

Suna Christensen

Educational Lines: Life, Knowledge and Place

An anthropological study of educational dilemmas in Greenland



PhD dissertation

Graduate School in Lifelong Learning

Roskilde University

November 2014

Content

Acknowledgements.....	5
1 Attention: Education as Social.....	8
Introduction: Hunters education of attention	8
Staging the empirical problem: School development in Greenland.....	11
Construction of the field and analytical approach	13
The Arctic North and Inuit Communities	17
Inuit: Language and Culture.....	18
Greenland: Demography and School History.....	20
The Annual Cycle: 51° W and 69° N	23
Theoretical contextualization: Education as a cultural practice.....	28
Lines: A non-dichotomous approach to education as social attention.....	32
Analytical perspective: Materialities, relations and movements in education	33
Intersections: Attentions in education	42
Ethical background knowledge: Immigrations and representations	46
Vikings.....	47
Kings.....	48
Priests.....	48
Scientists.....	49
Other ethical considerations	54
Subject matter: Defect children or Defect education.....	55
Structure of the Dissertation	56
2 Transcendence: Education as Frontier Practice.....	59
Education as socially re-orienting event	66
Drawing Lines of separation: Education as another Arctic Frontier.....	67
Imprintment	71
Domestication of human-nature relations.....	76
Change: The cultural production of form	79
Transcendence as modality of social attention.....	83
Counter image: Knowledge as embedded in human-nature relatedness.....	86
Claiming society: The use of a historical perspective	88
3 Difference: The problem with Culture in Schooling.....	93
Formation of the social: Education as a humanist project.....	95
Disengagement: Growth as chronological process.....	100
Humanity: Level of education as implying moral state	102
Path transformation: Between land-based living and community life	107
Perspective: Scientific epistemology of education	112
Culture contact: The culture of Schooling revisited	114
Summing up and perspectives	116
4 Growth: The dynamic of Straight Lines.....	120
Education as experience.....	122
Danification: Modernization and Industrialization as genres of life	127

Transformation: Lived experiences of social change.....	132
Straight Lines: The production of stiffness.....	139
Discussion: Disorder as an effect of intersecting movements	144
Summing up: The linearity of the Straight Line	147
5 Walking: Research as a process of learning	150
Wrong education: The matter of the manner of research	153
Critical research: Education of the gaze	156
Field work: An overview	160
Intervention.....	161
Cross-disciplinary work.....	163
Interviews, conversations and language.....	163
Field as path	168
Walking: Displacement of gaze through sensory attentiveness	171
Field, fieldwork and analytical object	174
Validity.....	179
Discussion – Anthropology and Educational research	181
Summing up	182
6 Growth in an open world: Hunter’s educational line.....	184
Angujaartorfik: The place we meet up	187
Ancestral capacity: A pre-historic perspective	192
Arctic Anthropology: Challenges to schooling from Inuit way of life	194
Human-land entwinement: Place as socially conducive.....	197
Social attention: Beyond outdoor education.....	203
Life as tissue: Temporality as an act of sociality.....	207
Wayfaring: Education as relationally constituted process.....	212
Summing up: The educational legacy from caribou hunters use of land	216
7 Education for life: Hunters educational practices	219
Autonomy: Capability, sociality and life as narrative	220
Enskillment: improvisation, imitation and contextualization.....	229
Improvisation	231
Imitation.....	235
Contextualization	239
Discussion: Educating as making lines	242
8 Conclusion: Education as movement.....	246
Reframing the question of school failure: How lines intersect	248
Final remarks: Learning from local ways of life	252
Bibliography	256
Abstract.....	265
Resumé.....	268

Acknowledgements

This has been a long journey. I want to thank one person in particular for trusting in me and making it all possible. This person is principal of the Greenlandic teachers college for pre-school teachers, Perorsaanimik Ilinniarfik, Nuka Kleeman. The college has co-financed fifty percent of the Ph.D-project and beyond that I have always felt welcome and supported at a personal level.

I also want to thank all the people in Greenland who over the years have engaged with my project. It is people I have interviewed or talked with, worked with and followed around, and people who in delicate ways have attuned my understanding. Thank you for your patience. Thank you also to the pre-schools; the parents and children who let me do observations. As part of my research I stayed a month in a small hamlet in the North, Saqqaq, with my two children who were then 10 and 12 years old. I am grateful to everyone who opened their homes to me and my children and made our stay there something we will always remember.

The families who go hunting at Angujaartorfik in West-Greenland are central to this thesis. Without their hospitality and willingness to talk with me, teach me skills and take me on walks I would not have learned what today forms my baseline understanding of education among Angujaartorfik hunters.

In 2011 I went two months to the department of Anthropology, Aberdeen, Scotland as a visiting PhD. Formally I was supposed to be writing up. However, what my project needed was to become re-established within anthropology of the North. I must thank in particular Professor Tim Ingold for making it possible for me to extend my stay to 11 months, and for engaging with my ideas and my trouble in finding a way to frame a sensible inquiry. Everybody at the department have my heart-felt gratitude

for the openness, welcoming attitude and inspiring environment you provide. In particular thank you to Jo Vergunst, Nancy Wachowich and Tanya Arguonowa-Low for commenting on my early drafts. Also thank you to PhD colleagues from this time, who read drafts even after I moved back to Denmark. I am thinking of Jenanne Ferguson, Lou Senior and Jennifer Clarke.

In Scotland I also worked with artist Liz Ogilvie as part of her project 'Out of Ice' which narrated human relationships with ice in the far north. Dialogues with her and her work inspired me to articulate poetic experiences with landscape as part of analysis.

The hunting site Angujaartorfik became pivotal to my research. It was made possible by archaeologist Ulla Odgaard from the centre of Arctic research 'Sila', Arctic centre, The National Museum of Denmark, who invited me to join her and her colleagues on research trips. I learned a lot from listening to archaeologies of the landscape at Angujaartorfik.

Time has passed. During the last year of writing up I have worked as assistant professor at the national center of vocational education, Metropolitan University, Copenhagen. Thank you for supporting me in finishing the Ph.D. Through this position I had the privilege to receive coaching in writing from Thomas Basbøll. His insisting guidance and focus on the conduct of writing academic texts has been a vital help in gathering all the threads to form the dissertation present today.

Thank you to academic friends in Denmark for commenting on chapters too. A special thanks to Lene Tegllhus Kauffmann for your thoughtful and concerned in-depth comments on several chapters.

When I came to Greenland for the first time in 2007 I brought with me two little children, Karen and Mads, respectively 10 and 8 years old. They went to school in Ilulissat for a year, and later followed me

on some of my research trips. In 2011 they came along to Scotland too, settled in and went to school, now as young teenagers. This PhD has been part of your life too. It has given us great adventures and friends in Greenland and Scotland. It has also given us hard times. Saying thank you to you guys seems a little wrong as you never had a choice. However, you should always know the journey would not have been as fun and rich without you.

1 Attention: Education as Social

Introduction: Hunters education of attention

Every summer many Greenlandic families leave their houses in towns and hamlets on the coast and journey along the coast and into the inland areas to pursue meat for the winter. The journey, whether short or long, follows the route and season of the animals. First trout caught at the sea, and then musk ox and caribou further inland. While in Danish it is referred to simply as ‘going hunting’ (*tage på jagt*), the Greenlandic word for the journey, ‘aallaarsimaarneq’, is old and carries a history of leaving the peat houses without the roof on, to be cleansed by sun and wind during the summer. It carries a sense of movement, of journeying to get closer to the animals, but it is also associated with camp life. People would once use the nomadic summer journeys to meet up and re-connect with friends and relatives. ‘Aallaarsimaarneq’ today brings a smile to people’s faces and is regarded as a pleasure to participate in, whether one is a child or elderly, a man or a woman.

When I write about hunting or hunters, I am referring to this semi-nomadic way of living in its social sense, shared by a community for whom moving according to the migration of animals and the passing of the seasons is a deeply rooted part of a subsistence history. At the hunting camp site Angujaartoofik in West Greenland - which I have visited as part of field work - hunting practices establish a cultural continuity with the Thule culture that immigrated to Northern Greenland around 1200 AD and during the next 300 years proceeded southwards (Gulløv 2005: 285) up to the present (Pasda 2013, Pasda, Odgaard 2011a). In total, three cultures have immigrated to Greenland from Arctic North America and have hunted in the lands stretching behind Angujaartoofik to the ice cap: Saqqaq, Dorset and Thule. All three are pre-historic cultures in the sense that we have no or few written resources from the historical

periods they represent. Archaeological findings document that Saqqaq (stone age culture) hunted caribou in West Greenland as early as 2400 BC (Knudsen 2009). Thule is the latest immigrant culture, and is today considered a direct ancestor of modern Inuit (Gulløv *ibid*: 213).

Thule Culture primarily sustained themselves on marine resources, but enjoyed going hunting in the inland in summer to hunt caribou (Grønnow, Meldgaard et al. 1983). The meat of caribou was eaten and the skin used for clothing and beddings (*ibid*: 34) and the horns were used for tools (*ibid*: 35). A change to colder climate might also have stimulated terrestrial hunting among the Thule culture settling in West Greenland, as well as a developing trade system around 1650 (Knudsen 2009). Danish Mission occurred in 1721 and around 1800 Inuit in West Greenland were dependent on goods from the West and had converted to Christianity (Knudsen 2009: 4). These changes were probably felt mostly on the coast, as we know that long summer journeys to hunt caribou continued until the 1950s. Up until then, people would sail up the fjords in light umiaks and kayaks to the beach at Angujaartorfik. From there, they would carry these light boats further inland, sometimes as far as 100 kilometres. In the 1950s general social and economic changes in life on the coast led people to shift to heavier boats. Without the ability to traverse the big inland lakes, it became more sensible to stay closer to the shore, no longer walking as far as earlier (Grønlands Selvstyres arbejdsgruppe for Strategisk Miljøvurdering 2010: 16).

In August of 2010 and 2012, I visited Angujaartorfik during the hunting season for caribou and musk ox. My aim was to study hunter's social life, with particular interest in their approach to education. At the campsite people lived in tent houses and gathered in kin-based clusters. Children of all ages were present. They were encouraged to explore the surroundings and to listen to the experiences of elders. Toddlers walking far away from parents or into the tents of others were praised for their venturing to the 'richness' of experiencing land and meeting other people.

The campsite Angujaartorfik is located in a particularly beautiful landscape, at the mouth of a river coming from the Ice cap, approximately 100 kilometers inland. It is mountainous and yet green. It is very often warm during the day, up to 20-25 Celsius, but temperatures easily drop 15 degrees at night and the wind can be cold, a reminder of the inland Ice close by. The caribou graze in the area between the camp and the ice, and the landscape is flecked with human and animal footpaths. When children walk with elders inland they hear stories of where other members of their family have camped, played or shot their first animal. Sometimes, the weather can be inclemently wet, making it difficult to navigate on the water to get to Angujaartorfik, reducing visibility and hindering hunting, and making it impossible to dry the raw meat, which then rots. The distances walked to catch caribou are shorter today than one generation ago. Elder hunters told me it had a lot to do with the limits imposed by modern work schedules which frame hunting as a 'holiday activity' and with the demands of modern jobs, which reduce the physical condition of people.

When I was there, daytime in the camp was organized around the cutting and drying of meat. Children joined in as they liked. If they showed interest in cutting meat, they were given the harder pieces with plenty of sinews to practice on. When hunters came back, often in the late afternoon or in the evening, they fired three shots into the air as they crossed the last hilltop. Youngsters then ran off to help carry the heavy meat load or the guns back to the camp. The older hunters paid attention to how youngsters carried the guns in these situations. If they carried the gun in front of them, across the chest, it was a sign to the experienced hunters that they were becoming ready to participate in a hunt. Parents and others took careful notice of what kind of activities the children seemed attracted to, their comportment in the environment and their bodily postures. Staying close to the tent was interpreted as feeling uncomfortable in the landscape, while happily playing in a boat on the water was taken to mean relational growth through interaction with natural surroundings.

In this community, I soon realized, learning was perceived as immersion in a world where ‘nature’ participated in education. Participating in life as a hunter at Angujaartorfik meant participating in a world where spatial distinctions between a human and a natural world were dissolved, and nature performed a relational context for an ongoing life process. To a westerner, this contrast the role of nature most often associated with education. Another contrast was the use of time. A mother told me that they spent part of their summers at the campsite because she wanted her children to become part of Angujaartorfik. Saying this, she stretched her arms out and surveyed the campsite, the people and the immense environs: “of all this”. “All this” seemed to include the particular traditional way of being in the land. What we sometimes describe as ‘traditional’ and relegate to the past was here presented as a means for the individual to proceed into life¹. Unlike our familiar chronological discourses, temporality here included the past in the present.

Two families had been re-uniting at the camp for at least three generations. They spent between a week and six weeks at Angujaartorfik every summer. There were other people coming to camp, hunting for a shorter period of time. They camped at the periphery of the camp site, and stayed in modern tents. They too came here not so much for the meat but for the total experience of a life and community. Some families said that here (at the camp site) it did not matter ‘what’ they were the rest of the year; at Angujaartorfik they were all Greenlanders. Class-based distinctions embedded in job categories, which bounded social life the city, were at Angujaartorfik subordinated to values embedded in the particular use of the place according to an Inuit hunting framework.

Staging the empirical problem: School development in Greenland

During the sub-arctic summer, joining in with mothers cutting meat in Angujaartorfik and discussing their experiences of the gains for children in ‘Aallaarsimaarneq’ rendered a comparative view on the problems with Greenlandic children’s school success. In fragments, present day Greenlanders inhabit

the physical arctic and sub-arctic landscape in ways similar to their semi-nomadic predecessors. In the cities, the nomadic life pattern of following the seasons is dominated by industrial schedules that determine when to work and when to learn independently of weather, animal's migrations or the needs of family elders. Yet, although far from all city-dwellers go hunting with family members, everyday life includes social symbolic acts referring to this life, such as '*paggaa*', the sharing of coins, sweets or little things as an act of generosity when one is favored with luck (good hunt, new job, a child in the family). The lucky person simply stands up, unwarranted, and throws a handful of something in the air. When I inquired, city-based parents as well as teachers about education relative to the cultural community referred to in such symbolic acts of exchange, I was often told that this could not be explained in words, and I would have to go hunting in the summertime, when families were away together. This was the advice from the field that brought me to Angujaartorfik. Here, I learned that sharing your luck this way, related to old practices of gift-exchange between hunters and land.

Working with education, I had chosen something that was of primary concern to parents and politicians. In 2012 in the national Greenlandic newspaper *Sermitsiaq*, Chief Executive of Greenland's employer's association, Henrik Leth, defined the educational situation regarding employability for students as "a national catastrophe" (Sermitsiaq 2012). According to him, profile tests of students finishing upper secondary school showed that about two-thirds of the students would not be able to continue their education. Employers voiced frustration in the light of future possibilities for economic expansion; the introduction of oil and aluminum production in Greenland calls for a foreign workforce because Greenlanders lack the education to do the jobs expected to arise from this development (ibid). In the same article, the Minister of Education, Palle Christiansen, blamed the poor results on years of prioritizing the Greenlandic language; to him focusing on Greenlandic has left the population with "one language and no competences" (ibid). As I will come back to, prioritizing Greenlandic had from a reform-

ist perspective been part of a de-colonization process of the educational system after centuries of Danish dominance.

The political answer to the voiced lack of educated appropriators of future economic investments came in 2012 too, when the Greenlandic Ministry of Education released a strategy covering education from pre-school to University. This strategy claimed that building a highly skilled society was a key goal. The tools described in the strategy were aimed at restructuring children's everyday life through 1) expanded institutional coverage from pre-school level, 2) curricula-based learning, and 3) screening of children.

What parents and politicians were preoccupied with in Greenland was education in relation to sense and formation of community. My basic argument in this thesis is that depending on how society is conceived, the terms life, knowledge and place will have different meanings that will alter the sense of what education is about. The relevant change, then, cannot be executed by the children or the teacher, but is a matter engaging institutionalised human-environment relations.

Construction of the field and analytical approach

I follow indigenous researcher in education Dei in his definition of education as made up by the “varied options, strategies and ways through which people come to learn, know and understand the world and act within it” (Dei 2000: 3). This perspective on education brings together questions of how people engage with the world and how they perceive of it, thus associating knowing with being. ‘Knowledge’ along with ‘children’ and ‘community’, which are concepts central to education, is perceived differently depending on social context. I did field work at Angujaartorfik to investigate cultural differences in education as a product of social relations and practices relative to distinct forms of everydayness.

My approach to education as a practice we cannot know ahead of research has been framed by my background in social anthropology. The interest in bringing the disciplines of education and anthropology together arose out of experiences previous to the PhD project. In the academic year 2007-2008, I worked as a teacher at a Teachers College training teachers for pre-schools and special care institutions, 'Perorsaanermik Ilinniafik', in Ilulissat, in the Disco bay in Inuit Nunaat / Greenland (Arctic)². I lived there with my two children, who both went to the local public school. We took part in a dog team, joined the local orienteering club, different workshops, and engaged in everyday North Greenlandic life in a rich variety of ways. During this year, I was struck by the colonial history of education in Greenland – a history that was continued in the dominance of Danish as a teaching language and the curriculum I taught, which was based in a Danish tradition. As a mother, meanwhile, I experienced my Danish children's struggle to understand their own colonial history, in part through the refusal of Greenlandic teachers to teach them. It was a reminder of how processes of education are grounded in historical possibilities that prefigure the learner.

Theorizing education as a social process of becoming (above), I tie aspects of social and environmental change to student's experiences with schooling. At a contextual level, environmental changes embody differences in life narration implicit in teaching methods, curriculum and language priority. The study is situated in three communities in west and northern Greenland, a large Greenlandic town, Ilulissat, in the north, a small hamlet, Saqqaq further north and the hunting site Angujaartorfik in west Greenland, just below the Arctic circle. I began my fieldwork with interviews, observations, and participant inclusive research in Ilulissat, where I had previously worked for one a year as a teacher at a college for Social Education in the department educating pre-school teachers. I talked to a variety of people: school teachers at different levels, college-students, priests and parents, with an overlap between some categories. At this point, I was probing broadly into experiences of schooling, upbringing and cultural perspectives on student's failure in school.

My initial research conducted in 2008 and 2009 suggested two preliminary conclusions. First, there was significant insecurity in orientation among Greenlandic educators and care takers towards the purpose of schooling. Through a two-hour talk and sketching images of personhood, a group of mothers identified a gap between expectations towards children's education in relation to family roles and more individually oriented expectations linked to a state-based society. Second, the concepts of schooling and education as used locally did not categorically overlap. The presence of a community grounded in a particular place and a subsistence history as hunters affected the sense people gave to education at a cultural level. To understand the differences better, I inquired about them, but instead of an elaborative answer, I was advised to go "up north" and "out hunting" to see for myself.

My first trip north was to Saqqaq. I worked there for a month in the local pre-school with the simultaneous goals of studying life in a Greenlandic hamlet and improving my Greenlandic language. My own two children aged 10 and 12 accompanied me and eased our integration in the local community. In Saqqaq I learned a lot about the situatedness of education, as will become clear in the first part of the thesis, and here the need to join in on hunting trips presented itself again. Work in the pre-school had a strong theatrical element to it: the distribution of roles according to a script, the timing of actions according to a plan, the bodily postures according to actual scene, and the trained dialogues in teaching rhyming and number-counting. The artificiality of activities with children, it seemed to me, might be replicating distances between localized life and school activity. Most manuals and books, for instance, were in Danish, and all tools were manufactured in Denmark, yet the majority of teachers as well as children spoke only Greenlandic. Strings to local life were produced in talks about what to do after work, such as going to a 'kaffemik', catch fish or shoot seal or simply going on to the sea. A 'kaffemik' is a localized Greenlandic way of celebrating, used on birthdays, for example. Everybody in the community is invited to stop by. There is food and/ or cake and drinks/coffee for all. Houses in Greenland

are typically small, and one is not expected to sit at the coffee table for long, but to pass on to make room for more, whereas in Denmark people who are invited expect to have a seat at the table throughout the event. Again, I witnessed ritualized social acts conceptualizing society and values such as stability in terms of sharing and flexibility, which were distinct from the politicized society that contextualized and conceptualized school-based activities.

In 2010 and again in 2012, I tagged into an archaeological survey of the hunting area around Angujaartorfik and the campsite itself. This provided immensely valuable experiences with life lived in accordance with what I will be referring to as a hunters' perception of the world, and therefore of a comparative view of education as a particular attention relative to practiced social context. The life world approach suggested here reinvigorates a perspective on education as a narrative force in life.

Thus, in a context of a local political demand for improvement of schools, the thesis explores the relationship between schooling and education. And anthropological perspective reveals that these two terms, which are often taken to mean the same thing, are in fact related in complex ways. Exploring how conceptualizations of education, growth and society interweave, I ask the following questions: How is education relative to perception of the world? How is social growth and knowledge development dealt with among indigenous³ Greenlanders? How does the linearity of education relative to a livelihood as a hunter relate to linearity of education in an industrialized context? In what ways does an anthropological analysis focusing on epistemological and ontological issues permit an understanding of school failure among indigenous Greenlandic children?

As already noted, 'nature' participates in education among hunters. I draw on Sørensen's use of the concept of participation as a view to how material surroundings and other participants participate in educational practices (Sørensen 2009). *Following* participation is distinct to a focus on participants as it

allows us to understand how materials and material surroundings as relational components in practice. My experiences with education at Angujaartorfik overturned my previous thoughts about education. Whatever they might have been, confronted with hunter's practices, I realized my previous understanding assumed a universal human project of accomplishment through some process of knowledge accumulation.

I will say more about my research methods in Chapter Five. Because place participates in education, however, it is important to frame this thesis at the outset with an introduction to Greenland as part of the Arctic region and of Greenlanders as part of the indigenous community of Inuit. We must understand that the inter-relatedness of the actual place of education and the conceptualization of education makes the place more than a geographical locality.

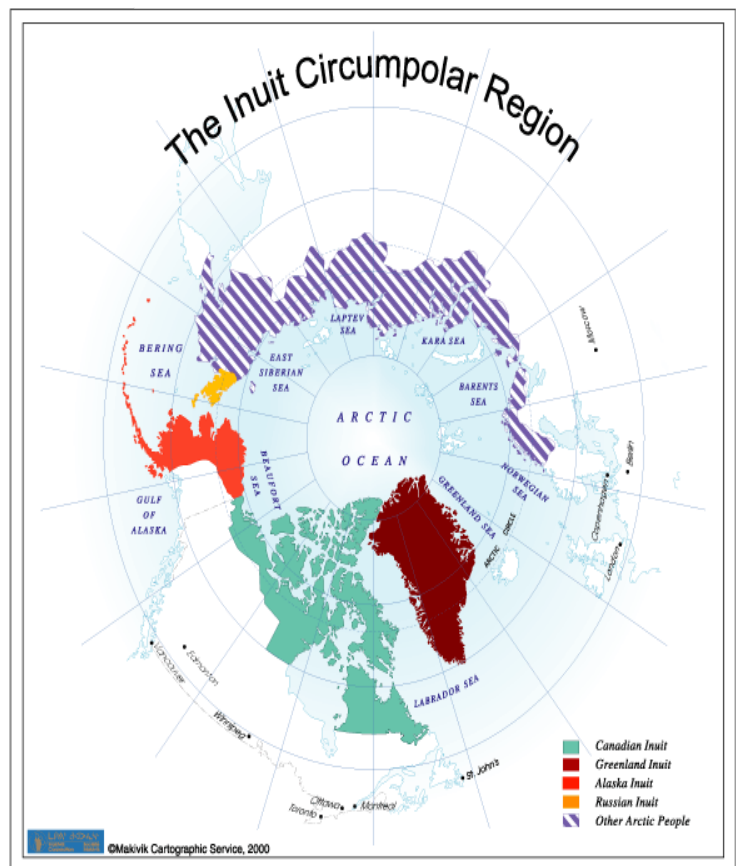
The Arctic North and Inuit Communities

People live *somewhere*. Surely this sense of belonging and rootedness in local, practical activities as we grow up is essential to our sense of where we are going and who we become along the way. The people in question here are Kalallit Inuit or Greenlanders, part of the Inuit Arctic Community, citizens of the modern self-rule nation Greenland, part of the Danish Realm, and also a recognized indigenous people sharing a history of colonization. In this thesis they serve as a people as the ethnographic background to an investigation not only of education but of 'place' and wider developmental narratives in standard education.

The concept of place seems marginalized in educational research, particularly as a consequence of generalizing theoretical approaches, which fail to recognize that for inhabitants, places (physical terrain) holds unique socially and culturally constructed realities (Basso 1996). The following introduces the interconnectedness of *location* (spatial distribution of socio-economic activity), *sense of place* (attachment) and *locale* (the setting of a particular social activity) (Rodman 2003: 207), in northern Greenland.

