

# Arctic Canada and Zambia: A Comparison of Development Processes in the Fourth and Third Worlds

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**ABSTRACT.** An analysis of the processes behind socio-economic development is necessary to further the understanding of contemporary Inuit conditions in arctic Canada. It is apparent that many of the realities and reasons underlying development in the North are similar to those in the Third World. The term development encompasses strategies and programs to improve living conditions of the target population, processes that either directly or indirectly transform indigenous economies into ones like those of the Western world, and theories that seek to explain these changes and their outcomes. People from government, business, and religion were the agents of development in both Canada and Africa. One of the most overt changes to indigenous societies brought about by these agents was a shift to a modern market-oriented economy. Education is part of a development process and contributed to this change. Education in arctic Canada and a Third World country, Zambia, is based on teaching local residents to participate in a Euro-North American economic system. In both countries, however, the national or regional economies cannot sustain employment for many of the educated indigenous people. In Lwawu, a remote part of Zambia, this has led to social tensions and polarization between socio-economic classes. In arctic Canada, it has contributed to confusion over one's cultural identity and an inability to participate economically in either the modern or traditional sectors. The Inuit face added difficulties in that to obtain wage employment they must integrate within national cultural, economic, and political systems governed by people who are of different races and cultures and not indigenous to Canada. The end result of these and similar situations is that indigenous people are not necessarily better off than before contact with development agents.

**Key words:** arctic Canada, Africa, Zambia, Fourth World, Third World, development, education, change, dependency

**RÉSUMÉ.** Une analyse des processus qui président au développement socio-économique est nécessaire pour mieux comprendre la situation actuelle des Inuit dans le Canada arctique. Il ressort que bien des réalités et des raisons sous-jacentes au développement du Grand Nord sont semblables à celles qui existent dans le tiers monde. Le terme de développement recouvre des stratégies et des programmes visant à améliorer les conditions de vie de la population cible, des processus qui, de façon directe ou indirecte, transforment les économies autochtones en économies semblables à celles du monde occidental, et des théories qui tentent d'expliquer ces changements et leurs conséquences. Des personnes travaillant pour le compte du gouvernement, oeuvrant dans le monde des affaires et dans celui de la religion ont été les agents de développement à la fois au Canada et en Afrique. L'un des changements les plus frappants amenés par ces agents et touchant les sociétés autochtones, a été un déplacement vers une économie moderne orientée vers le marché. L'éducation fait partie du processus de développement et a contribué à ce changement. L'éducation dans le Canada arctique et dans un pays du tiers monde, la Zambie, est fondée sur l'apprentissage par les résidents locaux de la participation à un système économique euro-nord-américain. Dans les deux pays cependant, les économies nationales ou régionales ne peuvent fournir de l'emploi à nombre d'autochtones ayant reçu une éducation. Dans Lwawu, qui est une zone reculée de la Zambie, cela a amené des tensions sociales et une polarisation entre les classes socio-économiques. Dans le Canada arctique, cela a contribué à une certaine confusion à propos de l'identité culturelle de l'individu, et à une incapacité à participer sur le plan de l'économie, au secteur moderne ou au secteur traditionnel. Les Inuit font face à des difficultés supplémentaires, vu que, pour obtenir un emploi salarié, ils doivent s'intégrer à l'intérieur de systèmes culturels, économiques et politiques nationaux gouvernés par des gens qui sont de race et de culture différentes de la leur et non-indigènes au Canada. Le résultat final de ces situations et d'autres semblables est que les peuples autochtones ne vivent pas forcément mieux qu'avant le contact avec les agents de développement.

**Mots clés:** Canada arctique, Afrique, Zambie, quart monde, tiers monde, développement, éducation, changement, dépendance

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## INTRODUCTION

Arctic Canada has been adequately described by many academic researchers, but theoretical interpretations and analyses are needed concerning the effects of socio-economic development on the Inuit people. There is a wealth of information about arctic Canada's history, settlement, resource use, and socio-economic conditions. In Hamelin (1978), Zaslow (1981), and Coates (1985) historical events in the Canadian North are outlined and related to contemporary characteristics of the region. Authors such as Fried (1971) and Depape and Cooke (1975) classify types of Inuit settlements and their economic foundations, stressing that most activities based in settlements or reliant on them are inexorably tied to forces in southern Canada. Much has been written about the importance of renewable resources for Inuit economic livelihood, social structure, and cultural heritage (Berger, 1977; Freeman, 1981; Usher, 1981; Woods, 1986). Also, there are detailed studies about specific aspects of socio-economic milieu in the North (Usher, 1970; Riewe, 1977; Wenzel, 1981; Green *et al.*, 1986). It is clear that a better

understanding of the Arctic has been furthered by a multidisciplinary approach to research.

