media as Change Agents

Marshall McLuhan's ideas about media are very dangerous for academics. There is no real way to prove his hypotheses directly. It is a scintillating challenge to the intellect to do so indirectly. What is interesting in regard to this study, however, is that McLuhan's ideas are drawn self- admittedly (The Gutenberg Galaxy, 1963:65), from the writings of Harold Innis. The author mentions this because the ideas about media he expresses here may sound rather McLuhanesque. One should bear their origin in mind.

We began with Innis' concept as summarized by Valaskakis (op. cit.) that there are in history civilizations which are classifiable as oral or literate. By this point it should be clear if we accept the paradigm that the Inuit represent an oral culture, thrust into a literate worldview by the introduction of the educational system. The challenge consists in reconciling this paradigm with the electronic media which have entered the scene in the Eastern Arctic.

Although it is a highly tempting scenario the author will not argue totally for the adoption of Innis' idea of oral versus literate. The reason is that he does not believe it explains enough. Neither for that matter do Rogers' ideas explain enough, a point Lonner and Forbes have alluded to in their Alaskan report. With the addition of Seligman's theory of helplessness, backed as he is by a large body of empirical research, a pattern seems to emerge.

Fromm (1969) suggests that when a traditional society moves into an era of change in which personal autonomy for its own sake divorces the individual from the traditional ties of kinship and belongingness to a group, the individual is apt to experience a sense "of powerlessness and insignificance as an individual " (ibid.:51). Referring to the Middle Ages, Fromm notes that the decline of the Feudal System and the concommitant rise of Capitalism broke the traditional ties of family, land, church, and village, which had sheltered people in an almost cocoon-like society. Each individual knew his place, knew where he came from and knew his or her present and future station in life. The individual was therefore totally secure in this environment:

> The primary ties block his full human development; they stand in the way of the development of his reason and his critical capacities; they let him recognize himself and others only through the medium of his or their participation in a clan, a social or a religious community, and not as human beings; in other words, they block his development as a free, self- determining, productive individual. But although this is one aspect, there is another one. This identity with nature, clan, religion, gives the individual security. He belongs to, he is rooted in, a structuralized whole in which he has an unquestionable place. He may suffer from hunger or suppression, but he does not suffer from the worst of all pains - complete aloneness and doubt (ibid.).

One might say more correctly in the present context, self-doubt.

Grant Noble (1975) picks up from there and extends the analogy directly to television. He proposes that the role of television for young children is to recreate the kinship ties Fromm talks about. He refers to this as the "extended kin" concept. He suggests that television plays the role of providing the security Fromm described because in the modern era children do not seem to receive as much of this security from their actual kin as they need. The individual learns few skills of personal interaction, only their mechanics, which are presumed to mean the motions and not the reality of interpersonal contact. Television serves the role of supplementing the individual child's modern identity. The child interacts vicariously with screen characters creating the illusion of intimacy with pseudo-personalities he or she may know only by first names. Noble decries the modern TV persona, the professional intimate, "live" and in "living colour", such as Mike Douglas, or Phil Donahue, to give a pair of North American examples. The result is that

> children learn how to interact in larger social groupings by dint of their interactions with regularly appearing TV characters. . . Just as the child in the village becomes familiar with the whole range of relationships likely to be encountered in the outside world because they are represented in the extended kin, so to the child viewer becomes familiar with the range of relationships in the wider society by means of interaction with screen characters he has seen regularly, many of whom in these days of mobility are not likely to be represented in his extended

kin grouping (ibid.:47).

This is not necessarily unhealthy. If Noble is accurate in his depiction of modern society as lacking the first-hand intimacy of former years, presumably vicarious on-screen intimacy is better than none. The problem arises, he notes, when the vicarious experience is mistaken for the real.

Noble defines three types of personalities that appear to emerge from his research on the effects of TV on children. These are the Conformist, the Rebel, and for lack perhaps of a better descriptor, the Problem.

The conformists appeared to be in all respects the best-adjusted children. Their self-concept was strong and they seemed to have the same perception of themselves as others did, that is they saw themselves as others did. They had ample friends and were accepted by significant numbers of their peers. TV for them appeared to be mere entertainment and they expressed the least need to lose themselves in TV viewing.

By contrast the Rebels rejected others' views of them. Although this trait appears to have been necessary in village life, serving to bring in new ideas and opinions to prevent social atrophy, it appears today to be viewed as a pathology of sorts. These children preferred Westerns, movies, and programmes offering a release of tension and topics for later conversation among peers. They appeared to lack identity, having "burnt bridges of the past" leading them to watch programmes defining the ideal teen and future roles in life. Their most often expressed admiration was for the character of the lone hero, the

Clint Eastwood who stands against all odds. Noble theorizes that having rejected the family serials as family ties, they seemed to seek out the shows displaying aggression for a vicarious catharsis of hostility, and to model future life plans and social interactions. Their greatest need appeared to be for peer recognition, to be somebody, respected and possibly feared.

The third type, the Problem, is perhaps the most frightening. They seem to watch TV to pass the time, having no friends. Without consistent self-images they seem to be isolated from any feedback that might come from peers, if they had any friends. They do not outgrow what Noble refers to as the usual identity crisis of adolescence, referring perhaps to Erikson's concept of an

> inescapable turning point for better or for worse. "Better" here means a confluence of the constructive energies of the individual and society, which contribute to physical grace, sexual spontaneity, mental alertness, emotional directness, and social "actualness". "Worse" means prolonged identity confusion in the young individual (Erikson, 1966:67).

Erikson presumably means by "prolonged identity confusion" the non-attainment of the foregoing characteristics. The Problem children prefer regular programmes and characters. Noble (op. cit.) suggests that they interact with the TV characters because they are unable to do so with family and peers. They use TV as talking points for conversations and appear to lose their own identity, such as it is, while viewing anything.

This sounds astoundingly like the kind of behaviour Seligman

calls "helplessness". Whether one wishes to call it hot or cold, there appears to be some evidence that television does have some kind of de-socializing effect of young people exposed to it, where such a pre-existing propensity obtains. Calling it "helplessness" seems to this researcher to provide a framework for further analysis of the problem.

The analysis by Fromm (op. cit.) should be taken to suggest theoretically that the Inuit of the North have experienced a process similar to that he describes. Berger referred to the effect as a "pathology" and this author prefers to use that term. For the Inuit and the other Native Peoples it may be that for them the Twentieth Century is the pathology. Nevertheless, it would appear that some kind of disorder may result from heavy TV viewing, if the viewers have a previously established susceptibility to some "pathology" or "cluster of pathologies", in Berger's words. This appears to obtain in the Native Peoples' case.

Noble believes that much of the literature indicating that TV violence induces social violence may have been loaded toward the affirmative. However, he does express the opinion based on his research, that in some cases TV may seed latent violence (Noble, op. cit.:125). This appears to the researcher to be the key to the proposed link between the induction of learned helplessness by the educational system, and the possible similar effect from viewing Qaallunaq television. The link may consist precisely in the excitation of a previously established propensity to helplessness. Applying Strodtbeck's reasoning

(op.cit.) if the link exists in the defined form it might look something like the behaviours Noble describes among English children. The behaviour observed among Inuit would not in the presence of such a link be at all surprising. We are not looking for causality in any case. As already expressed correlation does not imply causality. What it does imply is an association which we may classify under the rubric of "pathologies" as defined by Berger.

Chapter V

The Field Study

Objectives

The researcher and his advisor flew to Frobisher Bay on December 8, 1980. Their intention was two-fold. The first objective was to do a follow-up to Coldevin's 1975 Frobisher Bay study of the cross-cultural effects of TV on adolescents (1977). The second was to attempt to measure the locus of control status of the children in the high school. The researcher hypothesized that the Inuit children in the school would display a more external locus of control than the Whites. This requires amplification.