The heart of the Arctic is the Arctic Ocean. The coastal line almost forms the shores of a lake and highlights a sense of lived vicinity among arctic and circumpolar communities, which is excluded in the view of Greenland commonly presented on maps with a European center.

According to Bravo & Sörlin, the Arctic can be defined geopolitically as a ‘homogenous periphery of Northern Europe, North America, and Russia’ (Bravo, Sörlin 2002: vii). This region is also sometimes called the Circumpolar North, which includes the more southern – and temperate – zone also including southern Greenland. The Arctic Circle is drawn on maps at latitude 66 and 33’ north.



Inuit: Language and Culture

Across the Arctic live the Inuit. ‘Inuit’ means ‘the people’. To a few, Inuit may still be known as ‘Eskimo’. According to Hastrup, it has been held that Eskimo is an old Indian word for “those who eat raw meat” or a word stemming from a French categorisation of indigenous people in Canada as the “ex-

communicated” which spread to everyday use (Hastrup 2010a: 56-57). Neither of these is a name Inuit people have ever used about themselves. There are groups that have formerly been called Eskimos who do not identify with Inuit, such as the Inuvialuit of western Canada, and the indigenous people of northern Alaska: Inupiaq. In south-western Alaska the people of the Yupiit nation call themselves the Yup’ik or Yupiaq (McElroy 2007: 8). In Siberia, Yup’ik speaking groups have particular local identities but collectively call themselves Yuit, Yugut or Eskimosy (ibid). The Inuit formed in 1977 the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), to fuel political self-determination. Arctic researcher Nuttall writes that entering the 21st century, the indigenous peoples of the circumpolar north will continue to rely on natural resources for their economic and cultural survival, but they are increasingly tied to global networks of production and exchange and subject to the consequences of globalisation and modernity (Nuttall 1998: 2). ICC unites the 160,000 Inuit spread over Greenland and the arctic regions of Canada, Alaska and Russia (Chukotka). It is presently chaired by the Greenlander Aqqaluk Lynge. According to the charters of Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) the Inuit people are an *indigenous people* with a unique ancestry, culture and homeland. Inuit share conditions of livelihood with other indigenous groups in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions some of which they distinguish themselves from politically, such as the Indians and the Dene (Minor 1992: 27).

In academic discourses the term ‘Eskimo’ is today only applied when referring to pre-history (Bjørst 2008: 123). Greenlandic people in their own language refer to themselves as ‘Kalaallit’. In Danish, they are customarily referred to and they refer to themselves as ‘Grønlandere’ (Greenlanders), the name given to them by the Norse Vikings. I will use the concepts ‘Inuit’ and ‘Greenlanders’ interchangeably depending on whether a given problematic is best contextualized in terms of a national identity or an indigenous cultural community across national borders.

People belonging to the Inuit all speak a dialect of Inuktitut, an Inuit-Aleut language (Wenzel 1991: 11). Danish has dominated the Greenlandic society up until Self Rule was achieved in 2009. On this occasion, the official language became Kalallitut/ Greenlandic, an Inuit language. On June 2, 2009 I began to follow the election campaign leading up to the independence process beginning on the national day, June 21. Preceding the elections one party argued for a one-language society, thereby limiting opportunities for the many Danish employees in the administration to continue to work in Greenland, and simultaneously for many well-educated, Danish speaking Greenlanders to stay or return to working in Greenland. Another party argued for a more open policy with Greenlandic as the primary language, but an acceptance of Danish as primary language of some Greenlanders. Discussions of ethnicity often seem linked to languages and the debate about who is Danish and who is Greenlandic seem unending (Bjørst 2008). The latter party won the election in 2009 and lost it again to the first in 2013. As I am finishing the thesis (October 2014), an election campaign is going on again.

Greenland: Demography and School History

Greenland is the largest Island in the world, covering an area of 840,000 square miles. It is located in the North Atlantic, between Canada and Iceland. Greenland has had Self-Rule since 2009; 'Nammilersorneq' in a relationship similar to a Commonwealth, and its only administrative tie to Denmark today is foreign policy and subsidiaries. Denmark provides an annual subsidy of DKK 3.2 billion (Politiken Jan 14, 2013) Greenland's current population totals around 57,000 with about 13,000 in the capital Nuuk. Greenland land has a peculiar form, depicted by Stefansson as: "an elongated dome, like the back of a turtle" (Stefansson 1943: 10). The melt-down of the inland ice has generated renewed international interest in Arctic resources in general, and Greenland is currently in particular object to an international interest in oil and minerals, changing its earlier peripheral relation to Europe dramatically. Generally settlements are spread along the South and North-West coast, as the Greenland ice cap covers most of the land, with multiple glaciers carving their way to the sea.

A report from the Greenlandic Self Rule government maps out the pre-school area based on a survey (Epinion 2012). The report is based on a survey conducted to enhance governmental surveillance of the pre-school field of education. According to this report there are approximately 5000 children ages three to five in Greenland, of which 80% live in cities and 205 in hamlets. 75 % go to pre-school or other public institution. The ones who do not are primarily from hamlets (ibid: 5).

In pre-schools the dominant language is Greenlandic. Most principals have what the report calls a “strong professional profile” meaning they have substantial education and experience. On the other hand half of the employees don’t have a bachelor degree in pre-school education, but have participated in courses (ibid). A report from the Greenlandic national institute of learning, Inerisaavik, documents that 8586 children go to primary or secondary school (Inerisaavik 2011).

In 2002, a Greenlandic concern for underachievement in the Greenlandic school system resulted in a reform that, in the pre-school area, was called ‘Meeqquerivitsialak’ – the good pre-school – and at the level of primary and secondary school was called ‘Atuarfitsialak’ – the good school. The broader context and political goal of these reforms was a process of de-colonization. It was contextualized with socio-cultural theory on children’s learning as represented in the work of Vygotsky and conducted according to school reform programs previously applied to Native American communities (Wyatt, Lyberth 2011: 221). An American researcher studied the implementation of the reform as part of her doctoral work conducted within the same programme. In an article written in collaboration with a Greenlandic researcher they state that for most of the last two centuries, Native Greenlandic teachers had been left out of the decision-making process regarding effective education for Greenlandic students. According to them, the Danish colonial government, responsible for developing Greenland’s educational system, “made important pedagogical and curricular decisions with little to no input from

local teachers [...] and by all accounts failed the indigenous Greenlandic population” (ibid). The school history in Greenland is intimately linked with the history of Danish missionary colonization beginning in 1721. This history will be detailed in Chapter two. According to Lyberth and Wyatt, Greenlandic culture and ways of thinking were interpreted by the missionaries as a barrier to the Greenlander’s education (ibid: 223).

One thing Lyberth and Wyatt overlook in their critique of the colonial system of education, is the development of Greenlandic into a written language. Until a school act in 1925 Greenlandic was the first language in schools. After 1925 Danish was compulsory as a subject (ibid: 224), but not as the only language spoken. In 1950 school classes were divided into A and B stream. As recorded by Lyberth and Wyatt, in the A-stream, Greenlandic was primary language and Danish in the B-stream. It was meant as a means to introduce Danish to all pupils (ibid: 224). In practice, Greenlanders speaking Danish had better paid jobs, and the language divide became a social divide. The A and B streams were dissolved with Home Rule government in 1979 (ibid). Suspending the streams did not bring about any changes in the school system, and Greenlandic government officials in 1998 decided to overhaul the entire education system (ibid: 224 – 225). Reformers resolved to adopt a U.S-developed educational model developed by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE) to frame Greenland’s reform from preschool to higher education (ibid: 225). New legislation in 2002 was the outcome of work proceeding from the 1998 decision.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the reform of the school system to integrate a local perspective has not improved school success at a national level. An article in the national Greenlandic magazine for teachers, ‘Imak’, describes the situation in 2010 based on participation in a reform evaluation workshop. The journalist states that while teachers are becoming more and more educated, three out of five Greenlandic students leave secondary school without an exam. According to this evaluation,

students who speak Greenlandic perform worse than their bilingual or Danish speaking peers (Egede 2010: 6). This problematic is part of the empirical background for the thesis.

The land Greenlanders inhabit is one of such profuse variety that it poses a challenge to any administrative attempt to plot a course for all. In the past, an annual occupational cycle was set by the change of seasons (Petersen 1963). Greenlanders were nomadic hunters⁴ and followed the animals. As already alluded to, although people today are mostly wage-workers, Greenlandic life is still highly structured by seasonality (also Dahl 2000). This is the subject of the next section.

The Annual Cycle: 51° W and 69° N

To establish a cultural footing of livelihood we need an introduction to seasonality as socially co-constituent in everyday life. I base this introduction primarily on my experience as a teacher and researcher in Ilulissat where I have lived a full year cycle. In Ilulissat winter starts with the early snow in September-October and the joyful anticipation of more snow and proper frost. Snow and ice opens up High Ways for journeying the land and therewith the possibility to hunt in new places and to reconnect with friends and relatives. As I know from my time spent in the Arctic in winter, to Arctic hunters' snow and ice can be traces of physical as well as social fertility. Around Ilulissat, hunters shoot ptarmigans, polar hares and seals in winter, and practice long-line fishing through holes in the sea ice. A well-trained dog team can carry 200 kilograms of fish, which in winter 2011 was sold at the fish factory for approx. 3 Euros a kilo.

In winter mornings in Ilulissat, a little before 8 Am., the roads are busy. Adults are off to work, either driving or walking, and children are off to school. During observations in pre-schools, I experienced how children were brought in and undressed from their warm winter clothes by their parents. Some brought along breakfast or a piece of fruit. Except from the large amount of people walking, there was

not a very notable difference to places outside of the North (see Wenzel 1991:17 for similar observations from Canadian Inuit settlements). There are times, especially in the dark and cold months of winter, when ships – because of floating Ice from the Arctic Ocean - cannot reach Ilulissat with supplies. Although people are not suffering, food supply and modern efficiency in the administrative system, the health system and the education system are affected, and other solutions and family relations come to play a stabilising role.



Full-time hunters also set out in the mornings; sometimes we would see them take off in the dark when my children walked to school. From a similar Inuit Canadian community Wenzel rightly comments that hunting and the activities in extension of hunting; maintenance and repair to some extent disguises so-

cial issues such as unemployment (ibid: 18). After work many people went home to change clothes and go to check on their dogs and to feed them. Others went to the harbor to look out for their boats. Fish was seen hanging to dry on the balconies of many apartments. In evenings and in weekends people got together. The sharing of food, and not least the shared preparation of food, was much appreciated and a means to connect, maintain and extend relations, and this ‘grouping’ for activities “allows the knowledge and skill of older generations to be passed to the young and reinforces bonds of solidarity and security among kin” (Wenzel ibid: 19). Children were always welcome; they eat what they liked and when they liked, and depending on age was passed around. I know from my own children’s school friends that children often had more than one place they regarded as home, and my interviews shows that parents regard this as a richness in life.

The sun sets for winter in November, and comes back in January. On this day people in Ilulissat walk onto the face of a cliff from where you can look across the Kangia Ice fjord and see the sun rise above mountains opposite the fjord. When the sun shined on the fjord and on the people, there was joy and some would sing. After ten minutes the sun set again, leaving sunbeams in the sky. Back in the town in the following weeks, it was remarkable to experience the presence of daylight coming from *below* the horizon and without the actual sun in sight. It was close, and visible from high viewpoints, but did not come high on the sky until sometime in late February.

Spring can be more challenging in terms of isolation and access to supplies than the cold winter months due to the breakup of pack ice limiting driving with sledge or snowmobile on ice and also complicating sailing. When the ice was away, everybody was waiting for the ‘amasat’; a little herring coming in thick, huge shoals around June-July and fished by everybody. It is delicious and can also be dried and used as dog food throughout the year. For some reason this little fish loves yoghurt and in the days when it passed by, spilled yoghurt decorated the rocks going into the sea as people lure it to come close by of-

fering yoghurt. It is a joyful event that all, small and large, participates in, as the fishes can be caught from the rocky shores with one's bare hands. In some families, grasping an 'ammasat' with your hands is heralded as a Childs 'first catch'. It is dried and hung at the wall in the home.

Even more in summer than in winter attention is directed outward, away from the town. People prefer being in the wild lands to the city spaces dominated by Danish language, housing and structuring of the day. In the months where people still work, many took off after work to go sailing and to go for barbecue either in the boat, at a shore along the coast or at a nearby hut. Hunters' preferred harvesting fish in late afternoons and in the evening when the water was still and children were out late, making school hour's interfere in an obvious rhythm set by season and skilled hunters' practices.

During summer, preparation for hunting mux ox and caribou in the inlands begins. Hunting from a summer hunting camp means going to a campsite, typically located up one of the deep fjords. From here people fish trout in July, and from August 1 embark on day walks inland to hunt caribou and ox-en. Camp life is busy and an opportunity to share experiences within the family as well as an opportunity to exchange networks. While some hunting activities, like fishing ammasats, are possible for all to participate in, one way or the other, participation in inland hunting is today constrained by urbanization. Hunting inland is physically hard (see also Wenzel 1991: 21), and as such incompatible with a physical condition set by office work. Another constraint is the expense of long hunts. Summer hunting inland is expensive today as people are not able to collectivize travelling as much as earlier, due to diverse work schedules. So more people have to have their own boats for fast and individual transport to the summer camps.

A third constraint is paradoxically intertwined with the key cultural status of these summer hunting camps, which distinguish themselves from other hunting activities by the time spent and the number of

people engaged (for similar observation in Greenland, see Dahl 2000: 194). As we know, hunting in the sense of going with the family, is in Greenlandic called '*Aallaarsimaarneq*'. The distinguishing feature for this kind of hunt is not whether it is sea or terrestrial animals that are being hunted, or the killing itself, but the joint activity. The dispersal of families as part of relocating the population according to industrial needs, and the social rupture in many families poses a constraint in the form of weakened organizational ties. Plainly speaking most Greenlanders today do not have the knowledge or the relations to go on a long hunt, but many still relate to it, for instance through the ritualization of children's first hunt as a sign of growth – as described above, a first hunt can be an '*ammasat*' caught with your hand at the shore. And the envy I have experienced from Greenlanders to my stay at a summer hunting camp, has sustained the experience that the cultural competence hosted in the social activities of hunting is pivotal to a sense of belonging to a moral and social community silenced in urbanized lifestyles.

Late summer is the time for gathering berries and collecting wild plants. I was once at a seminar with educational experts, teachers and members of the political administration in the blackberry season in an area south of Ilulissat. A local teacher took many of us out in the family's boat to an island to collect berries. Afterward we put them in the hotel's freezer to be able to take them home after the seminar. This experience conveyed to me 1) the gestural content of gathering and 2) how a sense of geography is linked to location of food. Sharing wild foods (berries, fish, and meat) across distances is a fragment of an old pattern of reciprocity based in subsistence hunting. Sharing foods from different locations also narrates places according to what lives there. This experience amplified how a tradition for bringing food up and down the long coastal line as part of journeying, once part of nomadic living, is continued as part of modern work life relations. The social complexity in the cultural encounter between livelihoods will be a recurrent theme in the thesis.

Evidently, people inhabiting the North continue, in their everyday life, a pattern in ways of relating to surroundings that is based in traditions of subsistence hunting, implying sensitivity toward *nature* and *balance* that has been crowded out in modern communities driven by accumulating interests. However, although the colonial encounter and resettlement programs has ended “centuries-old nomadic living patterns” (Aporta, Higgs et al. 2005), social and cultural continuity is traceable in the way social exchange formats of capitalism intertwine with relations to land and seasonally dependent activities.

In this section I have outlined an analytical position for Greenland and Greenlanders as belonging to the non-dominant cultures of the world. I have hesitated to do so for ethical reasons. However, recognition of differences depends on distinctions. The consideration of actual place in the world is an invitation to a study of education where schooling is studied among other sites of education and where the starting point is not (Eurocentric concepts of) schools, students and teachers.

Theoretical contextualization: Education as a cultural practice

This dissertation brings together three bodies of knowledge: the ethnographic studies of Inuit culture, educational studies and anthropology of knowledge as performance. It is not always quite clear what we refer to when we talk about education. Below I point out broad distinctions mostly to demonstrate how conceptualization of education is implicitly part of the research practices. To do so, I refer recent debates within educational studies about the present research challenges. I then introduce a cultural and anthropological approach to comparative education, and show how epistemology and methodology necessarily entwine to form an analytical approach to education as a cultural practice.

Scholars in education write about education from within distinct theoretical traditions. According to a recent review article by Smith, Edwards-Groves and Kemmis (Smith, Edwards-Groves et al. 2010) there is a European tradition of ‘Pedagogik’ as a human science and an Anglo-American tradition of ‘Educa-

tional Philosophy and Theory' which tends to practice a conceptualization of education as method (ibid: 3). The European tradition has a broader, societal perspective, whereas the American tradition is differently oriented toward class-room practices (ibid). The distinction between traditions is related to a focus on the formation of humanity versus efficiency in distributing knowledge. Other scholars within education, Miedema and Biesta, find the twist between cultivation and transmission of knowledge documented in the fact that several languages have different words for making the distinction. They refer to the German distinction between 'erziehen' and 'unterrichten' (Miedema, Biesta 2003: 82), which is also reflected in the Danish distinction between 'opdragelse' and 'undervisning'. I will leave this discussion without taking sides, but draw attention to the fact that whether education is thought to contribute knowledge or morality or both, it is addressed as a particularly human act.

John Dewey (1859-1952) was an American philosopher in education with a research objective similar to the European contextualization of educational research within a concern for society. He does not theoretically define an ideal model of society, but instead investigates formations of social environments. I draw on Dewey's philosophically oriented work on "Art as Experience" (Dewey 2005), the relation between "Experience and Nature" (Dewey 1958), as well as his more directly school-oriented work, such as "Democracy and Education" (Dewey 2004). Dewey is interesting because of the dialogue between education, mind and way of life immanent in all his writings. He struggled to discuss education in relation to life aims. I was struck in particular by the way Dewey frames educational research as a question about optimal life modality – a question I brought with me from Angujaartorfik. Education to Dewey is social; it emerges in social processes and it regards how we shape life.

Psychologist Svend Brinkmann has in a recent biography of Dewey suggested that to Dewey the world is not static, and the image of the world he affords his readers is therefore a world in movement. This implies a view on humanity as in movement, and humans as participants in the world – not passive re-

cipients (Brinkmann 2006: 13). Dewey breaks with the modern idea of a truth beyond the experienced world but also distinguishes himself from postmodernists preoccupied with de-construction. According to Brinkmann (referring to Rorty 1991), Dewey was ahead Foucault and Deleuze in formulating a way forward (ibid: 16-19), and is an important postmodern thinker “teaching us how to respond wisely on contingency“ (ibid: 18, my translation). Dewey’s interest in a fluid world and in contingency is a pragmatic interest in human-world interaction based in actual experience rather than universal logic (ibid: 18). Brinkman refers an intellectual discussion of Dewey as promoting a ‘third enlightenment’: “an era, where people realize that knowledge and science is tied to social processes – and therefore best arranged through democratic social forms – and not to illusory selves” (ibid: 20, my translation). In “Democracy and Education” Dewey defines education as “a fostering, a nurturing, a cultivating process” and elaborates how all these words implies that education is “attention to the conditions of growth” (2004: 10). He then adds that when we speak of the outcome of the process of education, “we speak of education as shaping, forming, molding activity – that is, a shaping into the standardized form of social activity” (ibid). Dewey in this way encourages us to grapple with the world through education in awareness of its simultaneously fluid and conditioning effect.

Dewey’s thinking not only resonates with experiences of education among hunters practicing a sensibility related to the experienced world, but also to recent calls from within the field of education for normative approaches. One such is educationalist Biesta, who to accommodate the need for normativity suggests a focus on the culture of education to bring into analysis direction and values - in short, normativity (Biesta 2011). He urges we move analysis from a notion of learning cultures (the social practices through which people learn) to a notion of educational cultures to define “a learning culture [...] framed by particular purposes” (2011:199). A “cultural approach”, says Biesta, sees the disposition, actions, histories and trajectories of individual students as constitutive parts of learning culture, student learning is not simply seen as an ‘outcome’ or ‘product’ of a particular learning culture but at the very

same time as something that shapes and forms the culture (ibid:201). Biesta promotes the concept of ‘educational cultures’ to highlight ‘the normative dimensions that constitute educational processes and practices’ (ibid: 201-202) and so expresses a call for concepts that allows us to speak about what education *does*, as a totality and not restricted to parts such as teaching strategies, curriculum or students approaches (ibid: 201). This concern was flagged by Dewey and Margaret Mead in the beginning of the twentieth century, but has somehow lost breath. Dewey held lectures arguing for the necessity of paying attention to what education does, in particular the effect of education to the kind of community we, as a human kind, were constructing.

In his book *The Culture of Education*, Jerome Bruner approaches education as a cultural narration and a narration of culture (Bruner 1996). In this work he explores the centrality of narrative to human conduct of life and to sense of self in a relational perspective. He argues against education as a technical matter; a matter of use of learning theories and test-results in the classroom, and instead defines education as *an effort* to adapt a culture to the needs of its members and vice versa (ibid: 99). Bruner shares a focus on the constitutional relation between education and society with Dewey. Both work within a theoretical framework of cognitivism and dualism representing culture as a collectively shared scheme which might distract attention to their search to frame a discussion of education beyond formal schooling (Dewey 2005: 7, Bruner ibid), although Bruner explicitly in his later work himself argued that cognitivist theories were unable to grapple with the deep impact of culturally situated action (ibid: 26). It is likely that the cognitivism Bruner was rejecting was the structuralism inherent in psychological theories on child development such as the ones of Piaget in advance of more socio-cultural sensitivity theories such as Vygotsky’s (ibid).

The socio-cultural perspective leads Bruner to a social-constructivist strand. I have focused my inspiration from Bruner’s work to his emphasis on the impact of cultural narrative on individual organization

of knowledge and experience, and in his take on education as a narrative practice (ibid: 95). Although his concept of culture is schematic, he sees the integration of culture as an individual act of acquisition of a narrative rather than as adaptation of a set of collective representations. It goes from this that conceptualizations of education is integral to society and to what people make of themselves and their surroundings, and therefore in itself a prism to understand relations and processes that are constitutive of the human social environment. Anthropologist Kvaale has described the relation between the individual and structure (society) as the oldest debate in anthropology (2004: 320). She refers to Sahlins in debating whether the discussion of this relation should end with *a choice* (ibid, after Sahlins 1999a). According to Sahlins this often leads to post-structuralist approaches ignoring accumulated knowledge (ibid).

Lines: A non-dichotomous approach to education as social attention

Narrative thinking also applies to phenomenological approaches advancing the impact of the lived and experienced world. The phenomenological and environmental perspective is important to this study as hunters modalities of knowledge are tied to an experience of life as shared among human and non-human. This perspective formed the basis for Tim Ingold's formulation of a non-dualist, non-essentialist theory of knowledge in "Perception of the Environment" (Ingold 2000). Education is not directly addressed by Ingold, but on the other hand omnipresent in his work in the attention he pays to processes of *formation* (Ingold 2000, 2007, 2011). In "Perception of the Environment", "education" is characterized as the learned orientation of awareness to the world within a general argument about how we come to know through a sensitive relation with the components of the world, rather than through the acquisition of transmitted representations (2000: 9-10). In relation to the work of Bruner and Dewey, Ingold's work allows me to address *education as a particular social attention relative to life as an intersection of lines joining up the human and non-human world*. The focus on life avoids the analytical pre-construction of education in relation to a Euro-Western concept of society.

The cultural production of education and education as a formative process is central to this thesis. Tim Ingold's notion of 'Lines' (2007) offers a qualitative and comparative approach to education as it comes into being in an interaction between historical acts, epistemologies and ontologies that in conjunction enable and inhibits flows of life. Lines come in many shapes and forms, and provide a metaphorical universe that indicates qualitative effects of particular processes of formations. Lines can flow easily but they can also be stopped up, they have direction: up, down, forward, backward – or they circle and twist. Lines can come into presence as trajectories to follow and walk as paths - or be rejected as boundaries.

Analytical perspective: Materialities, relations and movements in education

To develop the possibility that education exists in plural we need to begin from a social process perspective and with a perspective which does not share objective with the disciplinary field of education. I believe, the 'lines' perspective unsettles naturalized conceptualizations of education as an object for individual acquisition, and makes it possible for us to learn about our own concepts. I aim through the thesis to shed light on three interrelated processes: 1) The need to reshape and expand analytical approaches to 2) pay sensitive attention to relations and processes configuring education in time and place to show how 3) in cross-cultural communities different and differently *lived* attentions in education creates tensions at an individual as well as at a social level. The empirical examples in the thesis show how the flow of life in the sense of movement and growth at as well an individual as a community level is relative to power configurations beyond the naturalized political-administrative relations focusing attention in educational debates on individual learners and teachers. In the Arctic and sub-arctic area nature forms a particularly interesting power figure which de-naturalizes European concepts of stability formative to modern society.