In many studies, terms associated with development, such as centralization (Scace, 1975), modernization (Brody, 1975), and colonization (Laing *et al.*, 1978), are frequently used. However, few researchers have directly analyzed processes of development and related them to contemporary socio-economic conditions in the North. Zachariah (1984) attempted to attribute many of the ideas espoused by Berger in *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland* (1977) to the influences of Latin American dependency theorists but states that in reality Berger was only indirectly influenced by the work of Third World scholars. Although Hamelin (1978) includes a chapter entitled "The Underdeveloped Amerindian North" in his book *Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too*, he does not refer to any processes of underdevelopment.

It is apparent that more attention must be given to analyzing development processes in the Arctic. Pretes (1988) has directly compared the Canadian Arctic to the Brazilian North and examined both regions in the context of dependency theory. He concludes by stating

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No single author has yet defined the realities and reasons underlying underdevelopment in the Canadian North. The topic is both complex and dynamic, making concrete or modular explanations difficult, if not impossible. [Pretes, 1988:115.]

While realizing the difficulty in explaining northern underdevelopment, it is not assumed to be impossible. In response to Pretes's statement, the primary purpose of this paper is to define *some* realities and reasons underlying the development (and underdevelopment) of the Canadian North.

In order to achieve this purpose the following assumption must be made. Because many theories and concepts of development have been analyzed in the context of the Third World, these regions must be taken into account when discussing Arctic Canada. In addition to Pretes, several authors have made direct comparisons of the two regions (Berry, 1966; Griffiths, 1983; Young, 1983; Zachariah, 1984). One of the most obvious conditions illustrating a similarity between the Arctic and the Third World is the notion that both regions are the peripheries of much larger and powerful cores:

... relations between the South and North are continuing to be ones between core and periphery, an extension of colonial attitudes that cater to the political and economic needs and goals of the "mother country" or core. In that way, the circumpolar North shows similar characteristics to those of Third World countries or developing areas throughout the world, although its individual regions are integral parts of modern industrialized nation-states. [Müller-Wille, 1987:352.]

In this paper several aspects of development are analyzed that are similar to both the Third World and the Arctic. Certainly, however, arctic Canada is not part of the Third World. It may be placed, though, within the context of being in what is called the Fourth World. The term Fourth World is generally used to describe countries or regions that have people who are enclaved indigenous minorities within larger dominant societies. The primary differences between Third and Fourth World peoples is that most Third Worlders live in countries that are independent and, in theory if not practice, are fully represented in a nation's political structure. Conversely, many Fourth Worlders live within developed, industrialized nations, and although citizens of those nations, they have minority representation and are governed at least federally by non-indigenous people.

Several authors refer directly to indigenous northerners as Fourth Worlders (Manual and Posluns, 1974; Müller-Wille and Peltó, 1979). Other authors employ terms such as internal colonialism (Ritter, 1979; Dryzek and Young, 1985), welfare colonialism (Paine, 1977), or de-localization (Poggio and Lynch, 1974; Peltó, 1978) in describing the socio-political situations in which Fourth World people live. For the purposes of this paper, these terms refer to similar conditions. They are employed when defining those who are "politically weak, economically marginal and culturally stigmatized members of the national societies that have overtaken them and their lands" (Dyck, 1985). Furthermore, as Dyck advocates, researchers should concentrate on the practical use of the term Fourth World rather than appropriating it as an analytical category. This, it is hoped, is achieved in this paper as conditions in part of the Fourth World are directly discussed with those from part of the Third World. The argument is that many analyses of socio-economic development among indigenous peoples in the Third World

are applicable to those in the Fourth World and lead to a greater understanding of both regions.

An overview of development is discussed in the first section of this paper. In the second part, processes of development are more specifically analyzed by describing the agents of development in the Canadian Arctic and a Third World region, Africa. Then, the consequences of one aspect of development, education, are presented using a regional comparison between the Canadian Arctic and a specific Third World country, Zambia.

## DEVELOPMENT

As a basic definition, development sets out to improve "living standards of the mass of the low-income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining" (Lele, 1975). However, within this statement are components that, when analyzed further, make a definition of development far from basic. Development consists of directed *strategies* and *programs* implementing ways and means to improve living standards, *processes* that, whether formal policy or not, lead to change in a people's societal and economic structures, and *theories* that seek to explain and/or predict why and how strategies and processes affect any given target population. These three components are briefly discussed before a more in-depth analysis of processes of development is presented.

Development strategies are often associated with large-scale organizations such as the World Bank. These organizations often employ capital-intensive and "top-down" projects to implement development. They are concerned with "the modernization and monetization of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy" (World Bank, 1975:3). Central to this approach is to provide opportunities that improve the provision of efficient and sustainable productive income-earning ventures to rural residents (Please and Amoako, 1984). Incorporated into this is an emphasis on the production of exports that ultimately generate income on a national level and raise gross domestic product (GDP). This income, in theory, will eventually trickle down to the rural poor.