Forbes' and Lonner's baseline data indicated that Alaskan Inuit children displayed a high internal score prior to their exposure to network television. As contrasted with non-TV villages, however, children exposed to television in the interim between the establishment of the baseline and the 1980 study, displayed a "decreased feeling of control over one's life"(1980:56).

Consequently the researcher believed that it was reasonable to hypothesize that the Frobisher Inuit students would differ in their locus of control scores from those students from settlements other than Frobisher. The Frobisher children have been exposed to television longer than those from the settlements, in some of which network television is very recent (ca. 1980). In fact, Igloolik and Lake Harbour do not yet have television (Feb. 1981).

It was, however, difficult to rationalize whether the settlement students would be more internal or external than the Whites. Orvik (1978), laying the baseline for the Forbes and Lonner study notes that "there are no significant differences between Native and non-Native students on self-esteem . . . after these children enter a socio-economically and ethnically heterogeneous setting in high school, their self-concept scores (may) decrease" (ibid.:21). On the self-esteem measurement of the baseline for that study "Eskimos differed from the other culture groups on the Myself concept ratings; being significantly more positive (p=.006) than either the Anglo-American or other Native children." (ibid.:32). This would not be inconsistent with Taylor and Skanes' theory of cumulative deficiency. The phenomenon appears to grow with prolonged exposure to the classroom.

By that reasoning the settlement students might be expected to score more internally than their Frobisher counterparts. An additional rationale for this expectation is that those in Frobisher have not only been exposed to education in Quallunaq schools longer; They have been exposed longer to the entire panoply of Quallunaq cultural intervention in the North; longer and more intensively one might add.

Furthermore, television has been in Frobisher far longer than in the settlements. Should it be found that the settlement children had more internal scores than the Frobisher children could one attribute the difference to television? It might be more reasonable to attribute the difference to the generally

higher level of exposure to Quallunaq culture.

Lonner and Forbes handled this problem in Alaska by analysis of covariance techniques which filtered out television exposure, travel, and residence in one or more communities from other confounding variables. The purpose of doing this was to derive an index of exposure to use as an independent variable in analysis of variance and covariance comparisons of television-exposed,and television-naive groups. The 1977 baseline study found;

> that Native children (Eskimo, Athapaskan and Aleut) were significantly ($p.<.013$) more external than non-Native children. That is, Native children perceive themselves as having less control over the world and its effects upon their lives. A Test 77/Retest79 by TV/no TV produced an interaction effect ($p<.05$) indicating that TV village children had become even more external after two years of exposure to television and NOTV village children's scores had remained the same. The test/retest group consists of Eskimos and Athapaskans (Lonner and Forbes, op. cit.:21-22).

Similarly, the researcher and his adisor decided to assign each subject a score on an index of exposure and experience, based on travel outside of their community, living in more than one community, and exposure to television. It was reasoned that by assigning each subject, whether they were White or Inuit, a value, we would be able to discriminate more finely, not only between White and Inuit children, but between Settlement Inuit

children and Frobisher Inuit children. Values ranged from a minimum of one to a maximum score of 14.

The children were first asked (Appendix C) whether they were from a settlement with television. Those answering affirmatively were given one point. Those from Frobisher were given a point for a) coming from a television settlement, and b) coming from Frobisher, for a total of two. If they had lived elsewhere than their home settlements, they were given a point for what Lonner and Forbes referred to as "cosmopoliteness". If they had lived in Southern Canada, they were given a point in addition to the one for "cosmopoliteness".

Those who had travelled at all to the Southern part of Canada were given another point; An additional point was given if the trip had been within the past year. Another additional point was given for each additional trip within that past year. Furthermore another point was given if they had visited another country, such as the United States or Greenland. Analagously to the handling of trips to Southern Canada, points were given for the frequency and recency of such trips.

Whites were given points to start, i. e. for being White and ipso facto, part of the majority culture. It was anticipated that the Whites would consequently score higher on the index than the Inuit.

Methodology

Subjects

The subjects were 184 students at the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre in Frobisher Bay. Eighty of these were from

outlying Baffin, and Western Keewatin settlements. These students were all Inuit.

One hundred and four students from Frobisher Bay were included of whom sixty were Inuit and the remaining 44 White. Of the White students the great majority were from Southern cities living with their parents who were working in Frobisher for either Government agencies or private ones like Bell Canada or Nordair. There were several, however, who were from the North and had lived there all their lives. Account of this was taken in coding their indices of experience.

Procedure A two-part questionnaire was administered to all subjects. The first part was a replication of Coldevin's 1975 study, with additional questions. Its purpose was to obtain demographic data on the subject population to measure their relative exposure to television and to establish the kind of television that they watch. Additional questions probed their educational and occupational aspirations, attitude to the traditional Inuit lifestyle, leisure-time activities, as well as relative knowledge about the world outside the North, and dominant information sources.

The second portion of the questionnaire was developed by the researcher in consultation with his advisor. Its purpose was to measure the locus of control of the target population.

Robinson and Shaver (1973) point out that the Rotter and the Nowicki-Strickland locus of control scales are the most widely used and reliable measures of the phenomenon of locus of control. The language of the subjects becomes a confounding factor,

however, when the scales are considered for use with people whose mother tongue is not English. Forbes and Lonner recognized this problem and constructed their own instrument in simpler English to try to overcome the language barrier. Like the original Rotter their instrument consisted of eleven forced-choice questions. In each question the subject was directed to chose the item he or she most agreed with. Each item reflected either a positive or internal outlook, or a negative or external outlook on the aspect of life attitudes that the question addressed.

The researcher and his advisor were unable to obtain a sample of Forbes' and Lonner's questionnaire. Consequently, they decided to devise an instrument of their own which was intended to serve the same purpose. Some of the items the researcher produced were slightly modified versions of Rotter's or Nowicki-Strickland's questions, while others were new. Both are reproduced in the appendices.

Results

The results of the analysis of the responses by the three groups on the locus of control section of the questionnaire indicated sharp differences between the groups. As expected the Whites scored highest M (44) = 8.42 followed by the Settlement Inuit, M (80) = 7.31, and the Frobisher Inuit, M (60) = 6.65. Subsequent analyses of variance revealed that the Whites were significantly higher than either Inuit group, $F(2, 180) = 9.09$, $p < .001$ (table1), and that the two Inuit groups were significantly different from each other $F(1, 136) = 8.73$, $p = .004$ (table2).

TABLE 1

* * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * *

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

BY ETHLOC RACE+ HOME LOCATION

INDEXEX INDEX OF EXPERIENCE

* *

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	91.047	3	30.349	10.296	.001
ETHLOC	53.606	2	26.803	9.093	.001
INDEXEX	1.258	1	1.258	.427	.514
EXPLAINED	91.047	3	30.349	10.296	.001
RESIDUAL	530.557	180	2.948		
TOTAL	621.603	183	3.397		

184 CASES WERE PROCESSED.

0 CASES (0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

TABLE 2

* * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * *

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

BY ETHLOC RACE+ HOME LOCATION

INDEXEX INDEX OF EXPERIENCE

* *

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	24.804	2	12.402	4.599	.012
ETHLOC	23.538	1	23.538	8.729	.004
INDEXEX	.064	1	.064	.024	.878
EXPLAINED	31.156	3	10.385	3.851	.011
RESIDUAL	366.730	136	2.697		
TOTAL	397.886	139	2.862		

140 CASES WERE PROCESSED.

0 CASES (0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

Two-way analyses of variance were then conducted to determine whether there were differences on the variable of index of experience, which is partially defined as exposure to White culture. An index of experience was assigned to each subject, following Lonner and Forbes procedure (op. cit.:11). A median split was then applied to a) the Inuit subjects and b) the entire sample . The overall sample was then conceived of as having two medians, one for the total, equal to 5, and one each for the Whites equal to eight, and the Inuit, equal to four. The reasoning for doing this was that if the total sample median was used, the index of exposure would have been biased, since by that procedure the Whites all fell into the high exposure group. The grand median (variable INDEXEX) therefore acted to artificially "load" the experience variable against the Inuit. The separate median variable (variable MEDVAR), achieved through the "RECODE" procedures available on the SPSS statistical package enabled the creation of an independent variable which it was reasoned would more finely discriminate between the Whites and the Inuit.