Education as an effort or as an attention is hard to capture and objectify for analysis. Lines bring a ‘gestalt’ (Merleau-Ponty [1962] 2007) to the otherwise abstract concept of education, and it focuses our analytical attention on the *configuration* of movement: between, along, slow or fast. Even stopped up movement. Merleau-Ponty says:

The sensible configuration of an object or a gesture [...] is not grasped in some inexpressible coincidence, it ‘is understood’ through a sort of act of appropriation which we all experience when we say have [...] ‘caught’ a slight gesture [...] it is the notion of the immediate which is transformed: henceforth the immediate is no longer the impression, the object which is one with the subject, but the meaning, the structure, the spontaneous arrangements of parts. (Merleau-Ponty 2002: 67)

At times the configuration of particular lines as objects or gestures will be the direct object of analysis and at other times lines implicit in educational performances will form the *background* against which I explore the configuration and significance of other social phenomena such as the meaning of growth. As laid out by Merleau-Ponty, social phenomena take on significance in relation to an experienced ‘whole’. The perception of growth, for instance, implicitly depends on the existence of collectively known models of growth against which individual processes emerge with a particular *significance* as figure against ground (ibid: 16, italics original). This figure-ground model can also be employed analytically to question what forms figure and what forms ground. I will explore the analytical potentials of lines, and in wider sense human-environment relations through lines. The ability of lines to illuminate relations across naturalized western dualisms deals with the problem of cultural translation in relation to an Inuit non-dualist perception of the world, as well as it hopefully helps the rest of us to reflect on the arenas in which education is crucial to vital matters outstretching national concerns. In relation to Dewey, who, like Ingold, represents an ecological thinking, lines as analytical tools de-center analysis

and allow us to account for movement constituted through the participation of related objects entangled in the flow of life.

Through this analytical strategy, I will be using the concept of lines to ask how particular entanglements narrate and form education and what quality is performed in this process. The concept of education as a means to rise above nature distinguishes sharply between humans and nature as an element under human control. However, the hunting practice of situating education within relations from which features in the landscape emerge as utterances and possible objects of dialogical exchange has forced me to establish a different approach which I would call a narrative-environmental approach. The narrative perspective focuses attention on the workings of education, and the environmental approach as represented by Ingold (2000) dissolves culture-nature dualisms. The intent with this approach is similar in kind to recent attempts within educational studies to address “the materiality of learning”, the title of Estrid Sørensen’s book from 2009. In this book she argues for a social-material and non-humanist approach to education (Sørensen 2009). In effect this means, according to her, a change in perspective from what humans do with and to their surroundings to “what practice takes place when a particular arrangement of social and material components is established” (ibid: 2).

In a recent overview article (2011), the educationalists Fenwick, Edwards and Sawchuk state that the shift in educational research toward environment-dependent approaches such as socio-materialism represents a shift in educational studies from “epistemology and representation to practical ontology and performativity” (2011: 3). With this, the question of learning shifts from a representational idiom, mapping and understanding a world that is out there, to a view that the world is doing things, full of agency (ibid: 3). The similarities in analytical callings between what I frame as a narrative-environmental approach and what educationalists define as a socio-material are to be found in the breaking down of dichotomies: subject – object, knower – knowledge and human – nature (ibid). Environmental anthro-

pology adds reflections on lived experiences of non-human social existence (Ingold 2011). This de-centring of research object in effect centres analysis on knowing as enactment rather than as representation (Fenwick, Edwards and Sawchuk *ibid*: 2). Theoretically, this way of doing critical research exemplifies a break from a *school centric* discourse on education withholding western assumptions, as called for by some cross-cultural educational researchers (Paradise, Rogoff 2009: 102).

What then of the human? Clearly as humans we act in the world, but actions are from a de-centered and non-essentializing perspective better understood as performances in which the self and the world merge (Ingold 2000:169). It is through our bodily postures and gestures that we exist in the world; bodily postures and gestures do not ‘stand for’ out-of-body cultural meaning as a representation of a collective rule. Gestures may, as noted by Ingold “be held to symbolize” something, but they “delineate their own meanings through their embeddedness in social and material contexts of action” (*ibid*: 170-171). According to Ingold, within the phenomenological perspective of Merleau-Ponty “the body is given in movement, and [...] bodily movement carries its own immanent intentionality” (*ibid*: 171). As he cites Merleau-Ponty to state, it is in the interrelatedness of movement and intentionality that action is a movement of perception (Ingold 2000: 170). It is in this moment then that we can grasp ethnographically education as attentive movement with inherent qualities: awareness, control, relational and other.

‘Lines’ obviously establish an analytical focus on form and movement. A focus on education as a social process of *formation* is, in intent, possibly an answer to a recently suggested renewed focus, voiced by Levinson within educational anthropology, on identity formation and forms of citizenship (Levinson 2011). His point is, that “all education is citizen education” (2011: 280). Whether in or out of school all education “constructs identities and orients moral conduct for group life” (*ibid*). Levinson argues that we need this kind of perspective to go beyond “political socialization”, in order to open up to other

cultural concepts of citizenship (ibid). The whole idea is to frame research so as to grasp the ethnographic question of “how people incorporate the state into their own self-understandings and agency” (Levinson ibid, citing Greenhouse 2002).

However, the concept of culture applied here, is culture as a scheme. According to this people differ in worldview according to a learned cultural model. In trying to expand the analytical stretch without seeing the interdependency between his theoretical framing of humans as carriers of culture, Levinson perpetuates an analytical definition of sociality as oppositional – as going on between individuals and society understood as the state. The aim of a holistic perspective is thus limited by a pre-categorization of the social world as a system of positions. In Levinson’s theoretical framing of the production of citizenship the units of comparison remain ‘identities’ and ‘society’, which in the light of questioning theoretical adequacy begs a consideration of what the “theories and concepts are *for*” (Ingold 1996: 59). Ingold discusses whether we should strive for “theoretical consistency and coherence [...] regardless of ethnographic application” or wonders if the “concepts too inextricably tied to ethnographic experience that a common language is impossible” and asks: “... is the concept of society applicable to some societies and not to others?” (ibid). These are essential questions for debating, on the one hand, how educational research can create approaches to accommodate different empirical social realities, and, on the other, about research validity and thus about the role of theory. To Ingold the concern with ‘society’ is merely an effect of another debate precisely concerning the status of ‘theory’ (Ingold 1996: 59). As Ingold says:

there appears to be a formal analogy between the ways in which ‘theory’ has been constituted in social science through its opposition to ‘data’, and the constitution of ‘society’ through its opposition to ‘individuals’. In both cases, relationships are disembedded from the world and inscribed in imaginative constructs that have an existence apart, leaving a

material residue in the form of populations of discrete, pre-constituted entities or events. Thus, to do away with the dichotomy between society and individuals is simultaneously to do away with that between theory and data. If we are to recast our concepts of the social to obviate the dichotomy, we must also recast our idea of the nature of anthropological theory. (Ingold 1996: 59)

The above comment is from a written introduction to an important debate in anthropology in 1989 about the concept of society. It reflects a reconceptualization of *the social* cast not as a relation between entities, but along paths.

To develop this notion, I come back to the question of the purpose of theory. In the same edited version of the 1989 debate, Strathern argues that the concept of society is obsolete and “we all live in the disastrous outcome of a long cultural investment in the idea of ‘society’ as an entity” (Strathern, Ingold 1996: 60). I speculate whether ‘a long cultural investment’ in the idea of education as an activity representative of society (schooling) and conceived within a Durkheimian dichotomy between individual and society is analogically disastrous in the sense that it engenders problems raised by the initial concept (ibid: 62). Following Strathern, if we view society (or school) as a thing, then the theoretical task is one of elucidating ‘the relationship’ between it and other entities.

This is reflected in the debate about education and pedagogy above. It is what Levinson is suggesting by looking into the relationship between the individual and the state. To Strathern this method is *mathematic* and she continues: “the significant corollary of this view is that relationships appear as extrinsic to such units: they appear as secondary ways of connecting things up” (1996:61). As also noted by Ingold above, Strathern similarly draws our attention to the disembedding consequence of a dualistic theoretical stance. Strathern stresses the consequence the “old abstraction” of society has had “for the way

we shape others” (ibid); individuals are disengaged from the world in the theoretical outset. Extending this critique to encompass education, old theoretical abstractions of society - and with it of schools – set up entities in antithesis to entities of a similar conceptual order: society versus nature and the material world, educated versus barbarian and primitive (stages closer to nature). As Strathern notes, “thought of as things they appeared to have an identity prior to their being brought into relation” (ibid: 61).

To develop the concept of lines, we must discuss the casting of the social and, in relation to this, the use of theory. I have already noted how approaches based in theory objectify a particular society or institution. Education *a priori* reduces social diversity to “an individual manifestation of society in the general sense” (ibid). Theory in a positivist-scientific tradition, in effect, engenders a cultural relativism, which affirms the division set up by natural science between humanity and nature, and further “establishes a division, within humanity, between [...] indigenous people who live in cultures, and enlightened Westerners who do not” (Ingold 2000: 15). In the latter case, education and theoretical knowledge merge to liberate us from, as commented by Levinson, “the entanglements in culture and arrive at an objective and unbiased explanation of the empirical world” (2011: 5). As Ingold sums up, the claim for universality as well as the claim for relativism is underwritten by the commitment of the West “to the ascendancy of abstract or universal reason” (ibid). *Reasoning* in this view is a defining feature (ibid.), for people who according to this view are somehow more in the world – defined as social with nature as its antithesis – than others. Abstract reasoning as the feature complicating human relationships, is a well-established critical argument in social theory, a highly influential strand in the field of educational research, against modern domination (Levinson 2011:9). What I suggest instead, is a pragmatic perspective on education as a gestured, performed and narrating movement.

Coming back to the conflation of conceptualizations of the social, and the use of theory, the outline above illustrates how differences are relative to perceived fields of inquiry. This, of course, has an effect on what can be theorized about and what can be compared. To Strathern, the concept of society in sociologically determined approaches, creates the notion of a world ordered into discrete units each representing a collection of persons. The connections between such units could, says Strathern, “only be typological. What were typed were the differences and similarities between discrete units” (1996: *ibid*). In my reading, what is criticized here is the categorization of groups of people as belonging to units such as nations, villages, large-scale or small-scale societies. It presupposes a structured approach to a field inquiry, limiting questions of comparison to categorically identical entities. Levinson suggests this, through an approach aimed at revealing relations between individuals and states on a theoretical basis.

The debate about the purpose of theory in relation to a field of inquiry is also found within educational anthropology. Anderson-Levitt, a prominent voice in educational anthropology, in an article from 2012, positions herself as an anthropologist and from this strand advocates a view on culture as the local social production of global culture. Culture in this *cognitivist view* is the implication of social practices aimed at constructing meaning. Although she makes clear that culture must not be understood as a bounded entity to be classified along the lines of other national/local/small-scale entities, she reproduces a dualistic view on the social-natural and the negotiation of meaning as a kind of dialectic between the global and the local (Anderson-Levitt 2012). To me this provides an example of the embeddedness of socio-theoretical debates within some branches of research, even among anthropologists positioning themselves as representing a position different to educationalists within the aims and struggles of the field of education as a policy-field. Referring back to the citation by Ingold above, the approach of Anderson-Levitt shows, again, the way theory within education is constituted through opposition; this time to ‘nature’ - and the congruent relation by opposition between global and local. The problem is two-fold. First, it allows little analytical impact for actually lived conceptualizations of the

social, and thus, of life – for the question of education; as education - and second, what can be compared is reduced by the theoretical assumptions defining the analytical categories. In the cases of Levinson and Anderson-Levitt these reductive categories are ‘state’ and ‘individual’ and ‘local’ and ‘global’ reproducing knowledge representing a static universalistic / relativistic world.

I have recapitulated briefly an ongoing debate within anthropology about the concept of society. This has allowed me to draw out the analytical implications for educational research engendered by theoretical approaches based in a particular set of generalizations. The outline has shown the interconnectedness of the field of enquiry and use of theory, and thus of what can be compared. To repeat, I think a critical perspective resting in theoretical assumptions about society, or similarly in institutional representations of society, pose a hindrance to the ability to pay attention.

The above-mentioned debate about society in anthropology, at least chronologically, forms a background for Ingold’s conceptualization of Lines (2007) as a *cultural historical* concept, which figures movements according to the relational way they come into being. Thus, ‘concrete’ in the ‘Ingoldian’ sense refers to an ontological experience of social reality, which is distinct from perceptions of ‘concrete’ as theoretically particular representations of a simultaneously theoretically generalized reality. This way of approaching the ‘concreteness’ of the world does not write off abstractions as extensions for our thinking about social reality, but takes a step further back from theoretical perspectives to formulate forms from within the relations from which they emerge. This is in a nutshell the philosophical ‘move’ within anthropological theorizing. Let me provide an example from the introduction in Ingold’s book about Lines to communicate a sense of the analytical potential. Here Ingold states how he arrived at the concept of Lines through the problem of how we had come to distinguish between speech and song (ibid: 1). Ingold finds that a distinction between music as verbal art and music as “song without words” occurs as a historically recent phenomena. When music was considered a verbal art “the musi-

cal essence of the song lay in the sonority of words”, but today music is largely “stripped of its verbal component” (ibid), and as consequence language “has been silenced” reduced to a system of words *independent* of the actual speaker (ibid). Ingold traces this change to a change *in relation* “between these gestures and the marks they leave on surfaces of different kinds” (ibid: 2), and a changing understanding of writing “as an art of verbal composition rather than manual inscription” (ibid).

Intersections: Attentions in education

Angujaartorfik opens the possibility of proceeding in life along paths working in a spatial and temporal modality distinct from city-based modalities. Studying the negotiation between modalities of life that people coming to Angujaartorfik represented, it became clear to me that what might from a theoretical standpoint be seen as a great distance between a modern world and a traditional world was integrated in everyday life as an ongoing negotiation. It was not an easy act; nevertheless children’s lives proceeded along an entwinement of modalities. This put the notion of education or pedagogy as tools for change into perspective. What if education is not as a fact transmission of someone’s ideas? What if educational processes are themselves intersecting and related to forms of sociality. I was sustained in this reflection by hunters, who in comparison associated school based euro-centric education with enforcement as a way of learning and contrary to a differently, experience based way of learning relative to hunter’s way of life.

Some literature on student’s problems in schooling related to indigeneity among Inuit describes the problems as tensions related to the movement from nomadic life in the land to city-based living (Anahatak 1994, Douglas 1994). Studies on education are often studies on Inuit socialization (Guemple 1979, Briggs 1970, Briggs 1998, Møller 2013). Recent research problematizes the relation between Inuit systems of knowledge and ‘western’ or ‘southern’ systems of knowledge. Based in research on Greenlandic and Nunavut nurses experiences of formal education, Møller writes that student’s experience of

success depends on early acquisition of ‘double-culturedness’ (Møller 2013). Epistemologically oriented studies like Barnhardt and Kawagley’s study of “Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing” (Barnhardt 2005) tries to bring indigenous epistemology to the center of educational research through a documentation of Inuit knowledge as a worldview. To a similar epistemological point, Berger (2009) problematizes the continuous Eurocentrism in Nunavut schooling, framing the object of education. There are recent social studies where education is problematized in relations to questions of identity but not addressed as a social phenomenon in itself (Kahlig, Banerjee 2007, Nuttall 1998, Nielsen 2011, Thuesen 2007).

If we can speak of education as a narrating performance in a fluid world, then we can speak of school failure as a relational disjunction. It allows us a vocabulary for investigating historical changes in the essence of education and the relational impact of these changes. As Ingold (above) traces the change in essence in music to be a change in relation, so the relations performed in distinct modalities of education may at the level of individual experience form disjuncture. The approach I suggest here, underscores the importance of interrelating concept of culture and methodological approach. An operational (cognitivist) definition of culture delimits a study of process as culturally produced in the flows of life.

Within anthropology social attention has been studied as imaginaries (Anderson 2006) as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, Passeron 1990) and as perception (Ingold 2000: 22) to illuminate the span of the concept. I draw on educationalist Masschelein’s work on attention as a manner of perspective (2010), as well as Ingold’s work on perception (2000) and, in particular, Ingold’s concept of lines (2007) to clarify how attention can serve both as analytical tool and empirical object.

Masschelein points to attention as a state of being experienced in relational exchanges constitutive to perceptions of social reality (Masschelein 2010: 276). Attention then is an orientation related to appre-

hension of the world in a process of environmental entanglement. As a state of being, attention is constituted by engagement and incorporation of relations. The former is a social condition regarding participation, the latter is an existential condition, the dependence on environment as “the relational context of the perceivers involvement in the world” (Ingold 2000:22).

This analytical approach is not an investigation beneath or behind what is visible, but a work toward presenting the real of experienced social reality. Obviously the problem of object of research is tied into processes of knowledge production, which, to an anthropologist, means fieldwork. Masschelein calls for a ‘(dis-) stanced’ perspective (ibid: 276). In the same line of thinking, I have already argued for de-centered perspective to avoid an essentializing humanist approach or a school-centric approach. According to Masschelein, an approach aiming for immersion in an environment is not aimed at “critical consciousness” but at “paying attention” in the sense of being present through the “lack of intention” (ibid: 277, 282). Importantly, ‘distance’ is here not an empirical matter but a “displacement of gaze” from intent (thought) to sensory exposure (Masschelein ibid: 280). This approach turns research into a learning process where the task is one of situating oneself in new activity contexts as a function of research interest. I will elaborate on methodology in Chapter five.

In working out the relevant way of inquiring into experiences with education in Greenland, I was once confronted with the well-intentioned comment that there is not really anything new to be found out (scientifically); what we can do, as qualitative researchers, is to make the presentation of ethnographic details more sophisticated. As I said, this was well-intentioned; nevertheless it is rooted in the perception that the world is static. And it is in itself a comment on why ethnography is not anthropology, but a methodology. Anthropology is a disciplinary way of thinking and what it really offers, in my view, is plasticity. In this way, as a way of paying attention, it is sensitive to continuous change. The task is not to invent new theory *of* the world, but to shape research that creates relevant dialogue around the way

the world is productively experienced. 'Lines', as an analytical concept, does not strive to capture the world or a group of people in a representational sense, but still provides a way to speak about culture in a coherent sense. We can theorize about the culture of the Line, but to the purpose of identifying social processes, not groups of people.

Following Dewey, Ingold and Masschelein, I am arguing for a critical philosophical-pragmatical and comparative anthropological approach to education as *the study of attentive path-making*. Paths are everywhere in children's everyday life and an analytical inclusion of trajectories constitutive to children's life world voices a comment to 'political life' - which I have above deconstructed as a view on human social life as the realization of a collective set of rules.

As a Dane studying Greenlandic ways of life I am following a trajectory set by missionaries, explorers, trades people and not least school teachers and ethnographers. Living in Greenland, I was surprised to experience the number of Danes passing through on limited work contracts, even today. The cultural encounter and objectification of Greenlanders by Danes visiting (as opposed to living) seem to be an integral part of everyday life, however stressful it might be. Studying practices of care, nurture and upbringing in a community notoriously criticized for their childcare by members of my home community has been difficult at times. The colonial relationship between Denmark and Greenland became part of my ethical considerations regarding this project. Living in Greenland, I realized that many Danes coming to Greenland knew very little about Greenland, and even less about Denmark's history as colonial power. Obviously Greenlanders were well aware of this history which is a living legacy in everyday life in Greenland. Anthropology is historically closely interrelated with the history of colonialism, but my discipline was always welcomed more than my nationality. In the next section I sketch out the Danish history of colonization and the anthropological representation of the Inuit.

Ethical background knowledge: Immigrations and representations

The representation of Greenlanders to the outside world is part of a history of colonial dominance and categorization of the other according to ideas and sensitivities emerging from a European context. In this section I briefly sketch out how the concept of education settled empirically in Greenland in a process tangling it up in first monarchical, then state-based and eventually global relations over three centuries. In Chapter two I specify how these processes of identification forms part of the global colonial legacy in system education today.

People living on the peripheries of Europe has historically been perceived and described from a Euro-Centric perspective. In relation to Greenlanders the physical surroundings has impacted the European perception of the people living there. The Northern regions has throughout European history held imaginary power and has been known as the world's ultimate frontier; 'Ultima Thule'. Reaching Thule was to Europeans like tracing a dream of a reality beyond known horizons (Hastrup 2010a: 29). The first known European to have possibly reached the Greenlandic Region was Pytheas from Marseille about 325 BC, all though some 'vagueness' in his diary from the trip opens the possibility that Scots had been there before, and it is also not sure whether he quite made it to Greenland or only to Iceland (Stefansson 1943:31). Pythea's search for 'Thule' was a search initiated by the ancient Greek myth about 'Thule' as the farthest land beyond Britain, or as Stefansson phrases it: 'the land beyond all others' (ibid:36). Høiris argues that the cold North to the Greek worldview represented greatness and within a Christian context the cold seas of ice and fog represented Hell. Obviously the people living there were depicted as brave and barbarian in lifestyle. They were according to a mid-European view granted guts but not much thinking ability, which 'explained' their simple way of living (Høiris 2011: 100-101, 107).

After Pytheas four categories of immigrants followed who would each represent the Inuit as part of their own endeavor to become acknowledged in their home environments for crossing a geographical, social, and cultural and knowledge frontier: Vikings, Kings, Priest and Scientist.

Vikings

The Norse Viking Erik the Red was in 981 AD exiled from Iceland and sailed east. Until this point, all other sailors and explorers had halted their northward progress when they met the sea-ice and the fog. Stefansson suggests that Europeans knew nothing about how to handle the ice, and that Erik's attempt to reach Greenland was "the first determined attack upon sea-ice in the recorded history of European civilization" (Stefansson 1943: 54). Erik became fond of the land. He wanted more people to come, and thought they would do so if he gave the land a pretty name: Green Land (ibid). His plan succeeded, and in 982 AD he returned accompanied by fourteen ships, carrying around 350 people (Stefansson ibid).

The Norse lived in the South primarily as farmers. When they arrived, Inuit bands of hunter-gatherers who had immigrated from Alaska were already present in the North. Archaeologists have documented several immigrations from the North and inhabitation of these areas 4000 years back (Gulløv 1986:2). Hastrup documents encounters between the Vikings and the bands of hunters based in readings of the saga of Erik the Red, and according to her readings, the Norse represents the hunters as "quarrelsome" and outside of civilisation (Hastrup 2010a:33)

The settlement and occupation of Norse Vikings in the south of Greenland marked the inclusion in the Danish Realm. The story of how Greenland became known as Greenland reflects the power of naming ascribed to immigrants capable of capturing territory – and people – through written documentation of

their ‘discoveries’. Obviously Greenland was no news to the hunters already present to whom it was known as home.

In 1261 this medieval settler community inscribed themselves in an agreement concluded between the Norwegian Kingdom and the Norse settlers on Iceland – accepting a subordinate status under the Norwegians. The settlement community would pay taxes to the Norwegian King who in return secured supplies (Sørensen 2007:11). Greenland was now linked to Denmark and Norway through a network of trade.

Kings

In 1380 Norway and Denmark formed one Kingdom, and in 1397 Denmark, Norway and Sweden formed a Union under the Danish Queen Margrethe I, also including North Atlantic areas. The Norse population in Greenland died out around 1500, possibly as a result of dramatic cooling of the climate (Mainland, Halstead 2005: 103). After the withdrawal of Sweden from the Union in 1521, Greenland continued as part of a Dano-Norwegian realm. In 1605 and 1606 the Danish King Christian IV sent out an expedition to re-discover Greenland and look for survivors. At this time in history, ordinary Europeans did not travel much, but learned about the world through the stories that tradesmen and explorers brought home. Following a widespread practice among European imperial powers, the Danish commander kidnapped first three and the following year five Inuit hunters as “sign and an icon of the extension of sovereignty and power” to be presented to the public and the king (Harbsmeier 2002: 37).

Priests

Missionaries arrived in Greenland in 1721 as part of a monarchical endeavor. As the Norse were not there when the mission headed by Hans Egede arrived, the mission turned its enterprise toward the Inuit (Sørensen 2007: 11). As stated by Sørensen:

that the new population of Eskimos was non-white and non-Christian made no difference to the Danish king. The territory was regarded as being under indisputable Danish Sovereignty [...] despite the fact that the Inuit living in Greenland were Inuit and not surviving Norse, they were regarded as the King's subjects because they lived in his land, and the King for his part felt entitled to rule over them. (Sørensen 2007: 11)

Some scholars think that to Mission it was likely that there were still Europeans in Greenland, but that they might not be Christian or, alternatively, still be Roman Catholic (Stefansson 1943:121, Sørensen *ibid*).