A different strategy is termed integrated development, using a "bottom-up" approach. These concepts grew out of the argument that capital-intensive development strategies relying on export-oriented growth leaves rural residents open to the uncertainties and negative consequences of price fluctuations, declining terms of trade, and the unreliability of food import and distribution systems (Schultheis, 1984). Integrated rural development efforts try to utilize and develop human resources at a grass-roots level. Basic premises to this approach are known as appropriate technologies and are adapted to the target population's social, cultural, and ecological environment (Koloko, 1979). Regardless of how they are implemented, both capital-intensive and integrated development strategies are directed toward an improvement in living standards of the poor by economic growth and, whether intended or not, by increasing ties to national and international market economies.

Processes of development also lead to improved living standards and integration into a market economy by indigenous people but are not necessarily formal policies or

placed on a target population with a specific goal in mind. They may be conceived of as an "economic and social transformation of a society, resulting in the reduction of the role of the primary (and later also the secondary) sector, increasing urbanization and changing aspirations, attitudes, and behaviour" (Kosinski, 1985:21). Usually economic and social transformations of a society are a function of growth and change brought about by modernizing forces from external sources. In geographic terms, modernization involves spatial diffusion of cross-cultural contacts and institutions moving from an urban focus and spreading along communication and transportation systems to bring new ideas, techniques, and ways of life to rural areas (Riddell, 1976). These are usually similar to those of the Western world. The players involved in this diffusion may not necessarily realize (or care) that they are the catalysts for economic and social transformation in a society. Thus, in this paper, the agents, concepts, and materials involved in the process of change are viewed as components of development even though a conscious effort to "develop" indigenous people may be absent.

In order to explain how development strategies stimulate (or hinder) an improvement in living standards, and how processes set about transformations in a society, theories of development have been formulated. During the 1950s and early 1960s, development theory was based primarily on the analysis of economic growth and measurements of it taken in economic terms. The right quantity and mixture of savings, investment, and aid were all that were necessary for countries or regions to proceed on the economic growth path followed by the more developed countries (Todaro, 1981). However, as one outgrowth of the obvious inequalities between industrialized and non-industrialized countries in the 1950s and 1960s, many theorists began concentrating on the social and economic structures within the developing countries that led to and perpetuated these inequalities. Colonialism was viewed as a prime contributor to problems with imbalanced income distributions and quality of life within non-industrial areas. Vestiges of colonialism, such as monopolizing so far as possible the colonized country both as an export and import market, were thought to have led to the continuation of structural changes in socio-economic conditions transforming indigenous societies into ones of dependence on metropolitan countries and sources of supply for cheap labour. From this perspective, the structural elements in any society perpetuated disequilibria within national and international systems and strengthened the forces in the markets working toward internal and international inequalities (Myrdal, 1957).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the viewing of colonialism and the structures of societies led to the formulation of dependency theories that sought to explain why areas, regions, and/or nations became not merely dependent on a metropolitan region, city, or country but also underdeveloped, exploited, and oppressed within the context of national and international systems of economics and politics. Development and underdevelopment were viewed as products of metropolis-satellite polarization. Influenced by Marxist thinking, the contradictions between metropolis and satellite were seen as reinforcing development in the increasingly dominant metropolitan powers and underdevelopment in the ever more dependent satellites until they became resolved through the abandonment of capitalism by one or both interdependent parts (Frank, 1969). In this view, the most

important obstacles to development were external to the underdeveloped economy, which meant that the periphery (or satellite) was doomed to underdevelopment because of its linkages to the core(s). Thus, it was considered necessary for a country or region to disassociate itself from the world market and strive for self-reliance.

By the late 1970s, dependency (or underdevelopment) theory *per se* was critically evaluated as long on rhetoric but short on practical explanations of why specific areas of the world were dependent. As Leys (1977) outlines, among other comments, underdevelopment theory seldom offered a concrete typology of centres and peripheries or even what theoretically constituted dependence. Furthermore, most underdevelopment theorists did not make it clear how the masses of underdeveloped people became exploited as well as oppressed. What has resulted from the past decades of theoretical formulation and debate about development is an approach that views areas as part of the world economic system whereby any given region or country may be analyzed from the perspective of how it fits in with the complex problems of capital accumulation on a global scale (Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984).

For this paper, it is a given that the regions discussed are dependent on metropolitan centres. Emphasis is placed on how they became dependent and the consequences of this dependency at a local level. However, the processes that transformed the economic and social structures of indigenous peoples into those more like the Western world are described without being ideologically bound to any one theory of why these processes occurred. In other words, development is viewed from the varied theoretical perspectives while discussing the similarities and foundations of processes of development in parts of the Fourth and the Third worlds.

#### DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN ARCTIC CANADA AND AFRICA

The processes of development and change brought about by North American and European colonization and domination of aboriginal societies bear striking similarities in arctic Canada and Africa. Much of the justification for conquest and colonization was based on evolutionary theories of history that maintained that "societies organized within the framework of the nation-state and industrial capitalism represented the most advanced forms of human organization" (Gellar, 1977:133). It was the right and duty of "higher" civilizations to conquer the "lower" and bring prosperity and progress to all parts of the world. The agents responsible for bringing changes to local social and economic systems were usually representatives of government, religion, or business. This is illustrated in the following statement concerning arctic Canada prior to the 1960s:

. . . Southern images were dominated by the noble trinity of the missionaries, the Mounties, and the Bay. Each was viewed as a means of civilizing the North. With the church saving souls, the Bay buying furs, and the kindly Mounties preserving law and order, there seemed to be little reason for alarm. [Page, 1986:16.]

This "trinity" in one form or another has been a part of development processes not only in the Arctic but also on the African continent. These agents of change centred their

attention on three objectives: gaining political control, religious evangelization, and commercial exploitation.

Nationalist rivalries and a quest for national glory led to the desire of European powers to gain political control of overseas colonies (Gellar, 1977). Military might and administrative expediency kept colonized regions in Africa firmly within European control (Freund, 1984). It was not until the early 1960s that most African colonies gained their independence. Canada similarly asserted sovereign control of the Arctic, but especially in response to threats by other nations to lay claim to arctic lands. To emphasize sovereignty, by 1903 the North-West Mounted Police, later to become the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), were dispatched to the Yukon, Beaufort Sea, and Hudson Bay. Representatives of the Crown annexed eastern arctic islands during the first two decades of the 20th century. Police posts were established in the High Arctic on Ellesmere Island in the 1920s. By 1950 RCMP detachments were located throughout the Northwest Territories (N.W.T.). While police matters were handed over to local forces in Africa after colonies achieved independence, the RCMP still maintains a strong presence in arctic Canada. Since 1960, governments in both regions have concentrated on providing services such as health care and education to their citizens. Whether for general welfare or to (from a cynical point of view) appease potential political dissidence, provision of services has been a goal of most governments throughout the world.

Missionary activities in the North and Africa share many characteristics. Indigenous peoples in both regions were prime targets of the evangelizing spirit of Christian religious orders.

. . . missionaries sought to change not only the ways of work and politics of native peoples but their innermost beliefs, feelings, and deepest held values as well; and because of this missionaries may be considered the most ambitious and culturally pervasive of all colonists, attempting social change and domination in their most radical forms. [Beidelman, 1981:74.]

Although many missionaries were on the African continent in the 19th century, mission activities accelerated in the 1920s. In all African colonies where schools were common, missionaries completely dominated formal education and insisted on conversion as part of schooling (Freund, 1984). Concomitant was mission encouragement to accept new commodities and commerce, leading to increased orientation into a market economy. Christian missionaries spread the ideals of early capitalism: Western family structure, individualist orientation, and the self-justifying work ethic (Freund, 1984). Indeed, Christianity has been associated with European colonialism since the Renaissance and has been carried forward on the wave of Western prestige and power (Neill, 1964).

Arctic Canada saw missions established in the late 1800s. An Anglican and Roman Catholic presence has continued ever since. While missionary activity undeniably set out to change Inuit life and culture, as Scace (1975:41) points out, they were "the first group of foreigners to place the condition of the Inuit ahead of resource exploitation." For most of the 20th century, mission schools were the only means of formal education in the Canadian Arctic. Nevertheless, the very reason for being with Native peoples was to transform selected personal and social aspects of their ways of life that

were judged inimical to Christianity (Vallee, 1972). In this way arctic missionaries were not unlike those in any other part of the world.

While missionaries encouraged a Western work ethic to be incorporated into inner beliefs and lifestyles, commercial enterprises influenced people's outward systems of economy and exchange. In Africa, companies such as the British South African Company (BSA) illustrate this process. The BSA gained the right in 1891 to administer and occupy Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) as part of the British Empire. Initially, indigenous people were compelled to work as labourers outside the region in order to obtain cash to pay taxes. By the 1930s mining expanded in Northern Rhodesia itself, centring on one commodity: copper. This transformed a large region of the colony into an industrial area. Rural to urban migration increased as the demand for labourers accelerated. "These migrants needed cash, and not only to pay taxes, but to buy from European stores the imported household goods which were replacing the cloths and pots and hoes once made and bartered in the village" (Roberts, 1976:178). Since independence in 1964, Zambians have continued to depend on cash crops and copper for their economic base and rely on imported goods and market commodities for their systems of exchange.