Accordingly separate follow-up two-way analyses of variance were conducted on locus of control as the dependent variable (CONTROL) with ethnicity and home town (ETHLOC) and the revised experience index (MEDVAR) as the independent variables. Sex and age (SEX, AGE) had been previously established to be insignificant predictor variables, $F\ (1, 132) = .43$, $p = .513$, and $F\ (4, 132) = 1.1$, $p = .36$, respectively.

Two of these analyses were run. One was to compare the Whites with both Inuit groups. The second was to compare the two

Inuit groups separately to discern any differences with regard to the combined effects of ethnicity and the experience variable. The regression approach to the analysis of variance available under Option 9 of SPSS Subprogram ANOVA was used to over-ride the rather large discrepancies in independent variable cell frequencies (Nie, et al, 1975).

The first two-way ANOVA revealed as expected, the large difference between the Whites and both Inuit groups, F (2,180) = 15.5, p=.001, on the dependent variable CONTROL. There was no significant difference, however, on the independent variable of MEDVAR , F (1,180) =.532, p=.476.. No interactions were revealed. From this the researcher concluded that whatever the differences in locus of control between White and Inuit they could not be attributed to the independent variable of experience, after the other variables were accounted for. Similarly, the analysis across the two Inuit groups revealed significant difference on locus of control CONTROL, F (1, 137) = 6.57, p=.001, but not on the independent variable (MEDVAR), F (1,137) =1.93, p=.17. Further regression analyses failed to discern any other predictor variables.

TABLE 3

* * A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E * *

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

BY ETHLOC RACE+ HOME LOCATION

MEDVAR

* *

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	91.357	3	30.452	10.338	.001
ETHLOC	91.350	2	45.675	15.505	.001
MEDVAR	1.569	1	1.569	.532	.467
EXPLAINED	91.357	3	30.452	10.338	.001
RESIDUAL	530.246	180	2.946		
TOTAL	621.603	183	3.397		

184 CASES WERE PROCESSED.

0 CASES (0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

TABLE 4

** A N A L Y S I S O F V A R I A N C E **

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

BY ETHLOC RACE+ HOME LOCATION

MEDVAR

* *

SOURCE OF VARIATION	SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE	F	SIGNIF OF F
MAIN EFFECTS	20.367	2	10.184	3.696	.027
ETHLOC	18.094	1	18.094	6.566	.011
MEDVAR	5.319	1	5.319	1.930	.167
EXPLAINED	20.367	2	10.184	3.696	.027
RESIDUAL	377.519	137	2.756		
TOTAL	397.886	139	2.862		

140 CASES WERE PROCESSED.

0 CASES (0 PCT) WERE MISSING.

A battery of chi-square tests revealed several interesting relationships. The settlement group was the oldest of the three groups, Chi-square (3) =59.6, $p<.001$. This age discrepancy, however, did not affect the locus of control scores as noted earlier. The Frobisher sample turned out to have had proportionally more girls than the other groups, Chi square (1) =5.39, $p<.005$. Sex, however, was an insignificant factor.

A relationship appears to exist between ethnicity (ETHLOC) and the language spoken with siblings (SIBLANG). The Frobisher group as compared with the Settlement group appears to be more likely to speak English with siblings, or a combination of English and Inuktitut, than Inuktitut alone, Chi-square (2) =14.14, p=.0009). An interesting finding, however, is that the Settlement group all fall into the high experience group, as split by the separate median technique. This may be due to the greater travelling these children appear to have done since, following Lonner and Forbes practice they were given a point for each time they had gone south, or out of the country, or both.

The older Inuit appear to be in the higher group which is really not that surprising since there may by common sense alone be expected to be a positive relationship between age and experience, Chi-square (3) =8.01, p=.05.

Another interesting finding is that the older Inuit children appear more likely to speak English, or a combination of English and Inuktitut, Iau = -.12077 p=.05. Furthermore, the higher grades appear to have a higher experience index although since age is usually highly correlated with grade this is not very

startling. What is more surprising, however, is that females appear to be more likely than males to be bilingual, Chi-square (2) =8.1, p=.0173, in speaking with peers in the previous instance, and with siblings, Chi-square (2) = 6.46, p=.0395. They are also more likely to be able to read Inuktitut than boys, Chi-square (1) = 4.5, p=.034. This is in contrast with the boys who are in the first instance more likely to speak with peers and siblings in either Inuktitut or English, and in the second not be able to read Inuktitut. Girls also tend to have a higher experience index Chi-square (1) = 7.1, p=.076, a trend which although below the 95% significance level may contribute something to the previously mentioned effects on languages spoken.

As one might expect the language spoken at home appears to be related to the ability to read Inuktitut, Chi-square (1) = 15.5, p=.001. One might expect such families to stress the importance of attaining literacy in the first language. The following relation between the language spoken with siblings and the ability to read Inuktitut (INUREAD) should not then be surprising, Chi-square (2) = 7.75, p=.0208.

Not astonishingly, the level of experience seems to be related to the language(s) spoken with siblings and peers, Chi-square (2) = 7.31, 5.17, p=.0258 and .0754, respectively. Those in the high experience group seem more likely to speak English, or English and Inuktitut, than Inuktitut alone.

When the Frobisher and the Settlement groups were analysed separately several interesting anomalies emerged between them.

Girls from Frobisher are more likely to read Inuktitut than boys, Chi-square (1) = 6.96, p=.0083, while no such dichotomy exists among the Settlement group, Chi- square (1) =1.02, p>.30. Furthermore those in Frobisher who speak Inuktitut with their parents are more likely to be able to read the language Chi-square (1) = 6.49, p=.0108. The same relationship appears to obtain among the Settlement group, Yate's corrected Chi-square (1) = 6.92, p=.01, (Blalock, op. cit.:291). Those in Frobisher who speak Inuktitut with their parents are more likely to fall into the lower experience group, Chi-square (1) = 5.31, p=.0212, and not surprisingly in Frobisher the high experience group is less likely to be able to read Inuktitut, Chi-square (1) = 3.36, p=.07. Although this value does fall below the 95% level of significance, a trend is indicated. Among the Settlement group no such comparison is possible since they all fell into the high experience group. Seventy- seven percent of them do read Inuktitut, however.

The question immediately arises of how much credence may be attached to the foregoing statistics. Put another way, one may ask how representative they are of the entire population. Earlier studies have observed analagous differences between Frobisher and Settlement Inuit and between younger and older Inuit.

The more critical social/psychological effects of television have been levelled toward Eskimo children. In relation to parents, their segregation with the past is readily apparent. English has become the "acceptable" peer

> group language, television the primary out-of-school activity (children of any age will watch television until sign-off), and Southern Canada is emerging as the preferred working location. Yet current television programming (1975), does not provide either a structure for realistically coping with the south, or conversely, a presentation of revitalized traditional patterns in the northern lifestyle. And given the "entertainment entrenchment," it may be difficult to introduce Eskimo information programs as a compelling alternative. In sum, television has captured a large portion of the lives of both Eskimo parents and children but is for the most part irrelevant to their deep-rooted social customs and environment. (Coldevin, 1977:153).