The mission re-named the Inuit hunters as Greenlanders to make them fit the purpose of the mission itself. To do missionary work there needs to people to convert. This act of naming came to affect the lives of the Inuit who were inscribed in the European order as Greenlanders. It is a vivid example of how actions, like the consent given in 1261 by the Norse Vikings living in Greenland to the Norwegian King, impose changes on the social world of those living far from decision makers in space and time. When Norway in 1814 became independent as part of a treaty releasing the Kingdom from the Napoleonic wars, Greenland, along with the Faroe Islands and Iceland, remained part of the Danish monarchy (Gulløv 1986: 1).

Scientists

Ethnographic expeditions arrived in Greenland and the rest of the Arctic around the turn of the twentieth century. Of explicit concern to this anthropology were culture-nature relations. The origin of culture of 'nature' or primitive people fascinated scientist at that time in relation to their experience of expanding and culturally devastating modernity (Hastrup 2010a: 121-122). The beginning of the twentieth century was also a time, where the evolutionary concept of culture tied to race was beginning to meet

critiqued (Hastrup 2010: 109). A German geologist, Boas (1858 – 1942), came to be the founder of Inuit anthropology. He did fieldwork on Baffin Island in 1883 and 1884 (Steckley 2008: 32). The anthropological inquiries into the life of Inuit have according to Dahl traditionally had environmental factors as a key concern, referring to Boas (1964) and Mauss (1979) (Dahl 2000: 209). Originally Boas' objective was geological, but he collected ethnographical data as well, and an ethnographic interest finally took over from the geological (Hastrup 2010a: 109). Boas introduced to American anthropology a concept of culture as a holistic, semantic system of thought, independent of race. This approach was a shift in scientific paradigm from universal evolutionary theory to relativism (Hastrup *ibida*: 109, Steckley *ibid*). Boas carried with him to the US a concept of culture developed by the German scientist Herder. According to Hastrup, Herder bridged romanticism and enlightenment in creation of a notion of culture as an entanglement of culture, language and spirit intimately tied to geography (2010a: 104-105). This essentially meant that people and cultures differed according to their specific history of exchange with nature. However, in contrast to the evolutionary concept which distinguished humanity by race, the Boasian (from Herder) concept ascribed humanity to all (*ibid*:105).

The Boasian anthropology influenced the two great Danish explorers, Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) and Kaj Birket-Smith (1893-1977) who initiated Danish scientific exploration in Greenland and among Eskimos. Knud Rasmussen and Kaj Birket-Smith were together on the 5th Thule expedition (1921-1924). This expedition went from Thule in the north of Greenland across North America to the Pacific Ocean. The aim was to ethnographically explore Eskimo populations (Hastrup 2010a: 15). On the 5th Thule expedition Rasmussen, ethnographer Birket-Smith and archaeologist Therkel Mathiessen gathered ethnographical material in the form of physical elements and collection of stories and myths (Hastrup *ibid*: 116). Rasmussen did not have actual scientific training, but he grew up in north Greenland with a Greenlandic mother and a Danish father, and spoke both languages. Hastrup finds that the work of Rasmussen from his first expeditions gives away a perception of Eskimos as wild in the sense

of opposite human, but this changes with his work from the 5th Thule expedition (1921-1924), so that the difference between “natural” people (Eskimos) and “cultured” people (Europeans) was cultural without being reckoned with as oppositional (2010a:111).

People in Greenland were represented by Kaj Birket-Smith as having less self-control, hysteric tendencies related to the long dark winter (women), and an instinct to live in bunches followed by individual weakness. Within the framework of differences between primitive and civilized people as a difference not in kind (both are human) but in type or stage, (Hastrup 2010a: 292-294). Observable differences were linked with closeness with nature. In chapter one, I will return to the encounter between European intellectual developments at the time of mission and the perception of Inuit hunters as in need of accumulating knowledge through education. Here, as part of an ethical concern, I have wanted to put forward the representations of Greenlanders produced within scientific pursuits.

Anthropology in Denmark is born out of the Arctic Anthropology initiated by the scientists mentioned above. In 1945 Kaj Birket-Smith founded anthropology as a specific research field in Denmark (Hastrup 2010a: 24). The matter of this work was observation and gathering of ethnographical collections on expeditions to Greenland to be preserved and exhibited in museums. In 1936 he published a book called “The Eskimoes”. It was re-published three times, latest in 1971, though never translated into Greenlandic. This incident calls for reflection on the colonial relationship contextualizing research. Contrary to this, this thesis is co-financed by a Greenlandic institution, and an article based on the PhD research has been published in a book released by a Greenlandic publisher. However, the article has been published in Danish and in that manner reflects the dominance of the Danish language rooted in the colonial relationship between Greenland and Denmark with Denmark as the superior part.

The stereotypic representation of the Inuit / Eskimo as *other* is prevalent in the Danish-Greenlandic relationship, where researchers and administrators alike have sought on the one hand to civilize and on the other to preserve Greenlanders (Bjørst 2008). As Hastrup remarks, despite all good intentions, Eskimos are represented as the counter image of Europeans; where the Eskimos are endangered and inferior, the Europeans are successful and superior (2010: 294). The tendency of othering is not limited to Danish research practices; Inuit researcher Wenzel finds that Inuit in general have been represented as a people *possessing* “unsurpassed ingenuity and survivability” and as “environmentally adept, yet live only for the moment” (Wenzel 1991: 11, 13). As noted by Wenzel:

the basic attribute of Inuit survival, their remarkable and innovative culture, has been obscured and replaced by a Rousseau image of natural man. (Wenzel 1991: 11)

The problem, as Wenzel points out, is that this image “says nothing about Inuit culture, either past or present” (ibid). What this image does is solely to make the North and the people living there understandable to us from our point of view. These societies are by western scholars often known for what they are not, as when we term them “State-less” (Worsley 1994). In fact, their endurance alone contrasts the view that a state apparatus secures stability over time. Typical to hunter-gatherers societies as the Inuit, “people and their knowledge, rather than things and capital, [...] are the crucial social resource: their labour-power, their skills” (ibid). The cultural perception of stability is interesting and this theme will also occur as part of this thesis, but as a form of sociality and not as a descriptive feature of a people.

The extent of the colonial period is debated still today, depending on juridical definitions or personal experience. Until 1933 Greenland did not formally exist as a geo-socio-political unit. Greenlandic scholar, Robert Petersen, writes that when modern colonization of Greenland began in the 1720s, the

Danes used the term colony (in Danish: koloni) “as synonymous with mission and trade station, thus distinguishing the strategic interest from the financial exploitation purpose invested in other Danish colonies” (1995:2). Accordingly Greenland to the Danes following Petersen was perceived of as an inherited dependency (Petersen 1995: 2-3). A colony according to the Danish use of the word in regard to Greenland was a center in a colonial district (ibid). Opposed to this, to the Greenlanders, the word for colony as a trade center is ‘*niuertogarfik*’ which according to Petersen is also how other colonized areas in the world is named in Greenlandic (ibid). Following this, to the Greenlanders there was no felt experience of being less a colony than other countries. Contradictory to this view, Sørensen argues that to Greenlanders the legitimate rule to power over Greenland was historically an expression of a Danish point of view, whereas to the Greenlanders, Norwegians and Danes have always been foreigners, whose presence has been tolerated and to some extent used for own benefit (Sørensen 2007: 11).

Working in this region as an anthropologist and in the field of education I have found it useful to pay attention to the intellectual history of scientists representing the Inuit. This section has summarized the history of Arctic Anthropology as a field paying particular attention to culture-nature relations, and of Danish Anthropology as a development of this field interest. In an ethical perspective the scientific description of people as the opposite of the scientific home culture has been problematized. I have also problematized the naturalization of hierarchical relations between empirical field and researchers – as in colonial relations defining level of participation in research by the people researched. We have been introduced to the continued problematic in Arctic research of finding ways to analyze cultural practices of Inuit without essentialising the people. At the end of the section attention was drawn to the need of contextualizing research, which is particularly interesting in relation to research in Greenland where the periodical extend of colonization is continuously debated.

Other ethical considerations

For this fieldwork I have been informed by different traditions regarding how to grapple with anonymity or not. From within educational studies I have experienced a tradition for placing high value on disguising actual persons involved, where they live etc. In the beginning, I worked from this tradition. Then something changed.

Greenland might be a vast country with a scarce population, yet people are very well informed about what goes on across distances. To my experience, Greenlanders share a strong sense of locality. They know which animals can be harvested in particular places and seasons, or which berries are ripe or close at that place at that time of the year. This makes it difficult to anonymize places as places are in general not known by their names alone, but as much according to actual livelihood practices. This means that people will immediately know from my description of the action at that place where I have been, and as some places I have done fieldwork at only housed 50 or 150 people it would be easy to work out who the informants were. As I realized the impossibility of providing anonymity, I changed strategy and instead asked if people minded that I used their real names. I was never rejected; indeed, informants were puzzled by the need to anonymize. In most cases I then asked them to sign a handwritten permission at the back of my notebook.

I am sure the efficiency in this strategy in relation to security is ethical in its fullest sense. It is in talking about this with people, who have contributed to my process that they become aware of the seriousness – and in this context, they chose what to say or do. During the entire research period I have had helpful dialogues with a small handful of Greenlanders who have helped me interpret my findings, and in some instances they have read and commented on my use of ethnography – a pivotal example of this is the elaboration of the concept of ‘Allarsimarneq’. On my second visit to Angujaartorfik I brought prints of conference presentations to show the actual communication of their contributions to the research.

They were asked to comment. I have also used Facebook as a means of staying in touch with people who I had learned from during my field work.

Subject matter: Defect children or Defect education

As described in the section about the construction of the analytical field, the cultural differences I wished to explore were the differences in social attention performed in practices of line creation. The analytical construction of a field through objectification of education as movements perceivable as lines relates to the overall framing of the subject matter of this doctoral research. As I have stated, the aim has been to study education from a de-centered perspective i.e. as participation in life movements and particular entanglement or disjuncture of movements relative to specific surfaces. In common conception, education is identified with schooling: age-segregated classes, buildings with dividend architecture and age-defined curriculum as well as set standards for individual knowledge acquisition. Empirical experiences of the educational system, teaching styles and curricula in postcolonial Greenland brought to mind the schooling purpose. Why do children world-wide need to be schooled in generalized and comparable ways? Who thinks they have to? What is the rationale and how is this thinking turned into specific pedagogical methodologies and organization and administration processes, like pre-schools and schools? Questions about the relation between education and society are old questions. However, recently these questions have been turned into questions about effectiveness in schooling. Perhaps an overwhelming postmodern theoretical concern has coincided with a neoliberal wish for learning efficiency, and dismantled questions on education as a formative relation in life.

Focusing on education itself as subject matter, and its constituent, cultural-historical relations, turns the research awareness away from children as objects, and toward the practices through which novices become part of the world as perceived and performed by educators. As we were introduced to in the beginning of this chapter, official approaches to school failure in Greenland have led to a focus on the

children. I hope to be able to open up a distinct point of departure for talking about cross-cultural problems in schooling in Greenland as elsewhere. I also wish to get beyond the political as well as scientific objectification of children belonging to minority cultures as unfortunate in the outset, and instead turn the spotlight toward the workings of education in general and in relation to the concrete *life* produced as part of educational enactments.

Structure of the Dissertation

My fieldwork took me on a journey, following the proverbial red thread, or rather several, as the thread conjoined with other threads and finally became a way of investigation. It took a while – a couple of years – before I realized that the threads I was following were about form, and the relation between experienced form, life trajectory and social attention. This explorative way of doing research impacts the following writing of the dissertation. The structure is poetic in the sense that all chapters mingle subject matter and analytical approach (as a merging of theory and method) in their approach to a theme. Through discrete topics related to the cultural encounter in schooling in Greenland, I aim to disentangle modern education as well as hunter's education to draw a comparison through the distinct lines of life and growth emerging from their distinct socio-historical-environmental constitution. In a sense, this dissertation can be said to proceed through an analytical exploration of new horizons for research in education.

The thesis contains eight chapters. The present chapter, Chapter One, establishes an anthropological approach to education as phenomenological and narrative movement. It traces out the colonial and Eurocentric legacy in modern education from historical sources regarding missionary work and schooling in Greenland and provides a baseline for phenomenological comparison of educational *processes*. Chapter Two demonstrates *frontier-making as a key process* in education emerging in specific socio-historical entanglements of ideas of humanity and society. In Greenland, the aim is with mission to change Inuit

base perception of the world. Where Chapter Two focused on Mission as a historical root in formal education, Chapter Three deconstructs a human centered focus in education as based in ideas of Enlightenment. At the level of human-environment relations, human centered thinking employs a dichotomous world perception and construes growth as an evolutionary process dependent on education in the sense of education of the mind. This has consequences for appreciation of cultural differences within formal education. Chapter Four analyzes the social attention of education as embedded in social and cultural processes of modernisation and industrialisation. Analytically I draw lines between present day pre-school routine objectification of children *as* objects and modern dynamics of growth instilled in Greenland as part of an intense process of de-colonization following II World War. A case demonstrating the dislocation of indigenous ways of relating from pre-school organisation of children raises the question whether tensions in schooling reflect disorder at the level of how growth is performed and interact with perceptions of learners and knowledge. I analyse the construction of education in a modern context as a movement along straight lines, connecting objects rather than opening up processes of relating.

Chapter Four is followed by a chapter on analytical approach. This is rather late in the dissertation which reflects the simultaneous critique of the naturalisation of education as schooling within most educational research, and theory centrism in educational research as well. Chapter Five focuses on the need to *re-frame educational research* to become able to learn from the world as it is *lived*. I am particularly interested in the benefits of replacing ‘methodology’ and the position as researcher with an approach to research as learning, and apprenticeship as a modality of being present as researcher. From here, we move to the hunting site. Chapter Six brings together three bodies of knowledge; hunters’, archaeological and anthropological in an aim to pay sensitive attention to the stories present in hunters perception of this land. To a hunter the land is alive and social; and it participates in educational processes. When

nature and culture share the same ontological status, *the status and object of education is changed*. Chapter Seven zooms in on the role of teachers in a world with no use of knowledge as representative.

Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter. It picks up on the discussion of education as social attention. It ends the dissertation with a discussion of critical research beginning with learning what the world look like from a local perspective, as well as this final chapter traces out possible perspectives for improvement of education for Greenlandic students.

2 Transcendence: Education as Frontier Practice

In May 2010 I stayed a month with my two children in a small hamlet, Saqqaq, in northern Greenland. Saqqaq is home to a little less than 200 people and, as is typical for northern settlements, it is not connected to other settlements or towns by roads. To get there from distant towns the most common means of transport is by boat in summer, and in winter there is a helicopter service to Ilulissat once a week. For trips within the nearby area, other winter transport possibilities are dog-sleds or snowmobiles. We stayed in a two-room hut with an oven, an earth closet, and no running water though we had tubs to thaw ice chunks that we would chop off each day from little icebergs that drifted close to the shore. The water- and toilet conditions were typical of most houses in the hamlet and functional when living on cliff ground in the Arctic north. My children went to the local school with around 30 pupils in total. I had arranged to work a month in the local pre-school with the purpose of improving my Greenlandic. As in the town of Ilulissat where we had lived for a year, however, I was too commonly approached in Danish.

It was a 10-15 minutes' walk from our hut to the pre-school where I worked. A bumpy gravel road went from one end of the town to the other. Our hut was at one end and the preschool was at the other end of the road. Walking to work, I passed the small harbor, where in spring, at the time of thaw, whale spines of impressive lengths, together with sealskins, emerged on the beach from under the snow; these were the remnants of autumn hunting the year before, showing a life lived in accordance with natural surroundings and a rhythm set by seasons. As a European it struck me how much you can see of what other people are doing; in the pre-schools as in community life in general, a lot of time was spent watching other people coming and going. Entering the pre-school, I entered a world of a differ-

ent order. Here were bathrooms with showers and washing machines (though no water pipes but tanks outside), spacious rooms, and a well-equipped play-ground with swings and seesaws. One girl in the pre-school had a father who worked for the municipality. She would watch him drive up and down the gravel road to empty the earth closets and fill the water tanks at the pre-school, the nurse's house and the house of the municipality where you could also have a bath and wash your clothes for a small amount of money. In northern Greenland there are no trees and houses are few. As urbanisation has led to de-population of hamlets, only nine children aged two to six went to this pre-school. My five colleagues in the pre-school had their work structured by the clock (they would check-in and check-out on a mechanical device when coming and leaving) and in the same vein meals, activities with children and the sleeping hours of small children were organised according to abstract, internationally distributed concepts of children's needs. Only one, the principal of the institution, was formally education as a pre-school teacher. (She was actually a former student of mine, which goes to show how quickly students graduate and advance in their careers.) Two others were educated as social service workers which is one of the few educational paths accessible in Greenland in Greenlandic. The last two had no formal education. Two in the group spoke good Danish, one being the principal. The others spoke little, only a few sentences. The children in the pre-school spoke Greenlandic with each other and with their caregivers.

As my daughter commented, the playground equipment at the pre-school was the same as the equipment next to our house in Denmark, only here they stood on rocky ground. Dog teams were chained up on one side of the little wooden fence bordering the playground. To the back of the pre-school was the inland region where hunters would go for reindeer and birds and blackberries would be gathered in autumn. From the front of the pre-school we would look down at the harbor, to the sea and in the distance the Disco Island. Several children would watch their fathers take off in boats each morning. The 'bay' is a strip of water connecting the Arctic and the Atlantic Oceans and the sea we looked at was the

Baffin Bay between Greenland and Canada. When the water is open, the local fishermen harvest red-fish, halibut, and trout and occasionally whales as well as they shoot seals

Inside, the pre-school was furnished with Danish furniture. All the toys and tools for activities were Danish, and all manuals were written in Danish. A few children's books, however, were in Greenlandic. In the mornings we would sometimes work with beads. We would put beads on little plastic sheets following manuals displaying stars, flowers and abstract patterns. Like other activity tools these too were Danish. Both my colleague and the children decorated the sheets according to the set patterns from the manual, something I realised when found myself the only one who did an iceberg from memory. One morning a colleague, sitting together with me at the table where three or four children were working, was inspired to tell me about the bead work she was doing at home. She was preparing new sets of ceremonial clothes for her three children for her son's upcoming confirmation. Greenlanders are famous for their ceremonial clothing and the patterns of beads in it, originally brought to the north by Dutch whalers. This incident made me wonder about the impetus to structure activities around either abstract models or those representing European fauna rather than around images immediately related to either everyday life or individual experience and creativity.

Isolated hamlets Greenland of this size do not have a medical clinic, a dentist office or a police station. Instead, these services are provided by representatives from the relevant public agencies, who visit regularly. Often, the central positions in these agencies are occupied by Danes, as few Greenlanders have sufficient education to become doctors, a police officers or dentists. Several times a year a boat would arrive in Saqqaq from the town of Ilulissat carrying a dentist, a police officer and a health visitor. The boat came while I was there. On that day all children went to have a dental check at the municipal house, and the health visitor came to the pre-school, unannounced. She was welcomed by my colleagues who served her coffee and Danish butter cookies and listened to her experiences of Greenland

to which she had just arrived from a mid-sized town in Denmark. She did not actually meet the children as she visited during their sleeping hour. Among other things, she was interested the degree of awareness among the employees about healthy meals and tooth brushing. However, as far as I could tell we had no children with weight problems. She suggested that the employees could help the children even more if they would also advise the children's parents on these issues.

The day before the health visitor came to visit we had all been on a field trip to the inland behind the hamlet. For this trip we had brought seal meat with us. The children collected branches and the meat was cooked over a bonfire we set up. According to custom, blocks of seal fat were first melted, and then the meat was cooked in the fat together with onions. Cooked seal is a fatty and delicious food, which makes nutritional sense in a physically demanding environment. Most other days at the pre-school, we would eat whatever it was possible to buy in the store, which was dependent on deliveries from Denmark at this time of the year. Maybe once a week we had locally caught fish, but lunches for the children consisted mainly of imported, low-quality pork meat and cooked, frozen vegetables. In the afternoon the children had a small meal too. One day we were having strawberry porridge imported from Denmark. Reading the label on the back of the container, and reflecting upon the health visitor's instruction to serve healthy food, I remarked about the amount of sugar in this ready-made dessert. I then realised that my colleague could not read the ingredients listed, as they were only in Danish.

During my stay in Saqqaq, I always carried a little notebook around. In the pre-school I used it as a tool to learn Greenlandic. I drew what I saw: play tools, furniture, colours, decoration, and food. Then the children taught me how to say the things in Greenlandic. This use of the notebook enabled quick notes about events during the day, which I would then elaborate on when I got back home (to the hut). One of these regards cultural encounter as part of the way meals unfolded:

In the pre-school we, the adults, always have lunch with the children. For this we sit around a table, all with washed hands, plates, knives and forks. All children wait with hands under the table until the teachers give a signal that we can begin. Today we ate hot, cooked salmon, with cooked potatoes and white sauce. All children used cutlery for this meal.

When everybody had had all they wanted, there were two big steaks of salmon left. After the meal they were put aside on plates in the kitchen.

A couple of hours later one of my colleagues told me that we could have the fish for our break. I walked with her to the kitchen and we each picked up a plate with a piece of salmon on it and then went to the personnel room. Here we sat on each side of the table, facing each other. We used no cutlery for this meal but silently enjoyed the fish by picking little bits of fish off the bone with our fingers and putting it in our mouths. Now and then we shared and confirmed the joy of eating the good fish by looking at each other, smiling and saying 'mammaq', meaning: delicious. When she finished, my colleague stood up and licked her fingers, then looked at me and laughed and pointed at herself and said 'Kalak' (Greenlandic educator, field notes may 2009)

My colleague's irony on her own behalf made me think of the dominant Danish social customs in the pre-school as incursions on Saqqaq life as experienced by the people living there. Other and older practices of eating have persisted but were weakened and marginalised by the dominance of Danish-European resources: furniture, books, food, work plans, washing machines, incorporated bodily practices structuring the performance of meals, and not least pedagogical tools structuring daily activities as with the bead plates. My experience of distance between acts drawing attention to local culture (like eating fish in a way that could be considered Greenlandic) and acts naturalized within the institutional

framework, forced a question about enacted context and simultaneous perception of what counted as a pedagogical activity contributing to the children's ideal education.

Even though Greenland is an independent part of the Danish Realm, and Greenlanders make up the majority population, the Danish influence in the public sector, particularly in education, creates a situation where Greenlanders embody cultural status as minority. The authoritative voice as illustrated here, expressed in the architecture, by Danish representatives and through school models, is Danish. In Denmark, Gulløv and Højlund have researched how children perceive of ideals of children, and how childhood is manifest in the material surroundings of institutions; it is literally, as they say, "built into the walls and practices and constitutional to child-child interaction as well as to child-adult interaction (Gulløv, Højlund et al. 2003: 343). What they are interested in is how children perceive and interpret these conditions and how they use their cultural knowledge about their surroundings strategically (ibid). We might extend this interest beyond the children to look at how educators from a minority culture incorporate and use the ideals engraved in the walls and material surroundings in schooling environments, and the implications of this to how education is performed.

As we have seen, everyday bead working skills, though related to local history, were not included as pedagogical activity, although associated with. And eating styles that were considered Greenlandic were in practice enacted in areas apart from the part of the institutions dedicated to children's learning. The event where I shared salmon with a colleague in a room apart from the children illuminated a sense of Greenlandic cultural practice as something that had to be met with humor to be tolerated in an educational space. It is noticeable how she described herself as Greenlander – and inadequate in my company – by her way of eating. In making herself the object of my evaluation, my colleague drew cross-cultural and/or colonial relations into the concrete situation as constitutive of her perspective on her choice of eating style and (lack of) utensils (knife and fork). My presence, as I experienced it, provoked a particu-

lar awareness of ethnicity. Following Gulløv and Højlund above, we can say that the strategic use of material surroundings to perform ‘pre-school’ implied the marginalization and even minoring of the cultural practices my colleagues associated with local life.