In arctic Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was the pervasive agent of economic change. Instead of compelling Inuit to work as wage labourers, they enticed local hunters to hunt and trap furs and skins which the HBC could sell in southern Canada and abroad. As Inuit reliance on the HBC for goods increased, their hunting practices shifted from primarily subsistence to a mix of commercial and subsistence. Hudson's Bay Company and free traders introduced Inuit to the southern economic system, and periodic trips were made to HBC posts to purchase supplies in exchange for fox pelts and to socialize with friends and relatives (Condon, 1981). After permanent settlements were formed in the 1950s and '60s (often around the local HBC post), the Bay continued to supply Inuit communities with southern supplies and services. Although the contemporary Inuit economy is mixed, furs and skins continue as important commodities and are subject to market fluctuations in supply and demand.

In general, arguably the most overt change to indigenous societies from contacts with agents from government, religion, and business was the shift into a modern market-oriented economy. Indeed, even in some of the most remote places visited by the author in Algeria, Niger, Senegal, the Central African Republic, and Zambia, people were clearly oriented toward cash exchanges and the marketing of commodities. This was evidenced, in part, by the pervasive roadside or village stalls with consumer goods and produce for sale. An orientation of indigenous economies to a capitalist structure can be viewed theoretically in two different ways. From an economic paradigm, the pervasive presence of market economies throughout developing countries is evidence of the trickle-down effect diffusing income to other sectors of society. If there is a cash flow throughout the national economy, entrepreneurs and market forces should flourish and sustain the supply and demand of the producer and consumer. Conversely, concentrating on generating a profit or cash return from specialized goods leaves the rural, remote farmer or hunter vulnerable to market fluctuations

for the product. If most of their energies are outlayed on production of market commodities, the capacity to provide basic needs and subsistence is diminished.

Regardless of the theoretical viewpoint to which one subscribes, it cannot be denied that peripheral areas depend on market conditions in the metropolitan centres. When national and international economies or the commodities dependent on them are in a growth or "boom" phase, even though the periphery ultimately depends on the core for its production or market, most people benefit. In reality, however, economies are rarely in an extended boom phase. Peripheral economies often lack the infrastructure to sustain, let alone lead to growth in, indigenous economies during "bust" times. What results are situations where the agents overseeing development are unable to offer strategies fast enough so that peripheral economies can adapt to the effects of poor market conditions. Programs and processes of development already implemented tend to then maintain a status quo, day-to-day living for the rural poor continues to be difficult, and government and academic researchers try to explain or offer suggestions to correct the situation.

An example of this is education, which is available to most indigenous peoples. A goal of education as a part of overall national development is to train people so they can participate in a modern-sector labour market. This goal tends to remain the same regardless of whether regional and/or national economies are in boom or bust cycles. As explained in the following section, though, the maintenance of this goal does not necessarily benefit the indigenous individual.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF A DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In Africa prior to the 1960s, requirements for labour generally centred on the extraction of raw materials or production of cash crops. Formal schooling was not necessary. Similarly, in arctic Canada the primary need for labour was for the trapping and hunting of furs and skins, skills readily adapted to traditional subsistence living and requiring very little outside transfer of knowledge. In the early 1960s, with independence of countries in Africa, and the increase in government support and intervention in newly centralized communities in the North, an emphasis on formal education to fuel emerging modern economies became a mainstay of overall development strategies. In this section, a brief overview of trends in education in Zambia and arctic Canada is given. Then, more specific effects of education are analyzed in order to demonstrate the outcomes of this development component at a local level.

Most Third World nations "have been led to believe or have wanted to believe that it is the rapid *quantitative* expansion of educational opportunities which holds the basic key to national development" (Todaro, 1981:289). Zambia was no exception. After independence in 1964, Zambia embarked on a transitional development plan for the government's educational goals. The aim was for universal primary education. By 1970, 90% of the target for total primary school enrolment was reached (Hoppers, 1981). Almost 97% of children seven years old were estimated to be in grade 1 in 1978 (ILO, 1981). However, the provision of facilities is not the only measure of education progress.

At independence and the following 5-6 years, Zambia's need for educated and trained personnel was great enough

that there usually were jobs for most graduates. Curricula were designed emphasizing skills and knowledge needed for an emerging industrial-based society. From 1965 to 1970 the annual growth rate for wage employment was 5.1%. By the mid-1970s, though, Zambia's national economy began deteriorating under the effects of worldwide recession, a fall in copper prices, and war with white-ruled Rhodesia. Real gross domestic product per capita fell by 52%, a terrible decline by international standards (ILO, 1981). Consequently, the Zambian economy was no longer able to support employment for the many people being educated in schools throughout the country. In response, the Zambian government came to recognize that schools should direct attention and expectations of young people away from wage-employment to rural self-employment (Hoppers, 1981). Skills and knowledge obtained in rural schools were to be relevant for an agricultural environment appropriate to local cultures and ways of life. This new philosophy was not implemented, however, in actual rural curricula. Official government policy in 1977 continued to emphasize that primary education (which is most available in rural areas) follow the traditional European ideal of being an extended basic education relying on the fundamentals of reading, writing, arithmetic, and social studies. The Zambian economy throughout the 1980s has still been unable to support wage jobs for many of its educated individuals.