Given that the researcher and his advisor found essentially the same pattern in 1980 as Coldevin found the first time in 1975; and given that the "entertainment entrenchment" Coldevin refers to has been reported by all the studies of television in the North and among Native Peoples both Indian (Ellberg and Salisbury, 1975; Steinbring et al, 1979) and Inuit (O'Connell, 1974; Coldevin, 1977; Watson, 1977; Caron, 1979; and Fraser (CBC, 1980), and in Alaska (Coles, 1977; Orvik, 1978; Forbes and Lonner, 1980) the researcher concludes that the study is at least replicative of its antecedents, and that its data are at least as representative.

Chapter VI

Synthesis

Kilfoil (1979) makes the point that a synthesis of White (Quallunaq) cultural values with AmerIndian cultural values does appear to be possible in situations which encourage both cultures at the expense of neither. This synthesis is visible in the perception people have of themselves when performing tasks and roles identified as White or Indian. People "may not necessarily compartmentalize their lives. . . I suggest that persons may undergo a socialization process in which they acquire competence, as if is defined by more than one culture" (ibid.:13). Kilfoil found in her study of the now-defunct Manitou College north of Montreal, that

> By providing a warm, sharing atmosphere at Manitou College, by providing the student with a much greater knowledge of his tribal history, and culture, by providing a rhetoric whereby aspects and symbols of a native culture were consistently reinforced; Manitou College gave its students the opportunity to discover their tribal roots in a culture and history seen as psychologically satisfying, rather than a previous negative expression of native identity as an anti-White phenomenon (ibid.:51).

As has been demonstrated the provision of such an atmosphere in classes for Inuit children has been historically absent. Furthermore the system of education seems, to judge from the testimony expressed at Berger's hearings to have undermined

Native identity. In the case of Manitou College the provision of a legitimate Native identity as opposed to that depicted by the Territorial Department of Education resulted in many Manitou students "embracing more than one cultural system" (ibid.:58). In this case the sense of self that emerged resulted from "interaction with others (i.e.) . . . the groups interaction with the non-native world" (ibid.:59). That healthy sense of self could then be attributable to "the 'legitimizing' process of identity validation that is essential to an effective educational system" (ibid.:58-59).

In the case of the educational system in the Territories that sense of self-validation appears to have been conspicuously absent. It also appears to be absent in the content of the television programming being received in the Eastern Arctic. The problem arises in that simply identifying the problem is not anything that appears to do anyone any good. It has been apparent for years that the educational system was having effects its administrators had never intended. Part of the reason seems to have been the imposition upon the Inuit of non-Inuit views of what the Inuit <u>should</u> do with their lives and their futures in the late Twentieth Century. It was the assumption of "innate White superiority" Berger identifies. Kilfoil concludes by observing that

> Practically speaking . . . where decisions are being made concerning the nature of the "Indian" education and evaluations of "Indian" needs and "Indian" culture, we must ask who is doing the categorizing and what effect the

> categorization from outside is having on the people themselves. When a guidance counsellor continually decides that some programmes (such as vocational-technical programmes) are more in keeping with "White" notions of "White" perceived "native culture", we may well ask what the consequences of this categorization process will be (ibid.:61).

Simpson and Bowles' categorization seem to be one example of what Kilfoil is talking about here. The consequences have already been recounted.

It is, however, quite a step from education to television. In identifying it as a change agent may one categorize it as the same type of change agent as the educational system? Can Southern network television be conceptualized as directed contact change?

The conclusion of the researcher is that television is not an example of directed contact change. It appears to be one of selective contact change which "occurs when outsiders, unintentionally or spontaneously communicate a new idea to members of a social system, who in turn select those ideas they wish to adopt" (Rogers, op.cit.:17-18). Television may have been directed into the North by White constituents who, as Mayes (1972) points out caused it to be put into the North: It is another thing, however, to argue that the advent of television was an attempt at cultural assimilation analagous to that of the educational system. The point of distinction is that in its assimilative character the educational system appears to have

been purposive; The introduction of network television does not seem to have been similarly intended. However, we are constrained by Rogers' model to acknowledge that the two do both fall under the rubric of contact change. Whether the introduction of television was purposive or not its effects are discernable. The question is whether those effects are significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the effect of learned helplessness is as attributable to television as it appears to be to the educational system.

The effects of telecommunications upon traditional societies appeared to Rogers to be pro-development. However, in the Canadian North the message appears to be anything but that. Interestingly, Innis' thesis would hold that telecommunications, as a chronological descendant of what McLuhan would call "the extensions of Man" would contribute to development and to cultural metamorphosis of some sort. A cultural metamorphosis does appear to be occurring as the Inuit children's preference for Quallunaq television indicates. However, something appears to be wrong in that the metamorphosis does not appear to be operating fully to re-enforce the attraction of what Innis called the "margin" to the "centre". The younger Inuit are being drawn to the centre, that of the Metropolitain Canadian culture. However, their elders as well as those Inuit in the middle-age group, those who went to school ten years ago and dropped out as most of them did, appear to be returning to the traditional values of family, heritage, and community. Rogers termed this phenomenon "neotraditionalization". It is more likely, however,

that the kind of cultural synthesis Kilfoil described will be the pattern for this middle group. These people are the most actively involved in the Inukshuk Project, an endeavour directed at the re-enforcement of those traditional cultural values.

Probably the most worrisome finding of this investigation from the point of view of Inuit culture is the apparent disaffinity of the school-aged Inuit for the traditional culture. We may say that these people appear to be in a kind of cultural limbo. All of the Canadian northern television studies (CBC, Caron, Coldevin, O'Connell, Steinbring, and Watson) indicate the drawing power of commercial television upon young Inuit. Lonner and Forbes reported the same in Alaska. The researcher and Coldevin observed this again in Frobisher Bay in 1980. It is among this group therefore, that Innis' paradigm may carry the most dangerous portent.

Bruner (1973) has reported that some kind of cognitive shift does appear to occur when children of one culture undergo schooling designed for another, dominant culture. This would tend to be supportive of the Innis argument. It does not appear from these results, however, that the author can conclude that this has occurred in the North. In fact Seligman's theory suggests that if a shift has not occurred the non-occurrance may have induced the "helpless" behaviour. Quallunaq schooling and by extension Quallunaq television may have taken one cognitive framework away, but through a lack of requisite variety (Ashby, op.cit.) failed to replace it with any viable alternative. Herein may lie the origin of the "helpless" behaviour Brody, et

al chronicle and which Gilmor attributes to an external locus of control.

This is not a phenomenon confined to Canada as the observations of Coles, et al, have testified. Barling (1980) reports the existence of the phenomenon of external locus of control among Black South Africans. It appears that the intrusion of modernity into people's lives has the effect of reducing an originally high internal locus of control. Such is the conclusion from Lonner and Forbes study, and it appears to be the result of this study as well. In the case of South Africa, when modernity is combined with a political system which, at the very least, draws legally-sanctioned distinctions between the races, internality may suffer.

But, to return to Innis, what is the connection between the locus of control and the medium of cultural re-enforcement or assimilation? Earlier it was pointed out that Innis theory is interesting but does not appear to explain enough. Fromm's ideas were suggested to throw perspective on the transition from traditionalism to modernity. Noble's work was cited to define the peculiar cognitive effects of television-watching on people with a previously-established propensity to "helpless" behaviour. McLuhan's work is, as he pointed out himself largely an extension of Innis' ideas. Valaskakis drew in depth from Innis' work as delineated by Carey. We return to Innis, however, because one more of his ideas appears to bear upon this study.

The centre-margin theory of Innis holds that advances in communication were used to draw outlying areas closer to loci of

central authority. As communication processes became more advanced it became possible to extend "Empire" to use Innis' term, to previously undominioned areas. Valaskakis' chronicle of the evolution of "interaction patterns" in the Eastern Arctic suggests that the "changes" in the Rogerian sense in which she uses the term may be interpreted as extensions of dominion out from the centre, Metropolitain Canada, to the margins, in this case the North or the Eastern Arctic. If this may be said to be the case these "interaction patterns" and the acts of "directed contact change" and "selective contact change" may be said to have constituted in the first two cases at least, political acts. Mayes (1978) examines these implications in detail. However, the induction of "helpless" behaviour and all that it has been shown to entail does not appear to have been such a purposive act. If we are to believe Simpson and Bowles quite the opposite seems to have been intended. From the coming of the missionaries through to the whalers, the Police, the Government, and the educational system, and even to the advent of electronic centre-margin penetration the pattern appears to have been one of benevolently intended intervention, at least since the time of the coming of the Police.