In this introduction I have gathered experiences from the time I was working as an assistant in a hamlet pre-school in North West Greenland. I was struck by the discontinuity between local life entwined with physical surroundings and activities in the pre-school. The colonial relation between Denmark and Greenland was visible as an imposition of architecture, social customs, and food, language and lifestyle perceptions, clearly exemplified by the advice of the health advisor. Below, I take a closer look at the culture that is built into the walls in the Greenlandic pre-schools, using the example above as a point of departure. I will describe the historical events and relations that have been constitutive of a situation where education is practiced as an act of disconnection from the everyday life of the children and educators using the cultural-historical framework available in the institutions. I go all the way back to when the first missionaries arrived in Greenland and brought with them particular perceptions of the world and humanity relative to developments in Europe at the time. I suggest that as part of this colonial enterprise, education was enacted as a conquest of nature by civilization. This is very concretely spelled out in how missionaries described Greenlanders need for education. Yet, before this, I include a section on the importance of looking into the design of education as the construction of a relation between life as it is imagined and the beings that are assumed to participate in it. I do this to remind us that this thesis is not aimed specifically at solving the problem of drop out rates in the school system in Greenland, but at understanding how the educational systems and life trajectories of all living beings interrelate. In this context, Greenland provides an illuminating case of cultural encounter between two life modalities: ‘hunters’ and ‘bureaucrats’.

I base the following analysis on historical sources represented in other researcher's recent work on the colonization of Greenland. I use a discussion among inhabitants in Nuuk cited in a missionary protocol around 1800 as substitute for being there myself, as I find this discussion accomplishes two important things. First, it creates an image of the complex power relations that have transformed Greenlandic society. Second, it documents historical continuity in human-nature relations and their entwinement with perceptions of knowledge.

Education as socially re-orienting event

In the colonial context, Greenland provides a case for the use of education as a means of transforming people and self-world relationships. The different ways of eating salmon were also different ways of paying attention to food, but this phenomenological distinction, indicating a difference in perceptions of the world, was silenced in a naturalized understanding of distinctions as relative to ethnic differences. As part of the structuring of everyday activities at the pre-school, ways of doing things were ascribed representative meanings within a hierarchical scheme in which social customs referred to as Danish were positioned above Greenlandic customs.

The organization of differences according to an ethnic scheme is a socially produced event. As such, it is an effect of historical and social relations coming together in the everyday flow of activities, in this case in a Greenlandic pre-school. Inspired by Gosden and Knowles' work on the formative impact of *paths of gift exchange* in relation to material culture and colonial change in New Guinea (Gosden, Knowles 2001: 21), we can trace the way self-world relations were re-organized by practicing the ideals of education. Gosden and Knowles stress how relatively humble matters, like the exchange of pearls for trade to indigenous people, involved a re-orientation of relations between self and world (ibid). They also stress that this process did not transform indigenous people into white people, but shaped new differences (ibid: 6). Greenlandic educators who displace Greenlandic customs might be doing so in an exchange

for a perception of themselves as professional educators. However, included in this exchange is an inscription into a world where acting as role models in a pre-school cannot be combined with acting Greenlandic. Being educated implies marginalization of practices associated with a cultural identity as Greenlandic. What this case shows us, is how exchanging education as an *object* for cultural identity implies a self-world relation organized around subject-object relations.

This section has showed the potential to learn about education as a social phenomenon by looking into how it is practiced relative to the distinct contexts. A context relative to Danish history and language embodied in social practice seems to be part of the institutionalized educational process. However, as already noted, the ritualized deviances also tell a story of other contexts. To engage with the use of these contexts, one had to be familiar with the life world narrated in particular ways of acting, which I was not at the time.

Drawing Lines of separation: Education as another Arctic Frontier

It is unarguable that barbarian People must first be turned into reasonable humans before they can be turned into Christian humans, and one always has to do the beginning of earthly things; as such is the method of learning that the lord Jesus Christ himself has commanded us, in that he presents the secrets of God in resemblances. (Egede 1741: 126, c.fr. Thuesen 2007: 53).

In 2008 I visited Nuuk for the first time to participate in a meeting with educational authorities in Greenland. During a pause in the talks, a Greenlandic educational specialist from the Home-Rule (now Self-Rule) administration asked me if I had seen the statue at the harbor, and if I knew whom the statue depicted. I had not seen it. I later had a look at this grand statue of a tall, noble man of imperial bearing, lifting a stick with one arm. It was Hans Egede (1686-1758), the man who colonized Greenland on

behalf of the Danish-Norwegian King in 1721. Perhaps as famous as the statue is in Nuuk, is a quote that circulates among Greenlandic researchers. In 1741, having spent twenty years in Greenland, Egede wrote the epigraph of this section in a protocol.

There are almost three hundred years between my experiences in Saqqaq and the histories I am going to present. The stories are stories of a cultural encounter between worldviews, in a context of colonialism and thus of power relations. Following concrete examples of educational ideals and methods implemented in Greenland by missionaries and relating this to the home context of the educators, namely, Denmark and Europe in the eighteenth century, we are able to trace out the relations constitutional to particular perceptions of the world and of the role of education. We can also see, how the way education was objectified from within a colonial context, preconditions knowledge practices as well as educational practices, the latter in the form we know as teaching. Tracing the origins of education as we know it from schools today enables us to understand the constituents of present day dilemmas and experiences of cultural displacement within education (as when local food is eaten outside formal educational spaces).

The colonial encounter between an Enlightenment vicar and Inuit hunters is crucial to the history of education in Greenland, and to the construction of a Greenlandic society around European ideas of development and Lutheran-Protestant ethics. Although trading activity had taken place in Greenland before the missionaries arrived, this had not had a great transformative effect on the way the Inuit hunters lived their lives (Nielsen 2011). The presence of missionaries meant a change in livelihood, and it was also, according to Nielsen, the first attempt at *intellectual contact* between Europeans and Inuit (2011: 152). As part of this contact, Egede classified the Inuit hunters as *barbarians* and thus close to nature and at a distance from humanity. According to his annotations they were stupid, cold-blooded by nature, and emotionally numb (Hastrup 2010a: 64). Høiris finds that from within a Christian

worldview, Egede perceived of the Greenlanders as an inferior people, and found their inferiority to be due to lack of teachers (2011: 115).

Colonial relations are power relations, and educating Greenlanders was part of an ongoing ideological expansion. Danish colonial enterprises where in relation to Greenland not primarily focused on expansion of territory, but at extending an ideological (religious) reach, as well as developing knowledge about ourselves (Danes), our human history, through the study of living beings assumed to be at a lower, evolutionary stage. As part of a colonial endeavor education was in this sense the legitimate imposition of the world view of the colonial power *and* the legitimate comparative study of our selves. It is from within this context that Egede categorizes the people he encounters as foolish and hardhearted by nature and emotionally numb. The positioning of Inuit as barbarian refers to an understanding of inter-human differences as racial; consequently, there is not actually talk of inter-*human* differences here, but of differences between humans and animals.

Positioning the other as outside of history as on the margins of the world or on the margins of time is in anthropology commonly known as *frontier-ideology*. Orinially the concept was introduced by Turner to describe the assumed meeting point between savagery and civilization (Tsing 2005: 31-32). The title of this chapter: 'Education as Frontier practice' summarizes the colonial history of education in Greenland in this sense; educating Greenlanders was part of a Danish-European project of overcoming new frontiers as part of writing our own history as civilized society. The context for the concrete classification of Greenlanders as barbarian can be found in European intellectual history. According to Høiris, the description of the Inuit hunters as barbarians is very much in line with an Aristotelian (ca. 384-322 bc) description of people living on the edge of Hell in the cold north as half-animal people with strong physics and weak intelligence (2011: 106-107). This knowledge of people living on the edge of society, physically and in the sense of close to Hell, has most likely been part of Egede's background knowledge

upon arrival in Greenland. He was supported in his initial classification of the hunters as *racially distinct* by other missionaries who described the hunters living in Greenland as particular *species* which they called ‘Homo groenlandicus’ recognizable by their physical features: narrow eyes and short feet and behavior: quick, stubborn, direct, shy, and superstitious (c.fr. Hastrup 2010a: 64). From a European perspective, what was to be overcome through education was an imagined boundary between barbarian life and civilized life.

Creating a frontier (as in classifying other human beings as non-humans) takes the positional power to name and narrate. The relations providing Egede with this position tells us that his most immediate context was not Greenland or Greenlanders, but the Danish society. Denmark was at this time an absolute monarchy, and state and church were closely interwoven. The Danish King financed expropriation of the Lutheran Mission to the outskirts of the rather scattered Danish-Norwegian Empire: Lapland, Tranquebar, Danish West-Indies and Greenland (Nielsen 2011: 153). Missionary work was thus intertwined with the unfolding of economic and political interests of the Danish settlers. Egede had the power to name and narrate Greenlanders because he was telling the story to the Danes. As Bourdieu has shown in general, the power to dominate is founded on an adaptation to a socially defined position in relation to society (Bourdieu 1977: 186-187). Egede wrote protocols with the purpose of enlightening his *home* society and to keep up relations with the Danish-Norwegian King (Hastrup 2010a: 61-65). Therefore, the ‘society’ Egede addressed did not include people in Greenland, but was localized in Copenhagen and ideological communities across Europe. His legitimate position as narrator of the human frontiers encountered in Greenland was in relation to his position in these geographically distant societies. The particular historical and ideological conjunction of religion and political power cemented the positional power of the missionaries to narrate Greenlanders.

The frontier practices of early missionaries objectified relations between Danes and Greenlanders as relations between the educated (human) and un-educated (in-human). Entwined with this process, education itself was objectified as a socially transformative activity. Within the worldview of Europe in the eighteenth century, pre-occupied with expansive theories of civilization, the Danish missionaries arriving in Greenland were intellectually blinded from seeing anything other than a people carrying signs of moral weakness or racial deviation according to classificatory theories developed in the religious and scientific environments of Europe. Therefore the borders they communicated (between categories of beings) were not so much discovered as they were *drawn*. They constituted an act of bringing order to their own minds using models they had at hand.

This section has provided an insight into the origins of classifications of Greenlanders as in-human, as well as the missionary perception of humanity as a matter of intellectual development and thus of education. I have described how missionary practice actively drew a bordering line between livelihood practices relative to life and place of living of hunters, and Danish (agrarian) life styles. Below I analyze learning by text and changes in human-environment relations as particular educational strategies. I will detail how the institutionalization of education according to European norms impacted a transformation of knowledge practices, i.e., of how one comes to know. To trace out the social dynamics that evoke particular thought trajectories I will analyse educational methodology of the mission with the concepts of imprintment and domestication. These categories are generated from my research and reflect central tendencies in the way missionary work transplanted Eurocentric ideas of human development into education.

Imprintment

As I have already mentioned, by referring to Inuit hunters on the edge of human society, a border both social and moral was erected, which could be overcome by submitting to a European sensibility. By la-

being Inuit spiritual practice ‘pagan’, Egede juxtaposed it categorically to religious life, and thus equal *in kind* as a culturally different cosmological practice. This allowed the mission to map out a course of education within a recognizable scheme.

Beginning in 1721, Danish colonisation was spiritual and spearheaded by missionaries (Bravo, Sörlin 2002: 19). The Danish-Norwegian and Lutheran Missions mark the beginning of specific spiritual and material methods of education. These methods are analyzed below as methods of ‘imprintment’ and ‘domestication’. These methods aimed specifically at re-organizing Inuit hunters’ human-environment relations, and in particular hunters’ indigenous religion (shamanism) and their relation to the physical surroundings. This included a transformation of perceptions of knowledge. With the arrival of Europeans, knowledge became tied to an idea of knowledge as abstract truth represented in texts. I will show below, how, to qualify as ‘educated’, hunters had to re-learn practices of how one knows.

Let us begin with knowledge as a textual representation of a divine truth. Danish Lutheran Mission was deeply concerned with individual commitment to Christianity as an act of individual adoption of the textual truths, based on understanding of the biblical readings (Thuesen 2007: 53). Within a religious framework, the turn from ‘barbarian’ to ‘human’ depended on memorizing and reciting biblical representations (resemblances). ‘Living by the text’ was aimed at cultural self-editing and dismissal of childish (non-rational, impulsive, shameless) attitudes toward life (Wilhjelm 1997: 15). This view of educational methodology as acts of cultural *transmission* is in fact a process of *imprinting* (Ingold 2000: 36); in which a body of knowledge” is *downloaded* into the passively receptive mind” (ibid, my italics). What is introduced here, is a concept of truth as immanent in texts, and therefore exact replication and incorporation of text is what includes the non-human in human society⁵. The value of the written word as it is introduced here is hard to underestimate. Educators and administrators in Greenland saw words themselves as having the transformational power to shape Inuit hunters into future citizen. Objectifying

knowledge as representative truths implies a division between subject and object, where transformation is supposed to take place through (subjective) adaptation to a scheme (knowledge) that will then program future action.

Biblical texts constituted what we would today understand as the curriculum. According to Nielsen, the first text was the myth of creation according to which the God of the missionaries is also the God of the Inuit. According to this narration of humanity, humans were created in the image of God. Then followed the history of the Tower of Babel, which leads all people to spread and settle in the world – including Greenland. God was also in command of the animals and he was the one who could secure a good catch (Nielsen 2011: 175). Following this myth, all people, independent of place and social relations, were as individuals beholden to a higher authority: God. The understanding of knowledge as rules and representations as 1) universal and 2) transmittable across people distanced in time and place, implies an understanding of “the transmission of cultural information (to be) distinguished from its application in particular settings of use” (Ingold 2000: 36). Or in other words, to perceive of knowledge as transmittable from teacher to learner depends on the concurrent idea that knowledge can be learned in one setting and applied in another. Books and acts of teaching were merely seen as communicating universal truths immanent in texts.

Transmission of knowledge preferably took place as the individual reading of divine texts. Yet, Greenlanders were illiterate. To missionaries, the concern for individual commitment to Christianity transformed into a massive effort to translate biblical texts into Greenlandic on the one hand, and on the other to teach Greenlanders Danish in reading and writing. Egede needed local and native speaking assistant priests to spread the teachings of Christianity. To take up this position he chose young boys who came to live in the household of the missionaries to be trained as "catechists" (Wilhjelm 1997: 16). By the end of the 18th century Greenland had 18 "national" catechists who were to read, translate and re-

cite the bible to their fellow countrymen (ibid). The focus on native language is particular to the Danish Mission and educational work in Greenland in comparison with colonisation of other Inuit societies across the Arctic. Only three years after Egede arrived, the first Lutheran story of creation was ready in Greenlandic. In 1744 came the first collected translation of the four gospels (Nielsen 2011: 147). At the turn of 1900, almost all adults could read and write in Greenlandic (Sørensen 2007: 18).

Nielsen argues that Egede founded the Greenlandic educational system based in his experience of shamanism as incompatible with Christianity. Because direct translation was not possible, he thought the Greenlanders needed to learn the meaning of Christianity (Nielsen 2011: 176). The most important religious words in the choice of texts presented to the Inuit were according to Nielsen: God, the spirit of God, savior, devil, sin and holy as well as moral concepts of good and bad. According to Nielsen these words were especially hard to translate because Inuit languages do not have a categorically similar, solitary God (ibid: 176). To the Inuit, all visible phenomena possess *inua*, a human spirit (ibid). Some *inui* (plural) have more significance than others, such as *Sedna*; goddess of the sea, Moon Man and *Sila*; the unpredictable spirit of the weather (Nielsen, ibid). Contrary to Christian religion, in the Inuit shamanistic world no phenomena were superior (ibid). As a consequence of this it was not possible for Egede to translate directly from one religion to the other, replacing previous spiritual concepts, for example, with the concepts of God (ibid). Given this situation, educating the Inuit necessitated enlightenment on the meaning of Christian religious concepts.

In Greenland, before the arrival of the mission, shamans, *angakkeut*, mediated between the visible and the non-visible world through assistance from their personal helping spirits, *toornaarsuk*. Therefore there was a duality present. However, this duality was not hierarchical as in the relation between God and the Devil in Christianity. Within the Christian worldview, Inuit religious phenomena were reconfigured, so that *Angakkeut* was compared to the Christian God. This was possible because the *Angakkeut* was per-

ceived by Christians as having a ‘higher’ status. The spiritually powerful *toornarsuk* was compared to the Christian devil (Nielsen *ibid*: 178). As Nielsen suggests, “when mission overtook this figure (the *toornaarsuk*) as image of divine enemy, Inuit traditional worldview was demonized” (*ibid*). To missionaries, shamanism was a kind of insensibility that could be improved’ (Nielsen 2011: 184).

Readers might think that I have foregrounded the role of the mission too much as baseline for developing education in Greenland. Yet the story above about the reconfiguration of shamanistic figures according to a Christian positional structure suggests the interrelatedness of the construction of education in Greenland and transposition of Inuit religion. The relations that this historical formation of education emerges from are relations between religious truths and colonial power. In 1848 Denmark went from absolute monarchy to democracy. Modernity and democracy opened up the possibility that cultures existed in plural. The development of more relativistic views on culture in Europe in the nineteenth century had some impact in Greenland. Most famous is the publication of Inuit myths by Rink with the purpose of communicating an image of Greenlanders as belonging to a distinct culture with its own history. However, these texts were little incorporated into the curricula at the two seminaries that were eventually established in Greenland during the nineteenth century (Wilhjelm 1997: 290).

I began this section with an introduction to the concept of ‘imprintment’. This concept illustrated the idea of knowledge as transmittable across time and place. From a religious point of view, biblical texts had to be ‘downloaded’ and then worked on from the inside. As I also described, when Egede encountered a problem of incompatibility between the supply of knowledge and the scheme of accommodation he set out to re-shape indigenous perception modalities to improve direct instalment. As part of this enterprise, shamanism was displaced from the world of the educated, and with this a non-dichotomist perception of the world. Within a perspective on development as a matter of creating distance to nature, learning and developing ties into notions of self-domestication. In the next section, I

elaborate on the social order implied in formulating growth of individuals as well as society as a domesticating process.

Domestication of human-nature relations

What I am trying to do – beginning with the ethnographic descriptions of everyday life in a pre-school in a Greenlandic hamlet - is to trace the passages that bind the naturalized order of educational practices today, with the original narrators, who have in the meantime disappeared. One of the passages we have identified so far is the objectification of social relations preconditioning education as a matter of transmitting centralized knowledge. In use, education performed a passage for change that created new cultural forms and indicated their enactment. For example, visible spatial boundaries like the fence around the pre-school in Saqqaq were fragments of the history of education that marked out the historical operations from which it resulted (De Certeau 1984: 79). ‘Fencing off’ everyday life is part of a particular educational strategy devoted to schools as separate places for growth. Following De Certeau, with time, what becomes established as the social order of things “colonizes space” and “eliminates little by little the pictorial figurations of the practices that produce it” (ibid: 121). To counter this elimination process, we are looking back in time. Inuit hunters were construed by early educators as occupying a historical ground zero because they lacked what Danish missionaries recognized as culture. Their social space was altered when they were constructed as lacking knowledge, and when their shamanistic perceptions of the world were made to fit a Christian cosmology.

As stated above, Egede found that to ascend to humanity one had to start with earthly things. Farming and pastoralism were seen as appropriate technologies for the development of appreciation of deeds such as stability and predictability (Thuesen 2007: 52). The hunting modality of life sensitive to actual conducts of the physical world included an orientation in time and space that confused Egede (ibid). As a means to create order, he consistently spoke of ‘planting’ farmers among the pagan hunters (ibid).

With these ideas, the theme of ‘mastery over nature’ was introduced in Egede’s protocol. As noted by Ingold, this theme has dominated Western thought for centuries, leading to a dualistic perception of the world of nature and humanity “whose purest expression is taken to be civil society” (Ingold 2000: 312). Mission saw the domestication of land for farming purposes as the counterpart of self-domestication. Following Ingold,

the idea of production as making [...] is embedded in a grand narrative of the human transcendence of nature, in which the domestication of plants and animals figures as the counterpart of the self-domestication of humanity in the process of civilization. (Ingold 2000: 77)

In Greenland, within the context of a model of education narrating development as the human emancipation from nature, *land use* became a central mark of the level of human cultural development. Notably, emancipation is in this interpretation understood as transcendence of the relation constitutive to the livelihood practices of hunting which has endured in the Arctic for 4000 years. Still following Ingold, the notion of domestication implies acts of control “over the growth and reproduction of animals and plants” (2000: 77). As an illuminating contrast, Arctic researcher Julie Cruickshank tells us that in regard to the mission among the Inuit of Alaska, to the indigenous people, the Western ideas of “individual autonomy set up in opposition to a hostile land was probably incomprehensible” (Cruikshank 2000: 73).

The difference pointed at in Cruickshank’s recollection (but missed by the missionaries) is a difference in the ‘what’ of relations. I touched upon this in relation to the reconfiguration of shamanist symbolic figures to fit the Christian dualist and hierarchical scheme dividing the world into the good (script based world) above and the bad (non-literate world) at the bottom. This change in relationship can be

further elaborated in relation to human-nature relations. Based in extensive fieldwork among Evenki caribou herders of north-eastern Siberia, Vitebsky tells us that relationships between human and animals are set up differently among indigenous people than in Genesis, “where God gives Adam ‘dominion’ over every kind of creature” (Vitebsky 2005: 261). Vitebsky suggests that it may in fact be the caribou that have domesticated these hunters and transformed them into herders, instead of herders domesticating the caribou. The power relation described here might be what has confused Egede in Greenland. The world Evenki herders engage with, says Vitebsky, is a world where wild and domestic animals relate to humans in different ways, and neither of them are subordinate, but have own directions in life, which they fulfill alongside their human caretakers and in corporation with them (ibid: 262). Wild animals are not killed as a result of Gods will or human capacity to dominate ‘nature’ (ibid). Vitebskys argument about the life world of caribou hunters is supported by Ingold (who has also done fieldwork among caribou herders). Ingold says that the religious perception of two worlds, of nature and human society, is in general contrasted in hunter-gatherers perception of the world as one, embracing humans, animals and lands (Ingold 2000: 47).

Following Cruickshank, Vitebsky and Ingold alike, it is possible that the imposition of a split between human and nature performed in acts of domestication caused re-orientation at a personal level. People previously living like hunter and gatherers, were required to practice domesticated relationships with nature as a means to transcend ‘nature’ in themselves. This implied drawing a border between humans and nature, turning nature into a human resource and corporate acts into acts of producing. The spirit of life, known among hunters as Inua and shared among all living things, human and non-human, was, with the introduction of Christianity, located in a hierarchical relationship between humans and God. The ideal was a life lived in accordance with the prescriptions found in biblical texts. *Following* nature was perceived as a state of human immaturity and thus moral inferiority. To become accepted as human, hunters were urged to change their relationship with nature and with religious practices (shaman-

ism) communicating non-hierarchical relations between human and nature. Thus, to become human within a religious order included a re-organization of human-nature relations, where nature was subordinated to human control. Domestication describes this process of ‘fencing off’ paths of life, such as seasons and animal migrations, previously perceived of as life-constitutive currents to follow. Instead of following these paths, they were objectified as resources for human life. Human sensitivity toward nature was objectified as irrational, undomesticated and uneducated behavior.

In the above two sections I have described primary educational strategies among missionaries as strategies of ‘imprintment’ and ‘domestication’. Missionary work in Greenland was *pedagogical* in the sense that it understood its task to be *teaching a way of thinking* about life, or unlearning bad livelihood habits (Rugg 2010: 16). It did so by ensuring that hunters replaced their habitual ways of living with new ones. In particular, hunters were required to control relations with nature and make instrumental use of knowledge based in texts. Just as teaching Greenlanders the biblical texts displaced the world they knew, farming put forth a religiously founded demarcation of ‘the natural’ as a means of accumulation (after Ingold 2000: 41-42). We can look at the execution of these strategies at a personal level as acts of bodily techniques. Doing so provides an analytical way of understanding the transformation of self-world relationship embodied in practicing knowledge as imprintment of texts and domestic relations to nature as productive of cultural forms of sociality.

Change: The cultural production of form

In his article from 1935: ‘Techniques of the body’, Mauss introduced the idea that the way we engage with the world is in fact a bodily technique. As we grow up we learn certain techniques through apprenticeship (Mauss 2006). As part of taking up with the colonizers world-view, hunters had to learn new techniques relative to European ideas of civilization. Each technique, such as the use of knowledge as representation (imprintment), was productive of a particular form. Actually, Mauss states that every atti-

tude of the body is productive of a particular form (ibid: 80). Ways of acting are not only revealing of the subject, but form a social idiosyncrasy at a collective level (ibid). Mauss develops the concept of 'habitus' as a concept to distinguish between cultural forms, by education for example (ibid: 80). With this concept, Mauss overcomes a dualist perspective on human activity as split between actions of the body and actions of the brain, to focus on the *total* practical engagement with the world through the body (ibid: 80-81). Mauss stresses the impact of education on "elements of the art of using the human body" (ibid: 81), and suggests that the notion of education is superimposed on that of imitation for us to understand the concatenations between elements of education and performed bodily activity (ibid). To Mauss, the transformation of cultural form takes place as acts of imitation. Having practiced particular forms introduced from "without, from above" (ibid: 81), bodily postures – as in the shape of feet changing when shoes are superimposed upon them - are changed (ibid). What interest me, is how forms of sociality are changed as part of educational exchanges. The colonization of Greenland and the elements of education associated with this provide a case for looking into education as a modality of action affecting how life is perceived and imagined.