Education in arctic Canada in the early 1960s was also geared to an industrial orientation and Inuit children were fit into whatever role the government thought they should play in northern development (Carney, 1983). Academic achievement was emphasized amid government promises that plenty of jobs would be available for every Inuit with grade 12 education. While many Inuit did obtain jobs during the 1960s, it became evident that reality was not approaching the ideal. A centralized bureaucracy controlled the formulation of educational policy and goals, the recruitment of staff, and the determination of curricula (Sindell and Wintrab, 1972). Teachers were Euro-Canadians trained in and for southern Canadian institutions. The wants and needs of individual communities and children were rarely considered. As Honigmann and Honigmann (1965:174) state, ". . . the official aim allows very little if any scope for suiting the school's curriculum to local conditions and problems, neither to the Eskimo's traditional role on the land nor his newly found career in town."

By the late 1970s, departments of education became more aware of the need for cultural and community content in school curricula. Local education boards were given increased authority to determine languages of instruction, the length of the school year, curricula used, and the training of teachers (Carney, 1983). But as reported from arctic Quebec, even though new school curricula embraced Inuit culture, the gap between school and lifestyle has not been bridged (Souaid, 1988). This is reflected in the high dropout rate of Canadian Inuit as a whole. Based on Census Canada figures, only 39% of Inuit had attended grade 9 in 1981 and 19% had graduated from high school and 4% from university (Robitaille and Choiniere, 1985). Furthermore, as an indicator that job opportunities were scarce, these authors report that the employment participation rate (the labour force as a percentage of population 15 years of age and over) was only 48% for all Inuit in 1981.



The remainder of this section focuses on the consequences of education as part of a development strategy on indigenous people in arctic Canada and a peripheral region of Zambia. A case study conducted in 1985 (Weissling, 1986) of the indigenous population, called Lunda, near a Roman Catholic mission in Lwawu, a rural area of Northwest Province, Zambia, serves as background to analysis of some consequences of education in Africa. Several studies by other researchers are reviewed for discussion of education in arctic Canada.

An upper primary school (grades 5-7) in Lwawu was run by the missionaries. It provided relatively high-quality education and was in operation from 1964 to 1978. Only 2 out of 77 men originally from the area near Lwawu and who graduated from the school during its years of operation were unemployed in 1984. Sixty-four (83%) of them had migrated to urban or semi-urban centres from their home region, which is an area economically based on subsistence and cash crop agriculture. The upper-primary school was closed in 1978 in part because of the downturn in the Zambian economy. Since the closing of this school the missionaries, who are the main development agents at Lwawu, have been concentrating their efforts on assistance in commercial agriculture. A primary school (grades 1-4) is still in operation at the mission and is staffed by Zambians from urban areas. Curricula are based on urban-centred subjects and a core of reading, writing, arithmetic, and social studies. Education by teachers and missionaries is rarely devoted to encouraging expansion of subsistence agriculture or teaching local people how to best provide for their basic day-to-day needs.

Formally educated individuals still reside in Lwawu, though, and occupy most of the desirable and well-paying jobs near or on the mission. These include health care workers and wage labourers. Although the number varied, at most 24 men were employed in these occupations in 1985. Other than a few commercial farmers and entrepreneurs developing fish farming, most of the estimated population of 1200 within 3 km of the mission made a living solely by subsistence or small-scale informal economic activity, such as beer making for local consumption. All residents at least partially depended on subsidized goods provided directly or indirectly by the mission or consumer goods and produce bought or brought in from the nearest town, Mwinilunga, 50 km to the east. This, along with there being too many people in the area for the land to support, resulted in a relatively large number of people being overly dependent on the mission or outside sources for their daily living needs. A sense of hopelessness prevailed in terms of these people ever finding a job or being able to make enough money from agriculture. Many spent most of the day drinking the potent locally made beer or hard liquor. In addition, the educated few were materially better off, and obvious inequalities existed between them and the unemployed. Social tensions were in evidence, as was polarization between socio-economic classes (Weissling, 1989). Although education was not the only variable, because the few wage jobs were open only to educated individuals, it did contribute to inequalities and discrepancies between the few "haves" and the majority "have nots."

Education in the Canadian Arctic prior to the 1960s was characterized by residential (boarding) schools administered and staffed by missionaries. When government took over educational systems in the early 1960s many of these schools

were utilized (Coates, 1985). Government also built and operated schools in the newly centralized, permanent communities formed throughout the N.W.T.