One thinks at this point of a comment of Stafford Beer about a solution (one of many in the history of the problem) to the dilemma of inflation; "It lacks requisite variety". This concept has been discussed and if it may be extended to the history of education as an example of centre-margin penetration into the North the interpretation that appears to be to this researcher

appropriate is that all these "change agents" lacked requisite variety in the array of choices they offered to the recipients of "change", either directed or selective.

Chapter VII

Discussion

The finding that the Inuit groups were lower in locus of control appears to confirm Lonner and Forbes' findings in Alaska. It is less clear to what this discrepancy should be attributed. Certainly the most interesting finding of this study in the opinion of the researcher is that of the significant difference between the two Inuit groups on locus of control.

This study should be interpreted as having established the validity of the following hypotheses:

1. that the educational system was intended to act as an acculturative instrument with which to re-mould the Native Peoples as members of a broad, Pan-Canadian, wage-economy society. Although this is not a new concept it is necessary to affirm it before any more can be said;

2. that in so doing the educational system took control over their lives as defined by control over the development of their young people from the older people who saw their children inducted into the school system away from their protection and influence for long periods of time;

3. that in a global sense therefore, the Native Peoples as Nations lost control over their own cultural development.

To go from this to confirmation of the next hypothesis, that of the behaviour of "helplessness", however, is quite a jump. The idea behind the locus of control questionnaire was to tap the amount of internality, or externality among the Inuit and White children in the high school in Frobisher Bay. The values

described in the "Results" section refer to internality, the internal choice of the two in each question. The results would have been reciprocally valid had one been measuring externality, involving a simple reversal of the scale.

The point at issue here is whether a generally external result for an individual necessarily implies that due to his or her low internal locus of control score the condition of helplessness obtains for that individual.

Earlier, the researcher chose to adopt the convention of conceiving of helplessness or external locus of control and analagous terms, interchangeably. Consequently, he has concluded that the phenomenon does exist. The questionnaire therefore makes the assumption that the phenomenon does exist. Its purpose is to measure the phenomenon in individuals, or groups of individuals. By that standard most of the psychometric instruments of the type described by Robinson and Shaver (op.cit.) rest on a similar rationale. They assume that the phenomenon they are designed to measure does exist. Their use is to differentiate between individuals on the basis of that phenomenon that is being examined.

To that extent the phenomenon of helplessness may be said to exist. The problem Seligman addresses (op.cit.) is the varying abilities people seem to display in dealing with the phenomenon.

Consequently, one cannot conclude that since the Inuit appear to have a lower internal or a higher external locus of control score than the Whites they are therefore "helpless." What one <u>can</u> conclude, and what is the conclusion of the researcher is

that the phenomenon of helplessness evidently exists to varying degrees in all of the samples measured. One can derive this from the fact that the group means are well below 11, the top of the scale. One should note that certain individuals did select a "perfect" 11 internal answers out of 11. Four Whites, one Inuk from Frobisher, and two from Settlements did score 11. However, the means of each group were significantly different from the other two for all possible combinations.

The conclusion is therefore, that the Inuit exhibit the phenomenon of helplessness to a significantly greater degree than the Whites. Moreover the two Inuit groups differ significantly. The Frobisher Inuit appear to exhibit the phenomenon to a significantly greater degree than the Settlement Inuit. Some process, or processes evidently act to reduce internality in the Frobisher Inuit below the level of that of their counterparts from the Settlements. Indeed, in many cases residents of Frobisher are former residents of other communities on Baffin Island, the Keewatin, and even from the Western Arctic. There are also some former residents of Nouveau Quebec, Labrador, and Greenland. The ethnic consistency of the Inuit people of Frobisher should be such that it subsumes other communities in the Eastern Arctic on the basis of ethnic composition.

The researcher believes that the comparison with the White sample should be subject to caution. Blalock notes;

> The assumptions for analysis of variance are . . . normality, independent random samples, and equal population standard deviations (op. cit.:336.)

The researcher believes that these assumptions obtain for the two Inuit groups. When the Whites are considered together with the Inuit, however, the researcher is of the opinion that the assumption of "independent random samples" does not obtain. Although the remaining assumptions appear to obtain across all three groups the violation of the first assumption may be said to cause us to be extremely cautious in the kind of conclusions we draw from the significant F- ratios.

We can say in this regard that the Whites are higher than the Inuit. However, the fact that ethnicity is the independent variable in an analysis of variance with locus of control as the dependent variable does not imply that ethnicity is causing the difference(s) reported. All it implies is that the factors that operate on the locus of control of the Whites differ either in quality or quantity, or both, from those that operate similarly on the Inuit. We have only examined the factors covered by the study. It is entirely possible, in fact probable, that there are factors which operate to produce the differences reported which subsume ethnicity and index of exposure, as well as others, or combinations of others not contemplated.

We believe, however, that the differences between the Inuit groups should be regarded as more important than those found with the Whites. The Inuit groups were matched on far more dimensions than the Whites were with the Inuit. The differences between the Inuit groups should be interpreted, the researcher believes, as reflecting the true differences between the samples in an instance where they were matched naturally to begin with.

Consequently, the differences in locus of control should be interpreted to reflect some real operating process, not, as in the case of comparing White with Inuit, being influenced by unexamined confounding factors.

After other factors are controlled for, such as age, sex, grade, it appears to the researcher that it is residence in Frobisher Bay that is producing a diminution in the Frobisher students' internality. Note that we do not say that it is television exposure, although to determine this was one of the objectives of the study.

This is not, however, the same thing as saying that it is not television: The case is not proven; We cannot reject a null hypothesis pointing to television as the causal factor in reduced internality.

We are in a better position, however, to make some comments on the role television appears to be playing as an acculturative change agent, whether directed or not. The number of significant Chi-square results suggest that there is a positive relationship between the amount of television watched and the tendency to use either English or Inuktitut. The results suggest that an apparent gain in English among Frobisher Inuit has been at the expense of Inuktitut, both in the spoken and written form. Furthermore girls appear to have made greater gains in bilinguality than boys while managing more to hold on to their own language in the written form. Among the Settlement sample, however, there is no such discernable tendency. The researcher's conclusion is that whatever process operates on Frobisher Inuit

to produce this effect is absent in the settlements outside of Frobisher. Since one of the attributes of Frobisher as opposed to settlements is a far higher level of personal contact between the Inuit and the panoply of artifacts accompanying White culture of which network television is one, the conclusion is that television does contribute in an as-yet indeterminate configuration of what the researcher will for the sake of convention refer to as cause and effect to a reduction in the level of internality among the Frobisher Inuit as compared to those from the settlements.

Future research should aim at defining this configuration more narrowly. The amount of variance that our indices of exposure/experience were able to account for on the locus of control variable (CONTROL) was minute. A more precise discriminator appears to be required if progress is to be made in isolating the definitive effect of the variable of television exposure, and exposure to White culture. Future research should be directed at developing an independent variable-type prediction instrument which would parametrically define the relationship that the Chi-square tests, even if numerous and convergent only imply.