In the beginning of this chapter, I described the social distinctions built into the walls of the pre-school in Saggaq. Following Mauss we can think of the particular organization of a classroom as an element of education superimposing form on the people interacting with it. Bourdieu elaborated on Mauss' idea of the habitus as a system of dispositions. The process of change, which to Mauss was a process of transmission through imitation of superimposed form, was refined by Bourdieu as a process of actual engagement (Bourdieu 1977: 214). According to Bourdieu, cultural knowledge is constructed in the course of people's actual engagement with others and with life activities. It is in this process that "people acquire the specific dispositions and sensibilities that lead them to orient themselves in relation to their environment and to attend to its features in the particular way they do" (Ingold 2000: 163 after Bourdieu 1990: 52-56). The way people think and feel, according to Bourdieu and Ingold alike, "sub-

sists” in practice (Ingold 200: 162). Following this, we can understand the division of the world in Danish and Greenlandic as attentive practices constitutive to educational activity at large in the pre-school in Saggaq. Within schooled space, eating with your fingers the customary Greenlandic way was considered unsophisticated and eating with cutlery was perceived as educated. These practices are bodily practices which in their enactment embody an “attunement” (Ingold 2000: 162) to a particular image of the world. In this case, the performance of a world split in Greenlandic and Danish reproduces structural conditions introduced as part of a colonial endeavor and embedding socio-historically specific ways of attending to the world and its inhabitants.

The reproduction of cultural form through bodily practices was a central interest to Bourdieu. He developed the concept of body ‘hexis’ to delineate the process of reproduction through way of being and acting in the world. It elaborates an understanding of the profundity of the changes in social orientation introduced to Greenlanders in the past and sheds new light on the demands to students of today to whom the dominate culture of the school is foreign. Through his focus on the body, Bourdieu draw attention to the interrelatedness between individual and social levels; participating in educational practices as social practices re-situates the body in the world and thus the way of engaging and perceiving it. Bourdieu says about then constancy of form through bodily hexis:

[Hexis is a] form of pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values: in all societies, children are particularly attentive to the gestures and postures which, in their eyes, expresses everything that goes to make an accomplished adult – a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial expressions, ways of sitting and of using implements, always associated with a tone of voice, a style of speech, and (how could it be otherwise) a certain subjective experience. (Bourdieu 1977: 87)

Our way of engaging with the world through particular postures and gestures, then, embodies a change in subjectivity and thus in way of being. In return, the body becomes a “host of social meanings and values”. In this case, the bodily techniques of educators, corresponding with their own embodied understanding of education as including a separation from Greenlandic practices, become distributors of historically rooted perceptions of being educated and its implicated image of the world.

By looking into how education in the form of teacher-learner relationship arrived in Greenland, I am trying to determine whether particular practices are also directive of a culturally specific sense of education relative to a specific sense of what constitutes society. The arguments above about how we think and feel as subsisting in practice are theoretical arguments most often used to counter cognitivist strands of thinking as an activity that goes on in a mind detached from the body. I draw on them here to elicit the change in social attention instituted by the widespread changes in life-activity initiated by mission, and to question whether learners’ appropriation of colonized space included the structural appropriation of sensitivities embodying a particular positioning in the world. The fact that thinking subsists in practice establishes a link between missionary practices and more general perceptions of the concepts of self and body within standardized educational spaces such as pre-schools.

There is a line going through the materializations of Ethnocentric educational strategies such as text-based education and advancement through the accumulation of standardized knowledge. This line meanders through administrative decisions, structuring the curricula and thriving in relations between routines and established institutions. It is a line that “hones” (Hirschkind 2011) particular kinds of attention such as expectancy toward education as work of the mind, content-oriented curricula, knowledge as representational and nature as a human resource. In a summary of the education of the seminar students in the nineteenth century, former principal and Greenland researcher, Wilhjelm states:

Students learned something they could not do before, and to become something they were not before. Not only did they learn a variety of new skills and acquired a fund of knowledge, but they also achieved to apply this new knowledge in a new understanding of their environment and of themselves. That, at least, was the understanding of their teachers – and the aim of their engagement. (Wilhjelm 1997: 288, my translation)

The social change that was aimed for was a change in experience of the world. Teachers hoped that the new knowledge created a new life world for the students to relate to and engage with. Educationally speaking (from within a frontier-philosophy) teachers imagined that they knew the end result of the process.

Most importantly, this means that when local life practices or spiritual practices were incorporated, they were subjected to this end. As we have seen, the *toormarsuk* was situated differently to accomplish the missionaries' aims. In this way, missionaries, empowered by the colonial context, imposed epistemological practices that re-structured the hunters' base perceptions. As formulated by Bourdieu above, styles of practices are associated with a subjective experience. An educational space was set up as defined by dichotomies such as nature and culture, which was reproduced structurally in the spatial division of Greenlandic and Danish. What was identified as the Greenlandic or hunting life style was positioned outside the educational space, and this may explain why, to the trained observer, see an ethnically segregating spatial organization in the very walls of the pre-schools.

Transcendence as modality of social attention

Above, I have described education as the appropriation of particular dispositions embodying a perception of the world as two worlds, a Natural and a Cultural. Now I want to elaborate on the impact of

this presupposition on the perception of knowledge construction processes. Book-centered, or text-centered, education is linked to a conceptualization of the social order that people perceive in the world to be imposed by the *mind* rather than given in experience (following Ingold's critique of cognitivism, 2000: 161). This could also be seen as the practice of a Cartesian ontology as it "divorces the activity of the mind from that of the body in the world" (Ingold 2000: 165). The cultured mind was idealized in opposition to the 'natural' body, as I have demonstrated above. Accomplishing education according to dichotomist sensitivity requires enactment of frontier-practices consisting of the operation of the mind *upon* the world. This is a particular movement of attention. To de Certeau (in relation to writing on a blank page), this drawing-out-distinctions operation is the

Cartesian move of making a distinction that initiates, along with a place [...] the mastery (and isolation) of a subject confronted by an *object*. In front of his blank page, every child is already put in the position of the industrialist, the urban planner, or the Cartesian philosopher. (de Certeau 1984: 134)

De Certeau states the interrelatedness between way of paying attention and constitution of the perceiver. Taking up with the task of knowing the world through separating it into parts, the perceiver, according to de Certeau, relates to the world from a confrontational position. The separation of the mind from the body links to the separation of the human from nature. According to Ingold this implied concept of the human suffers from the fact that

The very concept of the 'human' seems to embody the abiding paradox of a form of life that can realize its own essence only by transcending it. (Ingold 2011: 8)

This citation from Ingold crystallizes the gestural movement embodied in the act of drawing a border: achieving humanity takes stepping outside of life.

In the case from Saqqaq, educators had incorporated the discriminative features originally implied in the architectural form, such as the division between everyday life and school. The world of the educated performed in the division of spaces was an enactment of the world that dislocated local livelihood practices. My colleagues did not themselves make connections between the missionary disdain for indigenous culture as barbaric and elements and techniques constitutive pre-school life. The self-ridiculing of table manners was related to an embodied and naturalized understanding of differences between being Danish and Greenlandic and the relationship with being recognized as educated. *When* local life-activities were incorporated in the school day – like eating seal on a fieldtrip – it was done in a way that presupposed an acknowledgement that this kind of activity was not part of the regular social order of things.

Reading practices in an ordinary pre-school in North West Greenland through lenses made up of experiences with colonialism, stimulates reflection on whether acquiring knowledge through reading about life (text-based knowledge) rather than learning from direct experience converts a relationship grounded in equal exchange into a relationship grounded in extraction. Reading *about* nature for the purpose of imposing knowledge is another act of creating attention through 'carving out'. Dewey compares the modern 'pressing forward' tendency to Kantian psychology, saying that it

supposes all 'pleasure' to consist wholly of personal and private gratification. Every experience, including the most generous and idealistic, contains an element of seeking, of pressing forward [...] Attention is built out of organization of these factors. (Dewey 2005. 265)

The ‘pressing forward movement’ is perceived as a pre-requisite of action or development, rather than as the intentional movement of an organism-environment (after Ingold 2000:165-166), therefore reproducing, as part of its constitutive problem, opposite relations between individual and society, between mind and body and between culture and nature. This is the historical approach that sets education in the light of Cartesian dualism as *frontier practice*. Paying attention to the disciplines of European education, based on identified ‘lacks’, is likely to have required the incorporation of frontiers, the internalization of boundaries between human and nature and between body and mind along with the idea of life as a process that transgresses borders.

In this chapter I have established a sense of the problem within education as producing particular and exclusive realities. As much as education is preoccupied with describing reality, the institutionalization of procedures is in itself a reproduction and re-enactment of culturally specific perceptions of the world.

Counter image: Knowledge as embedded in human-nature relatedness

So far we have concentrated on the scaling of education according to the objectification of relations within a European frame. The terms society and community, says Dewey, are *ambiguous* in that they have both a normative sense and a descriptive sense (Dewey 2005: 82). The normative sense rules in social philosophy, but instead of inventing ideals we would be better off scaling education according to life forms that we have detected as *working*, says Dewey (ibid: 83). Along with this line of thinking, below I will refer to a hunter’s counter-image of the modern narrative of knowledge as dis-embodied and dis-engaged from the actual surroundings. The narrative concerns the relationship between the social reality produced by missionaries and the particularity of life in the North. The case for this contrasting exercise is a dialogue that took place at the harbor in Nuuk in the early eighteenth century (1807). This

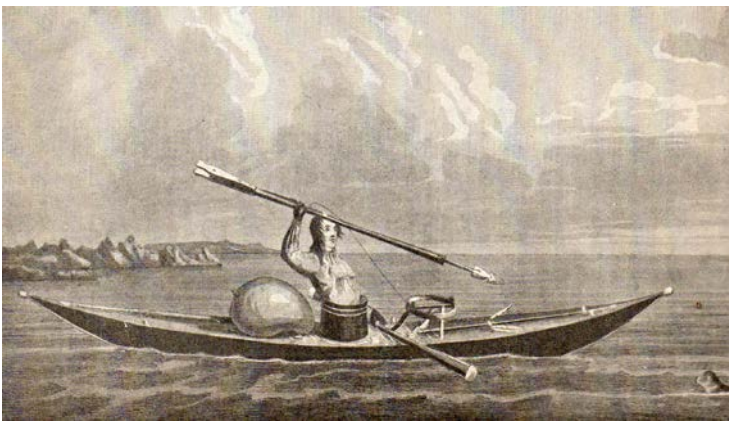
dialogue is interesting because it is *not* produced within a context of ‘hearing’ the natives, but coincidentally picked up by an eavesdropper and written down.

During a war between Denmark and England (1807-1814) six men living in Greenland were chatting at the harbor in Nuuk. The eavesdropper is a missionary listening from behind a fence. Of the six Greenlandic men, two are catechists and three are children of mixed relationships – one of them both of mixed background and a catechist. In their chat one man (ethnic Greenlandic) describes a dream he has had; a raven has told him that the war against England is hard on the Danish King and the Danes are suffering. To this two of the ‘mixtures’ laugh and are delighted – to the bewilderment of the man, who in response to this reaction asks if they do not feel related to the Danes, having grown up with a Danish father. The ‘mixtures’ (including a catechist) answers that they don’t care. If the war continues, the Danes in Greenland will suffer as they cannot supply themselves – and they are not going to give them one single fish should this be the case. The man is shocked and comments that he will tell the priest, but this does not scare the ‘mixed’ catechist who answers that the priests have nothing to do here (in Greenland); they are themselves the masters in their own country (Wilhjelm 1997: 18-19).

This dialogue is interesting for three reasons. First, it punctures any assumptions about race as determining social belonging (as assumed at the time). Second, it exposes the vulnerability of abstract knowledge in terms of efficiency in a local community context. Third, it introduces us to an alternative, *relative* concept of knowledge that is linked to a way of knowing, distinct from the accumulation of truths. From the perspective of the hunting catechist of mixed background, the de-tached European way of life victimizes people in relation to the ability to live in actual surroundings. Situated within local power structures, notably involving relations to physical environs, the European way of life is exposed as an irrational limitation to life-ensuring activities. In fact, in practice of the image of the physical envi-

rons as hostile is owed to the self-imposed dependency on deliveries from Denmark. To the hunter, meanwhile, this way of knowing is for practical purposes discredited as a means of life stability.

The detailed report from the harbor also tells us how a more categorical difference between Danish and Greenlandic was crafted in the hostile context of colonisation and imperialism, and how people who identify with hunting have experienced missionary disdain for hunting as a sign of cultural indifference.



Claiming society: The use of a historical perspective

As Ingold cites Wolf, to use a concept like society, is not to denote it, “but to make a claim” (Wolf 1988: 757 in Ingold 2000: 312). The same goes for associated social categories like civilization, culture and education. Tracing a trajectory between present day educators’ self-disempowering actions, and the presuppositions about education embedded in missionary work (education as the process of human ascendancy and dominance over nature), has shed light on how particular elements of education are socially and culturally produced at particular historical moments. The form of education and society that emerges from the analysis of the practiced presupposition about education conforms to ideas of human development in Europe. The relations that were tangled up in the acts of concrete people and narrative education were relations between epistemologies (Enlightenment philosophy and Lutheran Protestant-

ism), ontologies (historically situated Cartesian perceptions of the world), and politics (expansion of the kingdom through subjects) and economics (a need to find new trading areas). In other words: Ideas of divine truths and human evolution as an evolution toward civilised society, coupled with positivist divide between Nature and Culture and practiced relations of subordination, together manifested a world constructed around the idea of a centre.

Greenlandic researcher Thuesen has recently argued that the European description of Greenlanders as child-like has existed until “recent times and impact mission and other European institutions design and pedagogical practice” (2007: 53). Across individual differences between heads of seminaries throughout the nineteenth century, between choice of language priority (Danish or Greenlandic), and between modality of instruction relative to theological debates in Denmark (reading or dialogue), a common structuring aim can be discerned: to turn Greenlanders into a People conducting their life according to a Christian representation of life. The Danish administration of educational possibilities ensured that no Greenlander would be in a position to question this policy until an educational reform in 1925 (Wilhjelm 1997: 286-297).

Willingly or not, Egede became the founder of education in Greenland (Nielsen 2011: 176). With the entangled power relations in mind, missionaries led the movement that established education of Inuit hunters as part of an expansion of European ideas. The inquiry into socio-historical configurations of education in practice will continue in the following two chapters. As the first to engage with this theme, this chapter has alluded to the complex interrelationships between economical, ideological and religious relations informing colonialist practices also at the level of the instilment of concrete, pedagogies such as ‘imprintment’ and ‘domestication’. These techniques were applied as means of emancipating hunters from their entanglement with nature.

Paying attention to the methodologies of early educators illuminated how the expansive logic of colonialism builds on the same principle as Cartesian approaches to knowledge. I suggested that this intermingling of frontier-logics command a particular social attention, and I have mapped out connections between frontier-logics introduced by colonizers and present day educational practices in a Greenlandic pre-school.

Frontiers are still constitutive of educational spaces. In the pre-school in Saqqaq frontier making was part of the ideal 'built into the walls'. First of all, the actual fence demarcating the school area as a particular area with own rules and customs. No other buildings in the hamlet had fences around them. Fences perform a split between outside and inside. This split was continued at a social level in the distance between school activities and everyday life, as articulated in the choice of bead activities and strongly communicated in the dominance of Danish literature, furniture, food and overall design of as well material surroundings as social activity. In this context, education was objectified as the pursuit of a language and practices – knowledge - distant to life as lived on the other side of the fence. Thus the frontier line that was established was a line of division between life and knowledge. There is an unmistakable path of continuity in the style of exchange imposed on Inuit hunters by the first educators, Christian missionaries, and today's practices.

Objectifying education as a frontier practice affects possible ways of being present as a teacher. As stated above, Egede concluded that the Inuit hunters needed teachers. Similar to how colonizers legitimated their imposition of their worldview onto other people, teachers were along the same line of thinking the necessary imposition of change from the outside. This practice shapes the world as split in subject-object relations. Teachers are subjected to knowledge as objectified; novices are cast and objectified as students of the knowledge represented in teacher's practices. It goes from this that being someone who

practically engages with children's growth and development, implies enacting structural and oppositional relations in a world where *human* life is objectified as an activity split from other life.

I have argued that missionary work transferred education from everyday practices, thereby repealing how people compose their life as relevant for production of knowledge. The hunting way of living was instead considered an obstacle for becoming educated. The colonial confrontation between shamanism and Christianity is particularly illustrative of this process. As noted above, simple translation was not possible because Christianity and Inuit shamanism represented disparate life narratives. Therefore it was found that enlightenment in terms of concept development was needed. In practice, this entailed re-organization of Inuit cosmology. The use of the Greenlandic *toornarsuk* was structured according to a religious system in which it was interrelated systematically with a binary opposite. By drawing on Ingold and Bourdieu we were able to understand this silencing of cosmological relations as a silencing of people's habitus and thus of embodied sensitivities. Re-scripting cosmological relations was part of rewriting social experience *for* the Inuit hunters to change their environment and their social attention.

I have suggested that we can understand the reproduction of culturally discriminative practices performed by indigenous educators in formal education as a continuation of dispositions incorporated and embodied as part of becoming educated and as representing 'the educated'. This has little to do with the actual educators who are merely doing their job, but owes a lot to the fact that doing the job requires knowing the constitutive relations and positions around which the activity of education is fulfilled.

I began this chapter by wondering about the frontiers drawn by Greenlandic educators in ways of organizing pre-school activities. I turned this wonder into an inquiry into the historical-cultural relations constitutive to educational practices in present day pre-schools. The colonial perspective provides a

critical perspective, and reflecting upon present practices, such as spatial organization, through historical lenses de-naturalizes schooling in the institutionalized form. The project of using the colonial history as a critical perspective is continued in the following two chapters.

3 Difference: The problem with Culture in Schooling

In Chapter One, I suggested seeing education as a condition of growth and a line of social attention. In Chapter Two, we saw how particular educational processes (imprintment) are related to ways of being (domestication) and how growth has been construed as an act of transcendence. This approach to growth, rooted in a religious and colonial position, has separated questions of growth from questions of actual human-environment interaction. This chapter keeps the focus on the cultural and historical specificity of world perception and social attention that is embodied in the colonial legacy of formal education in Greenland. Apart from the religious roots, two other components extend an epistemological line of attention to the boundaries of the educational context. The first component is a set of ideas rooted in Enlightenment thinking; the second is a set of epistemological assumptions that have shaped educational research since Durkheim. Rooted in a self-established religious-ethical and colonial position, which presumed that Europeans were doing the right thing, phenomenological variations in ways of being in the world were articulated as *cultural* distinctions during the Enlightenment; they were construed as differences within humanity relative to a geo-political as well as ideological center of the world. I argue that this understanding of variations in ways of living continues to maintain boundaries at both the group and individual levels deeply implicated in the social order it communicates. This has an impact on situations of ‘cultural contact’ such as schooling, where ethnic differences, construed as borders, become part of the school-student relationship.

To talk about culture is to talk about differences. I want to draw attention to how the manner of differentiating is itself part of the ‘culturedness’ of school. As a new domain of educational research, attention is thereby focused on the sociality produced within differently constituted educational processes. Part of the sociality of a given practice of education (such as schooling) is the way it differentiates. The theme of cultural difference and the way of differentiating within the educational process relates in general to the dissertation’s overall discussion of education as social attention. In relation to Greenland it adds an epistemological perspective to problems of cultural contact as part of schooling. How educators think about education matters to their perception of the subject matter particularly in situations where variations in ways of living turn into conflicts.

Humanist thinking is deeply ingrained in the practiced epistemology of education. In this chapter, I show that it leads to conceptual destruction of differences as variations in way of living are translated into social differences. The epistemological root of the concept of education that frames the contemporary social structure of schooling is to be found in Enlightenment thinking. Central to this line of thought is the idea of the human as center of the world. I show how this position informs a categorization of variations in forms of life as differences in ways of constructing the world, i.e. differentiation at a level where the human-nature separation is taken for granted. As I will also show, this assessment of differences finds support in research that continues the structural-functional tradition of Durkheim. From a structuralist position, life variations are reduced to different systems of representations.

Below I begin with a presentation of Enlightenment thinking as a central component of the culture of formal education and thus formative of ways of differentiating. This is continued with an elaboration of the naturalization of education as a chronological process of achievement. I then compare the position of indigenous people in formal education with the position of blind people, emphasizing similarities in representations that imply a lack or deficiency of humanity. In both cases, the general attitude to differ-

ences as hierarchical has moral implications for how indigenous and blind people are conceived. This is followed by empirical examples of Greenlandic parents reflecting upon social changes in Greenland as path transformations. Schooling to them involves a change in life path. Their reflections elucidate the relationship between educational process, social attention and growth and their including and excluding dynamics. As already mentioned, research into this dynamic leaves much to be desired, and I suggest this could have to do with the scientific cultural heritage in educational studies from Durkheim.

Several historical, epistemological and existential lines are traced in this chapter. They all contribute to an understanding of the relation between the concept of culture and knowledge and the processes of differentiation in relation to cultural conflicts in formal education. We begin with the humanist root.

Formation of the social: Education as a humanist project

A historical root of particular interest in relation to cross-cultural education is the meaning it gives to variations in way of living as contexts of growth. Enlightenment thinking proposes human development to follow a universal, evolutionary course from the margins of humanity (nature) to the center (the educated and thus cultured human). Historically this has been conceived of as a movement from un-civilized to civilized (Hastrup 1999). In this section I elaborate on humanism as the particular epistemology that informs the organization of cultural differences in schooling as social differences according to a set ideal of the world as a humanly constructed (civilized) society. I will show how humanism contrasts hunter's human-nature relationships based in engagement rather than separation, and how differences at this ontological level are muted. To do this, I draw on previous anthropological research of dominant Western development thinking.

Our commonsense understanding of education is closely tied to what Hastrup has identified as 'the humanist project' (1999). According to her, different historical epochs and distinct scientific disciplines

from the renaissance and up until today, across their specificities, share a broad but unifying orientation that can be defined as humanism (ibid: 3). It is this particular object of attention that I focus on here as an ideological and structural root impacting ideas about education and educatedness⁶. According to Hastrup, the human-centered focus is a historical development conditioned by a cartographic imagination of the world as a time-space with a center (Hastrup 1999: 10-11). According to this image of the world, the project of civilization is the inclusion of people from the peripheries in the time and space of people at the center (ibid). This thinking is recognizable in Greenland even today at the political as well as personal levels, when politicians and parents alike are worried about the future possibilities for Greenlandic children in a modern world ruled by global economic relations. The idea of a world as set around center-peripheral relations is prevalent at all levels of social life, and impacts debates about schooling.

Humanism, as elaborated by Hastrup, focused historically on the particularly human and artificial side of experience as opposed to what is given by nature (1999: 4-5). In this sense, being human included a particular relationship with the components of the experienced environment, and becoming human was a transformational act leading to this change in relationships. According to Lundberg (2005:346), the idea that our humanity is constructed or formed defined in the age of Enlightenment the purpose of education; education became the means to humanity as an end in itself (ibid: 80). Following this, education is the process which deliberately aims to construct a particular representation of the world in people's consciousness. This process involved a separation of the biological human being and the social human being. Lundberg says: "The social human had to be formed, awakened and enlightened through education" (ibid, my translation, also Hastrup 1999: 21). We can trace the meaning of the term 'an educated person' back to this central construct (Lundberg ibid, cit.fr Elias 1994 [1939]: 35).

If we take a closer look at the cartographic image of the world, and approach it as a cultural specific way of perceiving the world, we can see that according to this, being and becoming human depended on a process which Ingold has referred to as a typical Western “movement of disengagement” that cuts out nature as object of attention (2000: 9). The object of attention, nature, is disengaged in the separation between the biological and the social, in which life as an organic process intimately depended on relational resonance with other organic processes for movement, is muted. Being human is simultaneously – and paradoxically – according to an Enlightenment perspective regarded as based in this human-nature separation in consciousness. Enlightenment thinkers, like Newton (1642 – 1727) for instance, worked to free and enlighten the human and looked for rational means to do so (Hastrup 1999: 22). What Newton represent here, is the idea of freedom as disengagement through objectification and conceptually constructed distance. From a hunter and gatherer perspective, humanism represents a change in human-nature relationships (and thus in ontology) for people to who direct involvement with material and non-human surroundings is constitutional to becoming knowledgeable.