According to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the 1960s, the Canadian government, by providing education in all arctic communities, enabled the Inuit to successfully make the transition into mainstream Euro-Canadian economic systems. Department representatives extolled the virtues of an educational system, saying it gave the Inuit opportunity in education equal to that of Canadians in the South. Although negative aspects were not ignored, most of the educational processes in the 1960s North were viewed favourably by the department. Residential schools were seen as fostering "standards of regularity in eating and sleeping, cleanliness, clothing, diet and study habits" (Simpson and Wattie, 1968:9). Inuit fathers were reported to encourage children to attend school, as opposed to helping hunt, so as to acquire the learning and skills essential for wage employment. English and educational and vocational skills were seen by government as the means for Inuit to acquire jobs and increase the degree of their prestige and leadership in their communities. Perhaps most important, "the educational program contributes significantly to the development of local industry by providing training in a number of different fields" (Simpson and Wattie, 1968:14).

A few years after these statements were made, then-Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Jean Chrétien (1973) was advocating similar roles for education by noting that the answers to providing jobs for northerners rested in education and training, as well as in influencing potential employees and prospective employers, broadening the bases for the North's economy, and diversifying employment opportunities. Again, as in Zambia, the key to development was (and still is) to educate indigenous people so they can fuel the markets and industries in the manner of modern Euro-North American economies.

Hobart addresses the social and employment problems resulting from this type of strategy. He points out that almost every voice was heard in planning for the residential school system for Inuit in the Mackenzie District of the N.W.T. except for the voices of the Inuit and behavioural scientists (Hobart, 1968). If officials had planned education incorporating Inuit needs they may have realized that by removing Inuit children from their families and educating them according to Euro-Canadian middle-class standards, many children became disillusioned with their place in traditional Inuit or Euro-Canadian society. Interviews with Inuit produced numerous examples of alumni from residential schools who "were profoundly confused in their sense of identity, who were ashamed of being Eskimo, and who felt inadequate, and unable to compete" (Hobart, 1968:49). Many could not adjust to either the world of their parents or the world of the whites.

With social alienation one possible outcome of education, the other major consequence is the attainment of skills and knowledge without a high probability of becoming employed. Hobart (1978) discusses this in a case study conducted in 1977 of all young people 16-25 years of age who had grown up in the Gjoa Haven area of the N.W.T. Among 48 Inuit in this age group, only 3 had moved out of the area; 22 had completed ten or more years of schooling, 22 had completed seven to nine years, and 4 had no more than six. Sixteen of

them had attended residential school in Inuvik or Chesterfield Inlet. Including the 3 living away from Gjoa Haven, 20 of the 48, or fewer than half, had full-time or part-time wage employment. Eleven women had wage employment, 2 made handicrafts for sale, and 11 had no source of income. Among men, 11 of 24 were hunters and trappers, 9 had wage employment, and 4 had no source of income. Census Canada figures from 1981 (Statistics Canada, 1983) also indicate the lack of wage employment opportunities in Gjoa Haven. Of 265 people (including Euro-Canadians) over the age of 15 years in 1981, 215 had less than a grade 9 education. Of the population over 15 years of age, 65 out of 145 men and 30 out of 120 women were in the labour force. The employment participation rate for men 15-24 years of age was 27.3%, while for women it was 22.2%. Considering that people in the age group of 15-24 have the greatest likelihood among adults of having some education, these participation rates are not encouraging.

A loss of identity and self-esteem from an outside education system, coupled with a lack of employment opportunities, leads to a wide range of problems. Honigmann (1978) notes that Inuit must adapt and cope with an entirely new set of social interactions if they want to work as wage labourers. These include accepting schedules of work (one must be on time), making appointments to talk to otherwise relatively unapproachable people in positions of power, and adapting to economic systems in which savings, credit, and money management are integral parts. In addition, business ventures in a market economy are not based on strong systems of cooperation. Inuit culture, on the other hand, is rooted in traditions of cooperation. Family and community support are critical in determining the success of native entrepreneurial endeavours (Ironside, 1982). However, young Inuit learn to achieve as individuals in school, and once they leave or graduate, if they find a job, the work force they are in is usually competitive in nature. Thus, contradictions increase between traditional Inuit cultural values of cooperation and modern, industrial systems of competitiveness.

In both Zambia and arctic Canada, education has been a part of a strategy that approaches development as "top down" and is planned from centralized sources that implement projects based on ideas and experiences external to the regions being developed. This has meant that schooling focuses on training young people to become active participants in the national economy rather than incorporating local needs and conditions into curricula. Education for many individuals has, indeed, led to viable employment either in home communities or urban centres of their country. For others, who often constitute the majority, very few opportunities exist to use their education in making a living based on wages. In Lwawu, this has contributed to class polarization and dependence on outside sources for some, if not most, of local residents' subsistence. In arctic Canada, it has led to a confusion about one's cultural identity and concomitant hinderance in earning money by either traditional pursuits or modern wage labour. The end result in both countries is the same: many indigenous people are not necessarily better off socially, psychologically, or economically than before contact with development agents. It cannot be denied that services such as education (and health care and access to consumer goods) should be available to all people. The problem is that those providing these services do not

appear to have planned on how to sustain healthier, longer lived, educated consumers in peripheral societies integrated into national and international economies based on different socio-economic systems.

