CULTURE, POLITICS, AND SCHOOL CONTROL IN SHESHATSHIT

by

Hedda Schuurman, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfilment of the
requirments for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology Memorial University of Newfoundland

January, 1994

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the significance of school control for the Labrador Innu of Sheshatshit. An historical overview of pre-settlement life is followed by an analysis of existence in the community today. It is argued that recent adaptation to year-round life in the community of Sheshashit has created a tension between "country" values, associated with traditions of the past, and the exigencies associated with modern life. It is within the context of this tension that the issues related to school control can best be understood. School control is presented here as primarily a cultural political issue. As part of a broader struggle for Innu selfgovernment, political leaders are attempting to gain control of the local all-grade school. School control is portrayed by the leaders as a symbol of cultural and political empowerment. poses multiple control the thesis shows, as However, mainly because community. This is the for challenges Sheshashit comprises heterogeneous and conflicting views of what the school should be and do; a monolithic "community" perspective does not exist. On the one hand, there exists a competent and empowered group of political leaders, committed to attaining nation status for the Innu. For this group, school control is a means, symbolic and material, of achieving self-government. On the other hand, many community members feel increasingly marginalized as Innu knowledge and skills fade from their lives leaving gaps in their identity which nationalist rhetoric is not able to fill.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this thesis. My appreciation goes first to the people in Sheshatshit for their cooperation. Basile, Angela, Margaret and Louis provided me with friendship and a home base while I was doing my fieldwork. Basile was not only a translator for many of the survey interviews I conducted; he was also able to teach me a great deal about the conflicts and contradictions facing the Innu today. The elders I met in Sheshatshit were a great source of inspiration, for it is from their spirits you can still feel the beat of the hunter's drum.

Thanks go to my supervisors, Adrian Tanner and Gordon Inglis. Adrian was an important sounding board during the many months it took me to sort out my data. Once Adrian left on his sabbatical, I was saved by Gordon Inglis who, like a good pilot was able to help me land, despite the dense fog in which I was enveloped. Many thanks to friends who provided encouragement and editiorial advice, Peter Armitage, Anne Marie Powers, Kris Clement, Peter Baehr, Sheilagh Henry, Basile Penashue, and Mirjam Niemans. Thanks also to Marilyn Furlong who has been consistently helpful throughout the program.

I am grateful for the financial assistance which enabled me to complete this project. The Northern Scientific Training

Program provided funding for my field work as well as a follow-up trip. Other sources of funding came from Graduate fellowship support at Memorial, Teaching Assistantships from the Department of Anthropology and from the Research Project on Aboriginal Government, Resources, and Development in Provincial Northern Regions.

My mother and father, Suzanne and Hubert Schuurman provided me with emotional, spiritual as well as financial support. Their adventurous spirits, diverse interests and the multicultural world of my childhood activated my curiosity and led me to study anthropology. My thanks and appreciation also go to my intrepid Grandmother, Ola Pawlowska who provided me with financial support in addition to being an insurmountable role model. My two sisters Nadine and Lisa, each in their own way have provided me with support and encouragement.

This thesis is dedicated to my husband Peter Baehr whose love has been my greatest source of strength.

List of Figures, Tables and Plates

Figures		Page
1	Map of Labrador	16
2	Map of Hamiltion Inlet	16
3	Map of Sheshatshit	47
Table		
1	Percentage of survey respondants in	
	support of school control.	134
Plate		
1	Reproduction of a photograph of Father J.	
	Pirson instructing a group of students	
	in the mission school circa 1956.	99

METHODISC SOLVERS BUT BUT BOX WELL FOR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	ii
AND CLEASE	
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Figures, Tables and Plates	v
1. Introduction	1
	1
1.1 Setting 1.2 The Dilemma	5
1.3 Notes on Fieldwork and Methodology	9
2. The Past: In the Time before Community	15
	20
2.1 Historical Overview	
2.2 The Social and Spiritual World of the Past 2.3 The Transition to Permanent Settlement	41
3. The Present	48
3.1 Sheshatshit Today	48
3.2 The Meaning of Community	59
3.3 Loss of the Sacred	65
4. Innu Nationalism: The Past in Pursuit of the Future	72
4.1 An Overview of Political Development	73
4.1 An Overview of Political Schollphiland Politics	83
4.3 The Innu Nation and the Community	90
5. What is the Problem with the School?	97
5.1 The Establishment of the School	98
5.2 Contrasting World Views	103
5.3 Voicing the Problems	107
5.3.1 Parental Involvement	108 109
5.3.2 Intervention	111
5.3.3 Teachers	111
5.3.4 Standards	113
5.3.5 Attendance 5.3.6 Fighting	114
5.3.6 righting	117

6.	School Control: A Means for Cultural Continuity?	119
	6.1 Cultural Change and the Institutionalization	
	of Tradition	119
	6.2 Putting Culture in the Curriculum	125
	6.3 The Politics of School Control	131
7.	The Country/Community Dialectic	140
	7.1 Three Dimensions of Country	140
	7.2 Being Innu in the Modern World	148
	7.3 School Control: The Challenge	150
	Bibliography	154
	Appendix A Attendance Records 1990-91	164
	Appendix B Survey Questionaire	171