As to whether television represents an extension of the educational system in its ability to "marginalize" the Inuit in their own land, a definitive conclusion has escaped this study. In talking with the Inukshuk production staff, however, it was intuitively evident to the researcher and his advisor that there is an intense perception among the post-adolescent Inuit

population that this is the case. The problem for these people seems to be that, whether it is the case or not, there appears to be little control that the Inuit can exert over the reception of television signals from the South much less over their transmission. In this sense they can be said to have lost control over whatever influence television has over their continuing cultural development, or disintegration, as the case may be. This conclusion has serious implications for the future of the Inuit and by extrapolation for all of the Original Peoples of Canada. Once the perception of non-control is established it becomes, as Seligman points out, firmly entrenched in the minds of the people involved. Resistance declines or ceases; The array of "helpless" behaviour that Seligman describes and that Berger and others have reported ensues (Seligman, op. cit.; Berger, op. cit.).

In this regard a disturbing observation of the researcher while in Frobisher is worth recounting. One of the two drinking establishments in the town is the "cocktail lounge" of the Frobisher Inn. The place is full every night and several black & white television sets are placed at strategic points around the room. The sound is left off and the juke-box plays the same songs repeatedly, at high volume. The crowd was post-adolescent since the legal drinking age in the Territories is 18.

The television sets were all turned to the Inukshuk channel. A programme showing a seal hunt on the ice was being featured. The look on many faces watching the screens was wistful. The researcher didn't ask anyone but gathered the distinct impression

later that the children of the people in the bar that night were quite probably at home watching "Charlie's Angels", or other CBC fare.

In examining the questionnaires, the repeated response to the question asking about the television programme liked least was Inukshuk programming. This would not appear to augur well for the future of the type of programming Inukshuk was doing. It is not necessarily catastrophic, however. It is not that the children have a disregard for the traditional values of land, family, and community. In fact a contrary trend is indicated in the answers to a question asking who was the most important person in the world to them. While there was a large number of responses like "Prime Minister Trudeau" and "President Carter", there were also many like "my father", "my grandfather", and other family members. It is entirely possible that the evident disaffinity for present Inukshuk programming among the Inuit students is merely reflective of the difference in taste one would reasonably expect to find between generations of any ethnic group. Kilfoil's conclusions lead one to be optimistic on this point. Inukshuk is still in its experimental phase. One of its early objectives is to find the type of programming people want.

The raison d'etre of Inukshuk , if we may restate it, was to give people some choice in a concern in which they had had until Inukshuk went on the air in September, 1980, none. The lack of choice or control in first, the establishment of an educational system, and in generally the amount of autonomy reverting to the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic over their future as a distinct

cultural entity appears to have resulted in the "cluster of pathologies" to use Berger's phrase, that this thesis has examined.

A word also needs to be said about purposiveness. Basically, decisions seem to have been made by one group of people about the course of development another group of people were to be put on. There does not appear to have been participatory input by the second group of people. They did not resist systematically what had been decided for them. They were left to cope as best as they could with the repercussions of losing what had been before the arrival of the Whites virtually total freedom from anyone's hindrance or interference in the living of their lives.

The motivation behind the decisions appears to have been, in the case of the Government at least, benevolent. At the time the Federal Government moved into the North in the early 50's people were starving on the land. This was as a result of over-hunting due to the introduction of fire-arms traded to the Inuit by the Hudson's Bay Company (Paine op. cit.). This is an example of the dangers of introducing new technologies into a previously pristine society (Innis 1970; Dicks et al 1975). The conclusion as to the accountability for the results of this intervention is that there is no gain to seeking accountability. It seems to the researcher to be akin to what Kerlinger refers to as the "endless maze" of cause and causation (1973:93). In point of fact the Inukshuk Project is funded by the Federal Department of Communications. It is to be presumed that these people are aware

of the history.

This thesis has examined the phenomenon of control and the lack of it. Its conclusion is that the loss of that property is associated with serious disruptions in the capacity of the people involved to deal with aspects of their lives which may be even far removed from the originally affected area. More simply there appear to be implications for a loss of control that are not readily apparent initially to either of the parties; to those who lose control, or have it removed from them; or to those who assume control. Some of these implications, in the case of the Canadian Original Peoples, appear to be "pathological". Turbulence, to use a general term appears to ensue if the action which prompted the loss does not cover for the loss with some effectual alternative. Such an alternative should be variegated enough to permit an array of responses to subsequent situations comparable to that of the original regimen.

What people then do with the replacement or the solution is a matter of synthesis:

> (Creative) problem solving is the process of forming a solution pattern that is a combination of previously disassociated experiences. These experiences may have been thought of previously as incompatible, or irrelevant, or they may never have been considered together prior to the problem-solving situation. The new solution pattern is more than merely an abstraction from the elements of the "experiences," but is in fact a new organization of them, an organization that combines the elements of the experiences

> in a new and different way. In most cases, the elements of the creative solution will bear different relations to each other than they did in their presolution organization (Hoffman, 1979:4.)

To apply the analysis to the North, control may be increased among the Inuit again. The analysis conducted indicates that it is probably naturally quite high, although to compare it in terms of level to that of the Whites is of dubious value. It is probably highly unrealistic, however, to hope for total control such as obtained before the Whites moved into the North. Very few Peoples in history have ever been that free. It may not be too radical, however, to express the desirability of their having as much control or as much choice over their future as the rest of us like to think we have over our own.

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1. Personal conversation with CBC radio station manager, Frobisher Bay, NWT, December 8, 1980.

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APPENDIX A

LOCUS OF CONTROL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

BELOW YOU WILL FIND ELEVEN STATEMENT PAIRS. PLEASE PLACE A CHECK TO THE LEFT OF THE ONE STATEMENT IN EACH PAIR THAT BEST DESCRIBES HOW YOU FEEL.

1. ___ a) Good luck is more important than hard work for success.

OR

1. ___ b) Working hard for success usually pays off better than trusting in luck.

****

2. ___ a) People who accept their condition in life do better than those who try to change things.

OR

2. ___ b) People who try to change things end up further ahead than those who accept things.

****

3. ___ a) I need a good education if I want to get a good job.

OR

3. ___ b) Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting a good job.

****

4. ___ a) I would work very hard to get ahead in the world.

OR

4. ___ b) Getting ahead in the world is more a matter of breaks than hard work.

****

5. ___ a) If I could change, I would be someone else.

OR

5. ___ b) I'm happy the way I am.

****

6. ___ a) Success often depends upon who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

OR

6. ___ b) A person's success is due to his or her own actions.

****

7. ___ a) I am able to do most things well.

OR

7. ___ b) I sometimes feel that I can't do anything well.

****

8. ___ a) The average citizen can have some say in government decisions.

OR

8. ___ b) The Government is run by a few people in power and the average citizen doesn't have much say in the way the country is run.

****

9. ___ a) I feel that I don't have much control over what happens in my life.

OR

9. ___ b) What I do with my life is up to me.

****

10. ___ a) I like work that asks a lot from me.

OR

10. ___ b) I don't like work that demands a total effort.

****

11. ___ a) The success of a particular person is mainly due to the type of family that he or she is born into.

OR

11. ___ b) A person can do whatever he or she wants to in life no matter what type of family he or she comes from.