## CONCLUSION

Peripheral regions in both Canada and Africa have experienced change brought about by development agents from government, business, and religion. Government has sought to elicit ways and means to achieve goals of increased gross domestic product and to provide aspects of modern society for its citizens. Business overtly encouraged and often exploited labour to produce surplus commodities for a market economy and profit. Missionaries felt morally obligated to transform native peoples into likenesses of what they thought human beings should be. This usually was geared toward becoming similar to Euro-North Americans. These changes often did not conform to the culture, traditions, and means of survival by which indigenous people had lived for hundreds of years.

An analysis of the consequences of education of indigenous people has demonstrated that the implementation of development from external sources does not necessarily lead to successful achievement of the goals and objectives of overall development strategies. The goals of education may have been met: to teach the skills and knowledge essential for participation in a modern industrial economy. But the goals of development are far from being achieved: to improve the living standards of the low-income population *and* make the process of their development self-sustaining. The Lunda in Zambia and Inuit in Canada share many similarities concerning the consequences of the development processes imposed upon them. There are important dissimilarities,

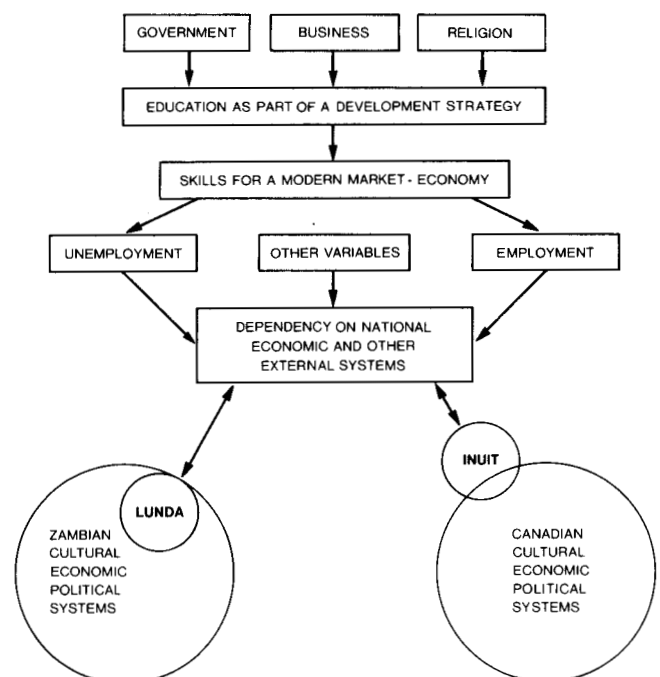


FIG. 1. The consequences of one aspect of development — education — on the Lunda and Inuit.

however, that lead to fundamental differences in conclusions about the two groups.

Even though both Inuit and Lunda are in peripheries of the mainstream of national economies, the Inuit have direct and constant access to many of the same modern material goods and services as people in the metropolitan cores. Many items, from basic health care to American television programs, are as available in Igloolik as in Edmonton. The Lunda are certainly aware of national and international socio-economic conditions and cultures different from their own, but these outside influences are not as pervasive in daily living. Lwawu is not directly linked by communication or public transportation to any urban centres in Zambia.

However, there is a more important difference between the Lunda and Inuit. Whereas both Inuit and Lunda are taught the essentials to participate in a market economy, the Lunda have to transfer this knowledge to a national economy that is only *similar* to a Euro-North American system. In addition, the Lunda are not a racial minority in their nation nor are they governed politically by people who are non-indigenous to Zambia. The Inuit, on the other hand, have to interact within a national economy which *is* a Euro-North American system. Also, they must live within a national political and economic system governed by people who are of different races and cultures and not indigenous to Canada.

These concepts and those throughout this paper are summarized in Figure 1. Development agents directly or indirectly influence the direction and goals of educating indigenous peoples. Depending on the regional or national economy, education can lead to employment or unemployment. Both employed and unemployed are dependent in varying degrees on external forces either to sustain jobs or provide for the welfare of those in need. The difference between Lunda and Inuit rests in the realization that Inuit are only partially within the national cultural, economic, and political systems that constitute Canada. The interactions of these components and their effects on indigenous peoples lead to conditions of underdevelopment. They also indicate the importance of creating educational curricula that incorporate local needs with the national realities of employment availability. Regardless of whom they are trying to develop, agents must be aware of the effects and consequences of their strategies, whether in the tundra or tropical worlds.

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