According to Lundberg, ‘society’ in Enlightenment was the new social community (2005: 81). Apprehending the world as dichotomously split between nature and culture, led to a further movement of disengagement (Ingold above). Having carved out humanity from nature, constructing a difference between people who have accumulated the representations associated with being educated and being part of the civilized society and people who have not, depends on the ability of the first to be able to disengage from, as Ingold says, the “worlds of culture in which the lives of all other *humans* are said to be confined” (2000: 14, *italics original*). It takes a position beyond culture to regard the relation between Inuit hunters and land or animals as only one way of culturally constructing the world, “according to an independently given reality” (*ibid*: 15). In other words, becoming educated and part of civilized society takes disengagement through attention to first nature and then culture as objects to distance from. As

we see, however well rooted in ethically right positions within the historically given context, this thinking has consequences for the apprehension of cultural difference.

Above I have established how humanism implies a particular human-nature relationship characterized by separation. According to Hastrup, in a life where social process is narrated as movement according to a cartographic image of the world as a time-space with a center, cultural differences are confused with social inequality (1999). In an article on historical contrasts' between development thinking as chronological process and cultural difference (Hastrup 1990), she analyses this destructive dynamic as a conflation of cultural difference with social inequality and thus a conceptualization of 'the other' as *distant* in time (un-developed). The change here is a change from a perception of differences as variant perceptions of the world relative to practiced self-world relations, and then difference as distinctions, i.e. subtypes of an independently given reality (Ingold above) – in this case a universally recognised evolutionary scale. Based in analysis of the de-humanizing consequences of pre-objectification of 'the other' as different in time and space, the latter (objectification of 'the other' as categorically different) is a "conceptual destruction" impeding an approach to development based in recognition of cultural difference (Hastrup 1990: 38).

Hastrup argues that the anthropological perspective on difference and the ideal of equality within developmental thinking have been perceived as mutually exclusive categories (ibid: 40). In other words: a discourse reproducing enlightenment images of the world cannot contain differences at the level of world apprehension and equality within its categories, which essentially means that perceiving of people as different is reproductive of their position as peripheral. According to Hastrup, the trouble begins with the logical mistake of confusing difference with inequality and likeness with equality. Possibly, she says, this is a legacy of evolutionary thinking, shared across the disciplines. The problem is that when we focus on life variations as social inequality, we adapt the oppositions at the root of the discourse ob-

jectifying differences as subtypes, and thus simultaneously blind ourselves to the relational constituents of the hunters' life world.

This section has traced out a possible dilemma confronting indigenous people in situations of culture contact, such as schooling. The Enlightenment thinking has rooted within education the idea of difference as relative to an objective reality. As part of dominant western development thinking this approach to difference is traceable when the Greenlandic-speaking child is by Greenlandic politicians rhetorically reproduced as a poorer representation of the idealized life modality (Chapter One). In the context of this section, this rhetoric indexes historical trajectories to euro-centric ideas about life. The dilemma is one of path transformation as part of doing formal education. In Chapter One I described how hunters perceive of nature as a participant in education. Following Hastrup's analysis of dynamics of conceptual destruction implied in western developmental thinking in relation to cultural variations, taking up with education as a growth in attention acquired through disentanglement from nature includes disengagement from the world as perceived by hunters.

From an analytical perspective, I have engaged with humanism as an object of attention relative to a particular configuration of the world, and as a central component in the 'culturedness' of euro-centric educational thinking. 'Culture' is from an anthropological analytical perspective the implication of social practices, and not something we can 'find'. This approach enables a de-construction of descriptive and bordering uses of the concept of culture for encapsulating variations in life as categorical representations. The following two sections are sub-sections of this one. This first elaborates on the consequential growth-context of humanist perception of education, and the second addresses the moral implications for people categorized as different from a humanist perception.

Disengagement: Growth as chronological process

My research shows that although Greenlanders cherish their cultural history as hunters, when talking about their children's possible education, they subordinate the relationships and rhythms constitutive to children's pre-school world experience to the conditions of schooling. This in some ways suggests that parents think of education as something that begins with schooling. It also focuses attention on borders as part of the dynamics of formal education. In a historical perspective the understanding of education as beginning with schooling makes sense, and we might as well use this experience of schooling as isolated from everyday life as a clue to return to Enlightenment as a root in the developmental thinking contextualizing schooling.

According to Lundberg, education as schooling developed in Europe during the Enlightenment. The purpose of education as schooling was to shape and mold children for a pre-destined end: the civilized human. Lundberg says, the enlightened person was perceived as a social unit that had to be constructed in the sense of being designed. Enlightenment was seen to cause the social human, and enlightening consisted in a process of education (2005: 80). As presented in the section above, the social human stood against the natural human. There is nothing peculiar in constructing a social order (schooling) relative to an end. However, achieving humanity through disengagement from material surroundings and cognitive disengagement from relations constitutive to experience situates the process of education through schooling as a process isolated from the conditions of hunter's everyday life.

As enfolded above, Hastrup links the western project of development through levelling with Europeans in time with the general European project of humanism. In this context, schooling is a bridge with which to cross chasm between the un-educated, living close to nature, and the educated, living close to humanity. At an individual level this framing of education challenges relations between being and knowing. Education as a sequential process (bridging) activates an image of growth as a chronological

process. Schooling emerges in this perspective as an institutionalized execution of a sequential and chronological logic. Within this logic, growth is seen to come from the ‘outside’ of children’s everyday life. In a sense, ‘foreign’ knowledge is wanted as vehicle for individual and social development. However, this logic of external imposition of ‘foreign’ knowledge as premise of growth might be co-constitutive to the emergence of schooling as situations of cultural conflict. The separation of knowledge and being implied in a chronological approach to growth has been problematized by Dewey in “The Child and the Curriculum” (Dewey 1956: 17-25). Here, Dewey warns against education which ignores developmental relations present in children’s experiences and put “the child in a given path and compelling him to walk there” (ibid: 18). Development is not just about getting something into the mind, says Dewey, but about developing experience (ibid). According to Dewey, if new knowledge is not induced as part of children’s experiencing of the world, problems related to children’s experience of new knowledge as irrelevant, de-motivating and destructive of children’s own experience based competences. It is thus not the sequential organization of growth according to stages and levels which establishes cultural conflict itself, but the way change occurs as part of this structure.

A fixed image of growth impacts the conceptualization of knowledge, as established above. It also impacts perception of the learner. As problematized by Dewey, the problem with having an inflexible end for educational processes (as humanism) is that it reduces children’s activities to representations of a stage (ibid: 14, my parentheses). A perspective on growth as following a set chronological order, separated in specific sequences (stages) draws attention to how children represent stages, rather than to interaction between children’s experiences and school objects. Following this logic, a de-contextualization of indigenous life activities (such as following animal’s migrations) leads to reduction to a stage in human development at an individual as well as at a collective level.

Drawing on Hastrup, Lundberg and Dewey I have above showed how a social structure of education based in a presupposition of growth as a sequential acquisition of external (foreign) knowledge implies particular socio-historical perceptions and framings of knowledge and of learners, as well as it reproduces an image of education as a process of civilization. Particularly in a cross-cultural context, this is likely to form a situation of cultural conflict as part of taking up with schooling.

This section has paid attention to the implications of enlightenment and western developmental thinking for the organization of education as schooling, i.e. as a shaping and molding process of civilization. I have showed how schooling according to a pre-set end isolated from children's (in general) and indigenous people's life world and constitutional relations implicates cultural encounter as part of its working order. As presented here, it is in general a cultural encounter between forms of knowledge, and in relation to cross cultural societies as Greenland this encounter implicates relations constitutional to a cultural heritage as hunters.

The insensitivity in comparisons of variations in ways of being in the world, also have moral implication for the involved. I turn to this below.

Humanity: Level of education as implying moral state

In relation to education, Norbert Elias has mentioned how depictions of others as, for instance, 'childish' are an attempt to describe how their "kind and stage" appear from within a discourse of civilization (Elias 2000: xi). The same could be said about the depiction of hunter's as barbaric or just as hunters. Within the chronological discourse of civilization, 'hunting' refers to a stone-age kind and stage of living and thus as belonging in the past. In this section I draw explicitly on Lundberg's analysis of the consequences of enlightenment thinking for the representation of blind people. The idea in doing this is to analyze and situate cultural processes of differentiation through comparison between representa-

tions of indigenous people in school contexts and blind people. I make short references to indigenous researcher Rogoff's analysis of how indigenous people have been perceived by colonizers. My focus in this section is on how the positioning of others at a distance from a center which presumably represents the ideal human, implies moral judgments indexing being different as being morally inferior.

Barbara Rogoff (2003) has studied the cultural encounter in education in relation to indigenous people in depth. According to her, from the 1700s educational 'experts' of various kinds have oscillated between two models for the evaluation of educational needs: The deficit model – that 'savages' are without reason and social order – and a romantic view of the 'noble savage' living in a harmonious natural state unspoiled by the constraints of society (ibid: 16). Similar to this, Lundberg has described how blind people in Europe in the renaissance were depicted in a way that tied their physical disability to a moral status. According to Lundberg, blind people were portrayed in paintings, not as blind in the sense of missing the physical ability to see, but rather as people deprived of morality (Lundberg 2005: 43-47). Lundberg finds, that the use of blindness as metaphor for not being able to understand something derives from this historical process (Lundberg ibid). The way the use of 'blindness' as a category of moral inferiority has stuck with us from renaissance up till the present, tells us something about the prevalence of descriptive categories when naturalized as part of everyday language. Similar to how 'being blind' continues to express lack of cognitive ability to think and has nothing to do with vision; the notion of life as hunter and gatherer is associated with a primitive *state* of life, disregarding what people who see themselves as hunters actually do.

We recognize the 'savage model' that Rogoff speaks of, from Egede's depiction of Inuit hunters as barbarian and non-human, and the attitude among followers of the Danish reform priest Grundtvig that Greenlanders were 'noble savages', accepted as part of human society, but also as representing an immature state of development. Although the image of Greenlanders as 'children' combined the views of

the Enlightenment with romanticism, thus acknowledging Greenlanders as essentially human, they were continuously classified as 'lower' and thus less human, based in Eurocentric perceptions of hunter's human-nature interactions. An analysis of the design of education in Greenland spells out the use of the concept of culture for establishing borders.

As we heard in Chapter Two, when Egede arrived in Greenland he first perceived of Inuit hunters as racially different from the humans living in Europe. This changed according to a change in ideas about human development in Europe. In relation to the scaling of educational needs for Greenlanders, the change in construction of Greenlanders as people 'on-the-same-track-but-behind' possibly enforced the colonizers' idea of the need for education in Greenland. With a perception of differences between 'barbarian' and 'cultured' as social (instead of racial), overcoming the frontier of civilization was only a matter of time (Høiris 2011: 113). In line with Rogoffs critique, a case from the beginning of the nineteenth century illustrates how educational possibilities for Greenlanders are established according to ideas of their moral maturity, and how education is institutionalized according to an idea of the Greenlandic learners as inferior to the civilized teachers' society.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, a fraction of the Protestant church founded a new, private association of missionaries in Denmark, Dansk Missions Selskab (1821). This community, headed by the Lutheran priest, Grundtvig, argued against the rational and conservative state-church and suggested improving education for Greenlanders by working as helping priest in Greenland. In 1829, DMS suggested Greenlandic priests and in 1835 the establishment of a seminary for Greenlandic priests in Greenland. However, although they argued for a seminar for Greenlanders in Greenland, they worried about the low stage of cultural development that they found to characterise Greenlanders, and due to this observation they suggested that a seminar in Greenland should not be of same level as the seminars in Denmark. Instead, it was argued, the education must relate "to the actual level of culture and need"

(Wilhjelm 1997: 26). Because the need was found to be less, what they suggested was a shorter model than the one in Denmark (ibid). Also, they considered further education in Denmark, but ended up not recommending it due to costs, and due to expected *moral harm* by European enchantments (ibid).

The proposal was approved in 1844 as directive, with the exception that it would not be an education for priests, as *the civilisation at this stage was not considered adequately mature, and it was doubted if Greenlandic priests would be able to exercise authority* to their countrymen. According to Wilhjelm, the decision to establish a seminary in Greenland and educate more Greenlandic catechists (local assistant priests) due to their perceived lower cultural level came to have significant impact all through the 19th century. It was later referred to in discussions on establishment of further seminaries, and in discussions concerning legislations regarding the seminaries, and the arguments *against* further education in Denmark came to be standard impediments (ibid: 30-31). Wilhjelm find it noteworthy that the argument about Greenlanders becoming spoiled and self-important if they came to Denmark later came to be used as if it was based on actual experience, which was nowhere near the case. Instead it was motivated by the dogmatic ideas of that time of the unspoiled child of nature (ibid: 31).

The debate reflected changes in the intellectual environments in Europe at the time. Central to the decision about establishing a seminar in Greenland at a lower level than seminars in Denmark, was a humanistic approach. Conflicting ideas about ‘being cultured’ in the sense of being educated and civilised on the one side, and romanticizing ideas of the ‘noble savage’ that should never be spoiled on the other, posed a paradox to the overall aim of civilizing.⁷ Yet, whether perceived as in need of protection (from civilisation) or in need of maturation (into civilisation), Greenlanders were objectified as minors, children in relation to Danes. Knowledge was at the same time objectified as something that could be distributed in allotments relative to the distributor’s perception of the need of the learner. Above, a limiting social qualification demonstrating this social mechanism at work is ‘maturity’, which, used in this

classificatory sense, came to direct the management of education. Education should be shorter and continuation in Denmark was rejected, which documents the continued erection of social borders *as part of* constructing learning environments.

I have above compared the representation of blind people with the representation of hunter and gatherers and found that both are in ethnocentric perceptions represented as morally inferior. Looking into the consequences of imposing particular world apprehensions on other people creates a view to the possible existential dilemmas included in schooling at a personal level. As a chance to qualify morally as human being, schooling is not only an outer object to be obtained for future positions, but implies the internalization of values that judge life as a hunter and gatherer to be morally inferior.

So far, I have presented the idea of ‘humanism’ as integral to the emergence of education as the acquisition of knowledge from the outside to level with the ‘human society’. I referred Lundberg’s research on the establishment of schooling during enlightenment and thus as structured according to ideas prevalent at that time in Europe. The conceptualization of education as a universal process of distancing from a ‘natural’ and ‘immoral’ state of being contextualizes recognition of students’ cultural differences. I have showed how phenomenological variations in ways of perceiving the world are in a school-centric context sensitive to historical ideological structures perceived as categorical representations of (cultural) kind and stage of humanity. This not only impacts student recognition as human being, but also processes of motivation. From an ethical and epistemological position rooted in Enlightenment thinking, imposition of education in the sense of pre-objectified knowledge according to a sequential order is a legitimate act. However, as also traced out, referring to Dewey, this practice separates knowing from being in the outset and as such cuts off children’s experiences previous to school. In general this practice of education is likely to position children with a variant human-world relationship (such as indigenous children) as morally inferior. Taken together, the conceptual destruction of difference that is im-

manent in a school-centric concept of education, itself rooted in the lines of thought presented here, is, at an epistemological level, constitutive of schooling as a situation of cultural encounter rather than a situation of development of experience.

The sections above suggest that the colonial legacy in formal education is constitutional to experiences of cultural encounter as part of schooling. It has increased attention to indigenous children's experience with schooling in Greenland as a possible effect of the intersection of two cultural worlds at an epistemological level. Until now, the focus in this chapter has been on the subject matter of education in a historical perspective. Below I turn to Greenlandic parent's attentions to their children's variant possible paths of growth. They reveal traces of the historical roots in school centric education as active at an existential level, i.e. at the level of what it means to be a living being (human).

Path transformation: Between land-based living and community life

The historical split and contrast between a way of knowing as associated with being Greenlandic and a way of knowing as associated with being Danish has continued up until today. It is sometimes extended to describe a contrast between town based living (Danish) and life lived in smaller communities (Greenlandic) where hunting is a central component in everyday life. At an empirical level these cultural differences are associated with different educational paths oriented toward different objects of attention.

In this section I present interviews with Greenlandic parents, which shows how cultural conflict in relation to schooling engages variant social contexts. During fieldwork, debates about children's schooling were constantly related to language (Danish/Greenlandic) and the life world. There was a general experience of coherence between ways of living when in the land or at the sea for hunting or gathering and perception of life, the latter implying particular styles of child care and ways of becoming knowledgeable.

ble, yet also a great enthusiasm about national independence, and, linked to this, the improvement of children's schooling. Below I present interview excerpts that convey the tensions Greenlandic parents negotiate as part of motivating their children for school. These are tensions experienced as tensions between values and thus of self-world relations. The first excerpt is from an interview with a mother of four that I often talked to during my time in Ilulissat. She had lived with her husband in remote places before the children reached school age and they had to settle in a town to accommodate the need for schooling. I was asking her to compare life in and out of town and relate this to possible changes in her upbringing of her children. Her answer reveals tensions between what are perceived as Danish and Greenlandic values, the latter known through its child-centeredness:

M: It was different then (when the children were little) ... we followed nature, we had no set times for eating, the children were out late ... I thought, I must let my children stay out late. Here (in Ilulissat) I have returned to my Danish values. We had happy children then ... they were more satisfied

Suna: Can you elaborate on this?

M: I was satisfied to give the children all what they wanted. The border was school-age. Before schooling they lived more freely, on their emotions and their needs

According to this mother, schooling performs a transition to a life that is rule-oriented and follows external demands. It is experienced as limiting at a physical level, at least if we understand 'living freely' as meaning bodily possibilities of movement. She contrasts schooling as such with giving her children all they want and their ability to follow their needs, implying that school – or town-based living – limits the fulfillment of experienced needs.

Her reflections reveal sensitivity to the rhythms of seasons and the children's correspondent rhythms as part of living in smaller settlements. She describes bringing up children within a context of human-

nature interaction as satisfying for herself and as resulting in happy and satisfied children. ‘Emotions’ and felt ‘needs’ are also within this context approached as legitimate knowledge to act upon. Bodily senses as well as the use of affections as knowledge is largely ignored in educational thinking, where education is defined through a categorical exclusion of nature and a construal of closeness to nature as socially and morally inferior contexts of knowing.

On another occasion, I did a group interview with parents. This was at the beginning of my research, and I was asking broad questions trying to identify relevant themes to pursue. I was asking what kind of values they would like to be able to inculcate in their own children when they grew up. They debated this very enthusiastically, and after a while, I decided to draw a figure on a whiteboard to gather and visualize points from the debate, asking them to reflect on their own words. Inside the figure, I wrote: *individualist* (my interpretation of individual choice of education), *equal* and *courageous* (values which had also been brought up). I then asked the group, what they saw:

G: *“It is the new Greenlander”*

M: *“Yes, it is”*

Suna: *“How?”*

O: *“Before you could not do anything without taking account of everything and everyone”*

G: *“You always had to think of the family”*

Above I described how schooling made it possible to achieve a position in society contrary to growth as a person within kinship relations. I think this historical change is reflected in this interview. To these parents it is at first articulated as relief from constraints. Individuality as the ability to act independently is welcomed and perceived as a change between ‘before’ and ‘now’. Then there is a change in topic and

this unintentionally displays everyday life in Greenland today as lived with a foot in two cultures. The talk moves into a talk about sibling differentiation in kin-based relations:

G: When my mother became grandmother to my son, she started spoiling him. Then I said she had to mark borders. He had begun to pull hair. My mother was spoiled herself, and she could not take responsibility when she became an adult ... my son is the first child of the oldest daughter, and even though he is ... illegitimate ... he was named after a deceased uncle. They were really happy. They thought he had been reborn and come back and he was the first grandchild.

M: "Previously, children of hunters never forgot who spoiled them when they were little. When they had been spoiled, they showed respect to the ones who had spoiled them"

G: "Previously it was good".

This interview reveals the workings of Inuit naming customs in present Greenlandic life, and the vital role they play for constituting relationships. In this case, an 'illegitimate' son is included in family relations through the use of the particular name of a deceased uncle. According to Inuit traditions, a name is an essential and constituting force in life, drawing a line between the deceased and the newborn, which, to the name-givers, is experienced as the return of a known part of life (Fienup-Riordan 1995. 123). What this illuminates is how practiced relatedness is a constitutive part of Inuit/Greenlandic social relationships. In her narrative, 'G', in my interpretation, begins with a critique of her parents' way of spoiling her son. Spoiling is first elaborated as letting a child pull hair; thus as allowing physical behaviour thought to be uncomfortable, and related to an ability to act responsibly as an adult. Then 'spoiling' is related to acts of welcoming a child into the family. This line of thinking is picked up by 'M' who traces a relation between being spoiled and a respectful attitude as adult.

Reflecting upon this interview, I think several terms in the conversation change their meaning according to a change in context. Spoiling might be a poor translation of a Greenlandic word into Danish (*forkælelse*), which in Danish is associated with lack of discipline as an adult, particularly in terms of economic self-restriction. This might be the context leading to associations between being spoiled and lacking the ability to take responsibility as an individual in a modern society. However, another meaning of being spoiled emerges, one that construes ‘spoiling’ someone as an affectionate attitude quite contrarily expected to lead to respect for the ‘spoilers’. What we see is how the same act – allowing a child to pull hair – can mean child neglect and attentive interaction dependent on experienced social context. The use of affections as knowledge applied in the upbringing of toddlers, where small children take up very privileged positions, is studied in depth by Jean Briggs in her work on the emotional education of a three-year old Canadian Inuit, and described in her monograph “Inuit Morality Play” (Briggs 1998). According to Briggs, Inuit education focuses on emotions: on feeling loved, of feeling fear and numerous variations in between, related to actual situations and what she calls future subsistence techniques (*ibid*: 47). I will go into greater depth about the Angujaartorfik hunter’s style of education in Chapter Seven.

If we relate this example of cultural difference at work and the previous sections, in particular in regard to the conflation of cultural difference with social inequality, the change of meanings provides an example of conceptual destruction. Within a generalized context of human development, ‘spoiling children’ is assumed to have general consequences such as irresponsibility as an adult. In contrast, as a culturally specific social act relative to Inuit cultural trajectories of relatedness, ‘spoiling’ takes on another meaning. Looked at this way, cultural difference, tangible in ways of relating, is, as part of a social process, a matter of negotiating context on the way to being transformed into sequential differences (childish behavior) that reproduce an epistemology based in evolutionary thinking. It could lead to cultural homogenization because cultural difference is practiced as particular moments of the same universal

logic (Ingold 2011: 230). By the same token, history is reduced to chronology, i.e. a question of practices of the past rather than narrative movements constitutive of the moment. At the level of experience, these dynamics interact, and are likely to lead to tensions that are nevertheless hard to get a hold of.

In this section, I have demonstrated how different social contexts interweave in practice and affect parent's lines of thinking. The women's difficulties in transferring social customs associated with family life to discussions about children's ideal future values within a modern context has brought out tensions contextualizing school activities. For schools in Greenland struggling with motivation among indigenous students, it might be interesting to consider the impact of a model of growth implying path transformation and cultural self-marginalization.

In the next section I direct my interest toward the scientific root of educational thinking: Durkheim. As I will show, his functionalist approach aligns with general ideas about education as a bridge linking individual and society. The point I make here is related to the argument in Chapter One about mathematical relations between humans and society, and between students and society. The historical prevalence of a particular epistemology makes one wonder about the role of science. Below I show how educational studies share epistemological root with the dichotomizing way of thinking characteristic of as well Christianity as Enlightenment.

Perspective: Scientific epistemology of education

What we are tracing out in this chapter is conceptualizations of difference in relation to approaches to student's variant life worlds within school-centric education. So far we have become acquainted with the Enlightenment trajectory in educational thinking situating education as a humanist project based in a comparison between assumed natural like states of living and cultured or educated ways of living. The *perspective* this trajectory implies on education as the acquisition of pre-objectified knowledge and of

learners as entities with identical acquisition apparatuses entwine historically with a similar line of attention in educational studies.

Educational practices that we today reflect upon as acts of imposition might have come about as an interplay between general ideas flourishing in Europe at the time and specific scientific approaches to education. Of particular interest to the issue of neglecting the experience of indigenous people (students) as part of educational strategies, is the scientific approach developed by Durkheim (1858-1917) which founded educational studies.

To Durkheim, education was a social fact; an object representing the rules of social life. In his seminal work “The Nature of Education” (Durkheim 2000), he argued that education has a “reality in itself” that “can be no more changed at will than the structure of the society itself” (ibid: 59). The perspective he represents on education, is one which separates social attention from how people interact with their surroundings. How life is imagined is seen as embodied in collective representations. The subject matter to Durkheim in relation to education was to document education as a “universal practice” that, across relativist differences, shared a “nature of influence” (ibid: 59). This influence, he stated, aimed at fixating ideas, sentiments and practices in the minds of children (ibid). Relative to this view, schools were agents of socialization, training the children for participation in society (ibid: 67). The ontology Durkheim presents us with, is a dichotomist perception of the world, in which knowing and being is separated, and ‘knowledge’ ‘floats’ above life as a system of shared cognitive representations constitutive to ‘society’. In an epistemological perspective, his interest in education is schooling as the achievement of social inclusion (presupposing an ‘outside’).