****

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF INUIT SAMPLES

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

AGE SUBJECT"S AGE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
12-13	1.	31	51.7	51.7	51.7
14-15	2.	18	30.0	30.0	81.7
16-17	3.	9	15.0	15.0	96.7
18-19	4.	2	3.3	3.3	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.700	STD ERR	.110	MEDIAN	1.468
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.850	VARIANCE	.722
KURTOSIS	.054	SKEWNESS	.971	RANGE	3.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	4.000	SUM	102.000
C.V. PCT	49.984	.95 C.I.	1.480	TO	1.920
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

GRADE SUBJECT"S GRADE IN SCHOOL

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
7	1.	26	43.3	43.3	43.3
8	2.	14	23.3	23.3	66.7
9	3.	8	13.3	13.3	80.0
10	4.	1	1.7	1.7	81.7
SETTLEMENT MAIN	7.	1	1.7	1.7	83.3
CLERICAL SECRETARIAL	8.	3	5.0	5.0	88.3
HOME-MAKERS	9.	7	11.7	11.7	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.933	STD ERR	.361	MEDIAN	1.786
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	2.797	VARIANCE	7.826
KURTOSIS	.551	SKEWNESS	1.459	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	9.000	SUM	176.000
C.V. PCT	95.369	.95 C.I.	2.211	TO	3.656
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

SEX SEX OF SUBJECT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
MALE	1.	21	35.0	35.0	35.0
FEMALE	2.	39	65.0	65.0	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.650	STD ERR	.062	MEDIAN	1.731
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	.481	VARIANCE	.231
KURTOSIS	-1.640	SKEWNESS	-.645	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	99.000
C.V. PCT	29.151	.95 C.I.	1.526	TO	1.774
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

HOMLANG LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH PARENTS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	52	86.7	86.7	86.7
INUKTITUT + ENGLISH	3.	8	13.3	13.3	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.267	STD ERR	.089	MEDIAN	1.154
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.686	VARIANCE	.470
KURTOSIS	2.996	SKEWNESS	2.213	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	76.000
C.V. PCT	54.127	.95 C.I.	1.090	TO	1.444
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

SIBLANG LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH SIBLINGS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	7	11.7	11.7	11.7
ENGLISH	2.	10	16.7	16.7	28.3
INUKTITUT + ENGL	3.	43	71.7	71.7	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.600	STD ERR	.090	MEDIAN	2.802
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	.694	VARIANCE	.481
KURTOSIS	.750	SKEWNESS	-1.474	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	156.000
C.V. PCT	26.685	.95 C.I.	2.421	TO	2.779
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

PALLANG LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH PEERS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	3	5.0	5.0	5.0
ENGLISH	2.	19	31.7	31.7	36.7
INUKTITUT + ENGLISH	3.	38	63.3	63.3	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.583	STD ERR	.076	MEDIAN	2.711
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	.591	VARIANCE	.349
KURTOSIS	.264	SKEWNESS	-1.100	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	155.000
C.V. PCT	22.864	.95 C.I.	2.431	TO	2.736
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

INUREAD DOES SUBJECT READ INUKTITUT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
YES	1.	39	65.0	65.0	65.0
NO	2.	21	35.0	35.0	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.350	STD ERR	.062	MEDIAN	1.269
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.481	VARIANCE	.231
KURTOSIS	-1.640	SKEWNESS	.645	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	81.000
C.V. PCT	35.629	.95 C.I.	1.226	TO	1.474
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = , 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

METHLRN HOW DID SUBJECT LEARN TO READ INUKTITUT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
PARENTS	1.	11	18.3	30.6	30.6
SCHOOL	2.	11	18.3	30.6	61.1
CHURCH	3.	2	3.3	5.6	66.7
RELATIVES	4.	2	3.3	5.6	72.2
SCHOOL + PARENTS	5.	7	11.7	19.4	91.7
CHURCH + SCHOOL	6.	3	5.0	8.3	100.0
NO ANSWER	0	24	40.0	MISSING	
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.778	STD ERR	.296	MEDIAN	2.136
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	1.775	VARIANCE	3.149
KURTOSIS	-1.181	SKEWNESS	.616	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000	SUM	100.000
C.V. PCT	63.886	.95 C.I.	2.177	TO	3.378
VALID CASES	36	MISSING CASES	24		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

MEDVAR

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
	3.	26	43.3	43.3	43.3
	4.	17	28.3	28.3	71.7
	5.	10	16.7	16.7	88.3
	6.	5	8.3	8.3	96.7
	7.	1	1.7	1.7	98.3
	8.	1	1.7	1.7	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	4.017	STD ERR	.151	MEDIAN	3.735
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.172	VARIANCE	1.373
KURTOSIS	1.278	SKEWNESS	1.210	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	8.000	SUM	241.000
C.V. PCT	29.168	.95 C.I.	3.714	TO	4.319
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE FROBBAY

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
	3.	2	3.3	3.3	3.3
	4.	4	6.7	6.7	10.0
	5.	10	16.7	16.7	26.7
	6.	11	18.3	18.3	45.0
	7.	14	23.3	23.3	68.3
	8.	11	18.3	18.3	86.7
	9.	6	10.0	10.0	96.7
	10.	1	1.7	1.7	98.3
	11.	1	1.7	1.7	100.0
	TOTAL	60	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	6.650	STD ERR	.220	MEDIAN	6.714
MODE	7.000	STD DEV	1.706	VARIANCE	2.909
KURTOSIS	-.206	SKEWNESS	.021	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	11.000	SUM	399.000
C.V. PCT	25.649	.95 C.I.	6.209	TO	7.091
VALID CASES	60	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

ETHLOC RACE+ HOME LOCATION

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUIT-SETTLEMENT	3.	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	3.000	STD ERR	0	MEDIAN	3.000
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	0	VARIANCE	0
KURTOSIS	0	SKEWNESS	0	RANGE	0
MINIMUM	3.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	240.000
C.V. PCT	0	.95 C.I.	3.000	TO	3.000
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

TVSERVE TV IN HOME SETTLEMENT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
YES	1.	74	92.5	92.5	92.5
NO	2.	6	7.5	7.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.075	STD ERR	.030	MEDIAN	1.041
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.265	VARIANCE	.070
KURTOSIS	9.044	SKEWNESS	3.289	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	86.000
C.V. PCT	24.656	.95 C.I.	1.016	TO	1.134
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

INDEXEX INDEX OF TELEVISION EXPOSURE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
LOW UP TO 4	1.	49	61.2	61.2	61.2
HIGH 5 AND ABOVE	2.	31	38.7	38.7	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.387	STD ERR	.055	MEDIAN	1.316
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.490	VARIANCE	.240
KURTOSIS	-1.825	SKEWNESS	.471	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	111.000
C.V. PCT	35.334	.95 C.I.	1.278	TO	1.497
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

AGE SUBJECT"S AGE

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
	0	1	1.2	1.2	1.2
12-13	1.	3	3.7	3.7	5.0
14-15	2.	11	13.7	13.7	18.8
16-17	3.	45	56.3	56.3	75.0
18-19	4.	18	22.5	22.5	97.5
20+	5.	2	2.5	2.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	3.025	STD ERR	.096	MEDIAN	3.056
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	.856	VARIANCE	.734
KURTOSIS	1.782	SKEWNESS	-.668	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	0	MAXIMUM	5.000	SUM	242.000
C.V. PCT	28.313	.95 C.I.	2.834	TO	3.216
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

GRADE SUBJECT"S GRADE IN SCHOOL

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
7	1.	4	5.0	5.0	5.0
8	2.	2	2.5	2.5	7.5
9	3.	6	7.5	7.5	15.0
10	4.	29	36.2	36.2	51.3
11	5.	6	7.5	7.5	58.7
12	6.	3	3.7	3.7	62.5
SETTLEMENT MAIN	7.	16	20.0	20.0	82.5
CLERICAL SECRETARIAL	8.	12	15.0	15.0	97.5
HOME-MAKERS	9.	2	2.5	2.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	5.200	STD ERR	.232	MEDIAN	4.466
MODE	4.000	STD DEV	2.071	VARIANCE	4.289
KURTOSIS	-.905	SKEWNESS	-.012	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	9.000	SUM	416.000
C.V. PCT	39.825	.95 C.I.	4.739	TO	5.661
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

SEX SEX OF SUBJECT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
MALE	1.	45	56.3	56.3	56.3
FEMALE	2.	35	43.8	43.8	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.438	STD ERR	.056	MEDIAN	1.389
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.499	VARIANCE	.249
KURTOSIS	-1.984	SKEWNESS	.257	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	115.000
C.V. PCT	34.728	.95 C.I.	1.326	TO	1.549
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/84.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

HOMLANG LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH PARENTS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	70	87.5	87.5	87.5
ENGLISH	2.	4	5.0	5.0	92.5
INUKTITUT + ENGLISH	3.	6	7.5	7.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.200	STD ERR	.063	MEDIAN	1.071
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.560	VARIANCE	.314
KURTOSIS	5.854	SKEWNESS	2.693	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	96.000
C.V. PCT	46.691	.95 C.I.	1.075	TO	1.325
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

SIBLANG LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH SIBLINGS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	28	35.0	35.0	35.0
ENGLISH	2.	19	23.8	23.8	58.7
INUKTITUT + ENGL	3.	33	41.3	41.3	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.063	STD ERR	.098	MEDIAN	2.132
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	.876	VARIANCE	.768
KURTOSIS	-1.702	SKEWNESS	-.123	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	165.000
C.V. PCT	42.495	.95 C.I.	1.867	TO	2.258
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

PALLANG * LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH PEERS

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
INUKTITUT	1.	11	13.7	13.7	13.7
ENGLISH	2.	31	38.7	38.7	52.5
INUKTITUT + ENGLISH	3.	38	47.5	47.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.337	STD ERR	.079	MEDIAN	2.435
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	.711	VARIANCE	.505
KURTOSIS	-.818	SKEWNESS	-.596	RANGE	2.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	3.000	SUM	187.000
C.V. PCT	30.399	.95 C.I.	2.179	TO	2.496
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

INUREAD DOES SUBJECT READ INUKTITUT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
YES	1.	62	77.5	77.5	77.5
NO	2.	18	22.5	22.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	1.225	STD ERR	.047	MEDIAN	1.145
MODE	1.000	STD DEV	.420	VARIANCE	.177
KURTOSIS	-.204	SKEWNESS	1.342	RANGE	1.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	2.000	SUM	98.000
C.V. PCT	34.303	.95 C.I.	1.131	TO	1.319
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

METHLRN HOW DID SUBJECT LEARN TO READ INUKTITUT

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
PARENTS	1.	11	13.7	19.3	19.3
SCHOOL	2.	24	30.0	42.1	61.4
CHURCH	3.	2	2.5	3.5	64.9
RELATIVES	4.	3	3.7	5.3	70.2
SCHOOL + PARENTS	5.	16	20.0	28.1	98.2
CHURCH + SCHOOL	6.	1	1.2	1.8	100.0
NO ANSWER	0	23	28.8	MISSING	
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	2.860	STD ERR	.212	MEDIAN	2.229
MODE	2.000	STD DEV	1.597	VARIANCE	2.551
KURTOSIS	-1.388	SKEWNESS	.483	RANGE	5.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	6.000	SUM	163.000
C.V. PCT	55.857	.95 C.I.	2.436	TO	3.283
VALID CASES	57	MISSING CASES	23		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

MEDVAR

CATEGORY LABEL	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
	1.	2	2.5	2.5	2.5
	2.	8	10.0	10.0	12.5
	3.	23	28.8	28.8	41.3
	4.	16	20.0	20.0	61.2
	5.	21	26.2	26.2	87.5
	6.	6	7.5	7.5	95.0
	7.	1	1.2	1.2	96.2
	8.	1	1.2	1.2	97.5
	9.	2	2.5	2.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	4.063	STD ERR	.175	MEDIAN	3.938
MODE	3.000	STD DEV	1.562	VARIANCE	2.439
KURTOSIS	1.369	SKEWNESS	.794	RANGE	8.000
MINIMUM	1.000	MAXIMUM	9.000	SUM	325.000
C.V. PCT	38.443	.95 C.I.	3.715	TO	4.410
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

FILE INUIT (CREATION DATE = 81/03/04.)

SUBFILE SETTMNT

CONTROL INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORE

CATEGORY LAB	CODE	ABSOLUTE FREQ	RELATIVE FREQ (PCT)	ADJUSTED FREQ (PCT)	CUM FREQ (PCT)
	2.	1	1.2	1.2	1.2
	4.	1	1.2	1.2	2.5
	5.	5	6.3	6.3	8.8
	6.	21	26.2	26.2	35.0
	7.	18	22.5	22.5	57.5
	8.	12	15.0	15.0	72.5
	9.	16	20.0	20.0	92.5
	10.	4	5.0	5.0	97.5
	11.	2	2.5	2.5	100.0
	TOTAL	80	100.0	100.0	

MEAN	7.313	STD ERR	.183	MEDIAN	7.167
MODE	6.000	STD DEV	1.635	VARIANCE	2.673
KURTOSIS	.386	SKEWNESS	-.111	RANGE	9.000
MINIMUM	2.000	MAXIMUM	11.000	SUM	585.000
C.V. PCT	22.359	.95 C.I.	6.949	TO	7.676
VALID CASES	80	MISSING CASES	0		

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS USED FOR COMPUTATION OF EXPOSURE-EXPERIENCE VARIABLE "MEDVAR"

PLEASE TRY TO ANSWER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AS YOU CAN.

I. 1. What settlement are you from? _____

2. Do you have television in your settlement? _____

3. Have you lived anywhere else other than in your settlement or Frobisher Bay?

Yes ____ No ____

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

4. Have you travelled down to the southern part of Canada?

Yes ____ No ____

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

For What Reason? _____

5. Have you travelled outside of Canada to other countries?

Yes ____ No ____

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

For What Reason? _____

II. 1. How old are you? _____

2. What grade are you in? _____

3. Are you male? ____ or female? ____

4. What languages do you speak? _____

5. What language do you usually speak at home with your parents?

_____

6. What language do you usually speak with your brothers and sisters?

_____

7. What language do you usually speak with your friends?

_____

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF HIGH AND LOW

MEDVAR

SCORERS

Television
150

12 9

PLEASE TRY TO ANSWER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AS YOU CAN.

I. 1. What settlement are you from? Hull, Quebec.

2. Do you have television in your settlement? yes

3. Have you lived anywhere else other than in your settlement or Frobisher Bay?

Yes ✓ No ___

If Yes, Where? Portugal, Santarem.

When? from 1967 to 1975

4. Have you travelled down to the southern part of Canada?

Yes ✓ No ___

If Yes, Where? Ottawa, Nova Scotia, N.B., Qu

When? almost every summer

For What Reason? Mostly for my father's holido where he wants to go.

5. Have you travelled outside of Canada to other countries?

Yes ✓ No ___

If Yes, Where? Portugal, Holland, West germany, FRA SPAIN

When? I went to most of these places year 1980.

For What Reason? For holidays, and to visit my family.

II. 1. How old are you? 13 years old

2. What grade are you in? 8th grade

3. Are you male? ✓ or female? ___

4. What languages do you speak? PORTUGUESE, FRENCH, ENGLI

5. What language do you usually speak at home with your parents?

I SPEAK PORTUGUESE WITH MY MOTHER AND ENGLISH WITH MY FATHER.

6. What language do you usually speak with your brothers and sisters?

I HAVE NONE

7. What language do you usually speak with your friends?

ENGLISH

1 3

PLEASE TRY TO ANSWER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS COMPLETELY AS YOU CAN.

I. 1. What settlement are you from? Frobisher Bay

2. Do you have television in your settlement? Yes

3. Have you lived anywhere else other than in your settlement or Frobisher Bay?

Yes ____ No ✓

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

4. Have you travelled down to the southern part of Canada?

Yes ____ No ✓

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

For What Reason? _____

5. Have you travelled outside of Canada to other countries?

Yes ____ No ✓

If Yes, Where? _____

When? _____

For What Reason? _____

II. 1. How old are you? 12

2. What grade are you in? 7-C C-23

3. Are you male? ____ or female? ✓

4. What languages do you speak? Inuktitut

5. What language do you usually speak at home with your parents?

Inuktitut

6. What language do you usually speak with your brothers and sisters?

English

7. What language do you usually speak with your friends?

English