There is a parallel between the more philosophical Enlightenment approach and Durkheim’s theoretical approach in that they share ontological foundations (culture-nature split) and epistemologies (taxonom-

ic approach). According to Durkheim's theory, studies in education were studies in particulars within a positivist framework. Within this classificatory thinking, forms and structures are assigned into types and subtypes in the manner of a botanist (Ingold 2011: 234). From this universalist view, different cultures or societies represent different, but structurally alike, representational systems. On this background, the concern in a growth perspective is the individual appropriation of the collective representations making up the culture or society each understood as bounded social totalities. In chapter One, I touched upon this style of problem-solving as a 'mathematic' approach. I bring it up again as an example of one of the historical trajectories tangling up to reproduce specific Eurocentric epistemologies and ontologies as part of educational thinking.

Indigenous researchers and researchers in indigenous relations, urge us to see education and schooling as social processes themselves and as objects of analytical inquiry (Berger 2009, Sefa Dei 2000, Rogoff 2003, Steckley 2008). Above I have traced out Durkheim's conceptualisation of education as training for society as a significant scientific root in Eurocentric approaches to education and to the relationship between education and society. I discuss below how the process of conceptual destruction of cultural differences at an epistemological level informs practical approaches to cultural difference.

Culture contact: The culture of Schooling revisited

In chapter one, I introduced the notion of a school centric discourse, which cross-cultural researchers find problematic as it reproduces dichotomies such as subject-object, being and knowing, human-nature (Paradise, Rogoff 2009: 102). This chapter together with Chapter Two suggests the root of this thinking to be found in a merging of historical-ideological relations and civilized and state-based (center-based) society.

The positivist approach based in the assumption that education is a general mechanism to achieve collective representations is apparent today when tensions in cross-cultural schooling is addressed as a problem of student's achievements. Within this dichotomist subject-object logic, experienced problems with student motivation are easily articulated as rooted in differences *between* cultures or *between* students and the school system. Thus research approaches or political approaches to education as an object for acquisition and students as recipients overlooks the question of how education as a relational activity emerges from the perspective of the learner. In a democratic perspective, I sympathize fully with his project. My critique is not aimed at this, but at the scientific or political presumptions and structural relations reproducing ethnocentric perspectives on indigenous student's school motivation.

Inuit researcher Marie Battiste (2002) points out how indigenous knowledge has been studied in ignorance of how it has been perceived by its practitioner (ibid: 16). In systematizing indigenous knowledge according to a Eurocentric taxonomy it has been deprived of its situated epistemology. Battiste problematizes the lack of objectification of the typically applied concept of culture as part of a deconstructive analysis (ibid: 16). The critique applied by Battiste is recognized by some parts of the scientific community as part of the history of science. According to Hastrup, central to the project of Enlightenment was a classification of people in groups (Hastrup 1999: 41-42), and classification was based in an assumption of a meta-physical scan from a dis-engaged and "non-implicated perspective" (ibid). The 'non-implicatedness' as it is framed by Hastrup is what deprives indigenous people of a situated epistemology, as called for by Battiste.

The 'non-implicated perspective' is more commonly known as a positivist and classificatory perspective. It frames plurality as plurality in kind and types of societies (pre-objectified units) and thus education can only be manifold in a relativist sense, i.e. also as sub-category of a pre-objectified mechanism.

In line with the comment from Rogoff above, Battiste says that numerous studies have focused on teaching methods to address the needs of indigenous children, yet these studies have not examined “the culture of the school itself to see what counts as knowledge and truth and what does not” (ibid: 16). From the perspective of indigenous students, Battiste is questioning the implicit culture of school, and pointing to un-reflected, universal perceptions of knowledge and truth. This is in line with the point addressed in the discussion of Dewey earlier on: the relation between the curriculum and the children’s experience extends the ‘cultural encounter’ problem to a general problem about use of experience in schooling.

What Battiste asks us to see, is how the way of perceiving indigenous knowledge or practices from a Eurocentric position implies a separation of cultural acts and social context as part of the ‘universals’ of education itself. This is similar to Hastrup’s point about conceptual deconstruction of difference as an accomplishment of categorical alignment of difference with social status from a disentangled point of observation. The separation of knowing from the life world of students instills a dualism that might be what leads to teaching programs specializing in the needs of indigenous children rather than reflections on indigenous ways of knowing as a condition for education as growth.

Together with the rest of the chapter, this section has showed that school-centric education 1) organizes difference within a representative epistemology, which 2) leads to reproduction of social inequality as well as it 3) seems at loss in regard to include the situated epistemology of indigenous people.

Summing up and perspectives

Analysis of interviews with Greenlandic parents showed that schooling form a paradox to some. It is at one and the same time a path of growth within the context of modern society, and a limitation to growth along relations constitutive to life according to the cultural heritage as Inuit hunters. At one

point in the discussion referred above, education was seen as a welcomed opportunity to depart from the constraints of family life. At another point social change impacting intergenerational relationships was lamented. The chances are that attending to education to achieve separation actually leads to separation and experience of displacement. This use of education according to what we might call a school centric epistemology is also the reproduction of a division of the world into the educated and the non-educated, and thus in practice a continuation of a social structure embodying a conceptual destruction of the variations in way of life represented in the experience of school centric education and modern society as path transformation.

Analytically this chapter has concentrated on the historical trajectories tangling up to form the concept of difference as it is practiced as part of the social structure of school centric education. I have analyzed the conceptualization of cultural difference as social inequality relative to an image of the world as a map with a center (Europe). I have demonstrated how the central perspective on differences as representations of a general order is sustained in classic scientific approaches to education. As a critique of this practice as assumedly universal, it has been demonstrated, how it is possible to objectify, situate and contextualize central social dynamics of education in particular socio-historical relations. Comparison between objectification of indigenous people according to a human centered and Eurocentric discourse, and categorization and representation of blind people demonstrated the construction of differences according to a human centered logic as a general logic embodied within Enlightenment. I followed Hastrup in her analysis of a cultural relativist approach as leading to conceptual destruction and as establishing a barrier to apprehend phenomenological variant perceptions of the world and ways of living as cultural differences at an ontological level.

Schools as institutions that reproduce failure rather than invoke development is a classic theme in educational studies, known in particular from Paul Willis' (Willis 1977) longitudinal ethnographic study on

reproduction of social inequality as part of schooling, which shows how working class children in northern England become working class as part of a process of cultural encounter at school. Teachers approach these children with negative expectations to their ability to do well in school based in assumptions about their background. In practice, teacher's background 'knowledge' of their students prevents their ability to recognize the actual student engagement. Willis' study serves here as a reminder of the consequences of mechanic perceptions of learners and their activities when carried out in practice. It also relates the question of the role of indigenous knowledge in school to a more general question about the role of experience in formal education.

Finally, this chapter invites us to stop conflating of difference with inequality (underprivileged) and of the educational process with an individual property within a representational order. In Greenland, this confusion of concerns has produced a) a history of life as a hunter relative to a European social and theoretical context, rather than the history of a way of being in the world, and b) a history of education in Greenland as a matter of the acquisition of 'outside knowledge'.

The positivist approach to culture construes different ways of living as representational differences. The implied naturalized division between indigenous life embedded in seasonal movements and modern society - constructed around an idea of humans as nature's opposite - is problematic as it obscures the hierarchical organization of ways of living, which should be the focus of our inquiry. This chapter has shown that this is in fact a domination of indigenous people's perception of the world, and thus constitutive of the experience of schools as sites of cultural encounter, rather than an enfolding at an individual level. According to my argument in this chapter, Eurocentrism is embedded in structural relations that intertwine to shape education according to assumed universals that block growth as an act of relational development. If we imagine cultural difference and social equality to co-exist, we could no longer

think of education as a universal process of transmission. This would take the eyes of the individual student.

In this chapter, the lines I have pursued for analysis have been structural, which condition the epistemologies and ontologies of Eurocentric and school centric education in continued enactment. In the next chapter, phenomenal lines illuminate the shape and movement of social attention performed as part of educational practices. The historical period of de-colonization and simultaneous industrialization in Greenland in the twentieth century perform an exemplary case for studying the path-making processes that are characteristic of modern society. I analyze the changes in human-environment relations that are instantiated by industrialization, re-housing and intensified schooling of Greenlandic children to build a modern society, as part of a particular dynamic of life and of growth.

4 Growth: The dynamic of Straight Lines

Chapter Two established a preoccupation within mission educational practices with the individual learners, or more specifically, with their minds. I showed how this object of attention interrelated with ideas about the social as carved out from nature. In Chapter Three we encountered the effect of a dichotomous world view for recognising cultural differences as part of educational processes and activities. This chapter takes a deeper look into the relational implications of colonialism's relocation of the indigenous world, and relate this to a general question about the relationship between being and knowing.

Greenland achieved Home Rule in 1979, followed in 2009 by Self Rule. Indeed, the political agenda since 1979, and continuing up to the present, has been the pursuit of increased independence from Denmark. In this chapter, I will relate the deep re-structuring of Greenlandic society realized in a post-war political context of de-colonization in the 1950s and 1960s to contextualize the problems that surround children's motivation in schooling. Enhanced political independence has been achieved as a result of leveling the playing field with Denmark in terms of administrative regulation of Greenland as a 'society'. In the field of education, the struggle for political independence has been followed by a struggle for 'spiritual' freedom at a cultural level. Greenlanders have fought to achieve the right to their country through adaptation to a global, rule-based and economically governed society as well as to re-enact the social reality embodied in everyday relations with place and kin.

The present cultural reform initiative gives priority to Greenlandic language and includes elements from Greenlandic everyday life in school activities and teaching strategies. Yet, the results are disappointing¹.

Locally, in Greenland, step-tests have been developed according to international standards and with the same properties as for instance PISA (Allerup, Karlsen et al. 2013). 71 % of the students in the Greenlandic public school are primarily Greenlandic speaking. Test performances enable statistically comparable results among age groups in different regions; these are differentiated between towns and hamlets, between sexes, between language-groups, and within schools. Further it can dynamically relate individual performances at different class levels by tracking personal identification numbers. Correlating test results from 2007 to 2010 according to language-groups, Greenlandic students performed markedly worse than Danish speaking students in all subjects beside Greenlandic (ibid: 38).

Low test results are what currently fuel the debate about education in Greenland, and after years of focusing on Greenlandic speaking students and their culture, tests show that this group is not improving. In other words, the school system is still not able to engage the group of children seen as ‘authentic’ Greenlanders. This obviously poses a dilemma.

The longstanding problems in education calls into question the kind of disorder experienced by indigenous children as part of going to school. Yet, how do we gain access to the core of this disorder? In 2009, I did a 12-hour study of the everyday routes of an average pre-school boy in Ilulissat, whom I shall refer to as ‘Malik’. He had no particular problems; his parents did not represent a problematic or particular fortunate social background in any perspective, he understood Danish and preferred to speak Greenlandic. The pre-school was one I had done observations in before, and neither represented anything problematic. I was curious to learn about the routes engaged through choice of activities, obliga-

tions or other by an average child observed on a randomly picked day. I learned during this day that unproblematic everyday life for a pre-school child includes skillful switching between different cultural worlds in which apparently similar markers of social attention, such as age, have different *significance* depending on the situational context. I will come back to this.

Educational practices in Greenland maintain an attention to growth based on Eurocentric and Western claims about the nature of humanity and social life that dominate the experienced implications of place, tradition and kin. The previous chapters have established how the imposition of religious and scientific epistemologies included a change in human-environment relations relative to a perception of nature as human resource, knowledge as truth or fact, and life as a controlled act of mind upon the world. As part of this I have discussed the division between knowing and being that is characteristic of Western ways of thinking. Changing ways of knowing, however, imply changes also in the significance of an object of attention and thus a possible change in experience. It is possible that the disorder in education relates to the way changes interact with experience and thus with the processes of becoming.

I argue that a particular linearity is embedded in school centric education, invested in capitalist and capitalizing relations. Analyzed as a performance, this linearity brings out sensuous dimensions of particular cultural productions of life and of growth. I end the chapter with a discussion of the nuances that the linearity perspective contributes to discussions of indigenous school motivation as a problem of disorder at an ontological level.

Education as experience

The section title above is borrowed from the work of John Dewey (Dewey 2005). I have, however, substituted ‘education’ for ‘art’ as it appears in the title of Dewey’s collection of essays. I want to apply the distinction Dewey draws between art as an object and art as experience as an analytical perspective

to experiences of disorder as part of processes of growth. In ‘Art as Experience’ (Dewey 2005) Dewey wonders about the compartmentalization of fine art in museums in modern times, and contrasts it with the “artistic engagement” embodied in tending to flowers, making pottery and other daily activities (ibid: 6). In other words, he relates the appearance of reality to actual engagement. According to Dewey, what we today attend to as art objects, used to be “enhancements of the social processes of life” (ibid: 5). He is thinking here of objects such as vases, rugs and other finely crafted domestic utensils, along with music and paintings, which he finds modern life has “dislocated” to a distant position as things (ibid).

Dewey describes how the art-perceiver relationship was transformed through modernity. People before him engaged with artistic activities related to everyday life, contrary to the present attendance to art from the position as a spectator (ibid: 3). From this position, art appears as art for art’s sake. The change in experience is related to the installation of distance so that, for instance, place and activity are separated (ibid: 6). In the context of the thesis, his work marks an interest in whether something similar could happen to education: Could change in social conditions relative to particular power relations and constructions of the social, change the significance of education as well as of the significance of the ones acquiring education in a way that deprived education from its role as an enhancement of life process and would it correspond with changes in ways of being in the world?

Memories of changes in education in Greenland in the period of de-colonization and industrialization provide a case of how changes in the significance of education are implicated in power relations beyond the immediate situation of educational exchange. In ‘The School and Society & The Child and the Curriculum’ (Dewey 1956) Dewey urges us to approach changes in education as part of a broader, social view (ibid: 5). This prevents us from reducing the actual changes and traditions to “arbitrary inventions of particular teachers” (ibid). As Dewey says:

The modification going on in the method and curriculum of education is as much a product of the changed social situation, and as much an effort to meet the need of the new society that is forming, as are changes in modes of industry and commerce. (Dewey 1956: 6)

Dewey formulates an analytical perspective in which education is not a pre-existing object of inquiry, but emerges in a process interrelated with greater societal changes. From this perspective, educational research has to include the cultural-historical relations making specific educational activity possible.

Dewey wonders why art was during the rise of capitalism put in museums, instead of “in an attendant of temple, forum, and other forms of associated life” (Dewey 2005: 6). Comparatively, we can speculate about why education became dislocated from everyday life to schools and what urged this change. According to Dewey we took art away from everyday life and put it in museums because it was regarded as capital “apart from the common life” (ibid: 7). In an era of capitalism, you can collect art as you can possess education. Treated as objects which in individual possession signal distance to common life, art (and education) reflect “that they are not part of a native and spontaneous culture” (ibid). It is because of their segregation they hold value as capital. Following this, processes of modernity and capitalism segregates education from everyday life and as part of the process, its meaning is changed. Located in schools, education is re-contextualized and becomes significant *as* capital. The change in significance implicates distance to everyday life. In relation to art, Dewey states that “they have lost their indigenous status, they have acquired a new one [...] moreover, and works of art are now produced, like other articles, for sale in the market” (ibid: 8). As a comparative perspective on changes in education, Dewey’s thinking make us think if modernity caused a deprivation of the relation between education and ‘ordinary’ life processes when it became an object for individual possession and for market-based exchange.

Pre-objectifying 'education' includes pre-objectifying teachers, learners, curricula, materials, cultural objects etc. which make up education. Treated as separate elements they are each considered as instruments or parts to improve education, rather than considered as interrelated components constituting education in processes of constant change and negotiation.

In his writing on art, Dewey draws a parallel between everyday life, common life and indigenous life, which I paraphrase when I turn the question of indigenous education into a question of knowledge practices. Dewey's work raises questions about the differing significance that is attributed to similar acts depending on context and implied perspective, while it opens a deeper reflection on the interrelatedness between education as a pre-objectified object with known properties and school motivation among students who do not share the conceptualization and narrative of education embedded in schooling.

As part of trying to come to terms with the disorder reflected in the reform results in Greenland from an anthropological perspective, we can elaborate on Malik's skillful switching between social practices as part of the way his everyday life flows. As mentioned, during the day I followed Malik around, I noticed two distinct uses of age as a social marking. In one case age was objectified as a representation prior to the situation itself, and in another as an embodied relation constituted within the situation. In the pre-school Malik was placed according to his age within a group of children all of similar age. As is common in age-segregated institutions, they had a classroom of their own (stue). On the way home from school I noticed a different use of 'age'. Just before we reached the flat where he lived, he let go of his parents and shouted: 'Peqaat' at another boy. He then ran off. His mother explained to me that in the same way as people in Greenland relate through same name (ateq), the year you were born is also a marker of relatedness: 'Peqaat' is the name of someone in 'your year'.

This case demonstrates from an everyday level the point about change in significance according to situation, as made with Dewey above. As a figure, 'age' depends on the ground for its significance. In 'Things as they are' Michael Jackson (1996) points to a difference between representations as a matter of naming and of embodying (ibid: 32). Jackson draws on Merleau-Ponty's concept of the body as a bodily-being-in the world to frame embodying as an act of intersubjectivity and "a modality of bodylife" (ibid). In this sense, says Jackson, embodying is "a primordial aspect of subjectivity" and "of sociality" (ibid). Regarding Malik, age is in the pre-school used as representation, i.e. an inscription of symbolic value on the body (ibid: 32). Following Dewey above, this use of age implies a perspective which separates object (age) and subject. In this context, age 'figures' as a sign relative to the order of 'society'. When Malik met his year-companion, he (according to his mother) used age to engage directly with his friend. He was not objectifying his friend as 'someone of a similar kind' but *relating* to him and the meaning of 'pegaat' was part of the activity of relating itself. In this usage, 'age' figures as part of an activity or an event (Jackson ibid: 33). At the level of experience, meaning is generated differently and through different use of age in the two situations. This also implies that age has different significance according to actual use. In the pre-school, age mattered as position in a bureaucratic structure (a 'tool' for separating out groups of children from each other), on the street age was enacted as a relation within the social process of everyday life.

Drawing a parallel to art, I have showed above how education changed significance globally as part of the overall socio-historical transformation into modern society. After this, I detailed the implications of change in social context for the significance of a given object of attention, and for the sociality enfolded as part of the way of attending. I have done this as part of framing a general inquiry into disorder in cross-cultural education from the way social significance of objects of attention interact with social processes of growth at a life world level. Following the thoughts of Dewey, including indigenous culture as 'tools' for advancing teaching in a context of capitalism does not imply change, as the pre-

objectification as a tool reduces it to a capitalist object (of attention). This substantiates inquiry into the use of indigenous culture in cultural reforms of schooling. What I have said so far will form a background to a tour through historical changes related with Greenland's becoming a 'society proper' following II World War and as an effect of de-colonization. It is a period of immense rupture, and I am particularly interested in scrutinizing how re-structuring life at an ecological-narrative level changed the significance of education in experience and the implications for the way of attending to growth.

The rest of this chapter analyzes memories from Greenlandic de-colonization and the simultaneous political objectification of Greenland as an integrated part of Denmark. I am interested in the implications of social development processes (broad processes of education) reformatting indigenous or everyday life corresponding to an economic genre of social life, and what this tells us about the interrelatedness between specific practices of education, their significance in particular relations and the realities produced in this process. Ironically, de-colonization in Greenland mark the beginning of the farthest reaching process of imposition of euro-western life patterns. People, whose lives have been affected by the imposition of educational ideas and practices from another place and another sense of sociality, bear with them memories of this conjuncture. The empirical examples of this process that follows below are not all from school-based situations of education. I also engage with experiences of being objectified to politics of centralization, which relocated the population and general industrialization of livelihood as part of a dramatic restructuring of the Greenlandic society at large. Therefore the analysis of dynamics goes across different levels; from language strategies as part of schooling, to physical relocation and re-employment of the adult population.

Danification: Modernization and Industrialization as genres of life

The period from 1950 to 1979 is in Greenland known as the period of 'Danification'. G-50 and G-60 was the formal designation of the political plan implemented in the first two decades in this period and

aimed at bringing Greenland in line with Denmark through industrial investments. Following the German invasion of Denmark in 1940, the colonial administration changed. In 1941, Greenland was formally taken under the protection of the United States (Ydesen 2011: 194, Heinrich 2010: 77-78). This action inaugurated a new political beginning. The colonial relation to the Danish motherland was de-naturalized, and new connections were made in Greenland. The hunting site where I went for my fieldwork, Angujaartorfik, is located 30 kilometres down a fjord from a former American airbase. Elders at the site told stories of how the Americans would come to the site on the weekends in the summertime during the Second World War, landing their helicopter on a nearby plateau, bringing candy for the children, along with alcohol and good humour, and they would all play football. They also recalled making much money on selling caribou meat at the nearby base.

After the war, a central administration was established in Greenland and given representation in the Danish office for Greenlandic affairs (Heinrich 2010: 158-159). Responding to the shifting world order Greenland's history as a Danish colony formally ended in 1953, with a change in the constitution. With de-colonization, education changed hands from the church to the State and became an area of *national* interest and control (Ydesen 2011:193).

A commission was set up by the Danish government in 1948 as a response to the post-war situation in Greenland. Greenlanders participated in the commission, but in a small number, amounting to 15 out of a 105-member commission (Sørensen 2007: 101). In 1950 a reform (G50) withdrew the state monopoly on trade, and Danish politicians strove to make private investments in Greenland beneficial to Danish industry (Heinrich 2010: 197, Thisted 2002: 318, Lund Jensen 1977:3). The aim was to improve life conditions for Greenlanders through private investments in production (Dahl 1986: 19). It also included educational programs. The goal for education was now to bring Greenlanders up to the level of the Danes. The educational system was “made into replicas of those in Denmark, structurally, culturally

and linguistically” (Møller 2011:153). By the end of the 1940s only three to five percent of the Greenlandic population spoke Danish. It was assumed that reading Danish would, along with other changes, make modern culture accessible to them (Heinrich *ibid*: 213). I find it fruitful to contrast these views with the fact that already by the mid-nineteenth century most of the dispersed Greenlandic population could read, and many wrote Greenlandic (Dahl 1986: 17, after Rink 1857: 268-70). Greenland had its first national paper, ‘Atuagagliutit’, in 1861 (Dahl *ibid*: 17).

As discussed by Thisted, Greenlanders participated in the process of modernisation, and themselves pushed for industrial development and equality in economic terms (2006). From a policy perspective, they were not victims. Important representatives of the Greenlandic perspective in these years were an elite of school teachers educated at the catechist seminaries (Chapter Two). To them, Danish language was a vehicle of social improvement. Immediately following the Second World War, they voiced a desire for irrevocable changes in Greenland to become ethnically equal and civilised, integrated into Danish society. Catechists Mathias Storch (1883 – 1957) and Augo Lynge (1899 – 1959) took on the image of representing a less developed people (Bjørst 2008:42, Bryld 2010:11). It seems as if speaking from this position, it was imperative to them that Greenlanders became fully Danish speaking, if they were to cope with a new relationship to Denmark and to the rest of the world.

In 1945, Lynge argued that to change the commonly held view that Greenlanders were lazy and irresponsible, a change in their environment was needed. He directly linked this quest for environmental change with language, in that he argued that speaking Greenlandic kept Greenlanders “spiritually isolated”. To accomplish this change in cultural dynamics, Lynge suggested more Danish-speaking pre-schools. The function of the Danish language here was thus twofold: to provide contact with the world outside of Greenland and also as a conveyor of Danish (higher) culture. Augo Lynge wanted to save Greenland as a nation through acquisition of Danish culture. This, he believed, would secure

Greenlanders both dignity and self-esteem, and the ability to rise to social, political, economic and cultural equality within the Danish realm (Sørensen 2007: 84). In 1938, Lynge argued that

The Eskimo language in Greenland is doomed and all action taken to maintain it as the only language in Greenland is like an injection of morphine, which will only prolong the patient's life temporarily. (Lynge c.fr. Ydesen 2011: 189)

In 1945 he wrote

we want a development within the Danish realm for social, political, economic and cultural equality [...] in other words, we want out of the Greenlander to make a good Danish citizen. (Bryld 2010: 11)

By the end of the 1950s, Danish politicians had come to realize that private investors were not willing to take the risk of actually investing in production in Greenland, and for this reason changed their strategy, adopting central, governmental investment in the set up and running of industries within Greenland as the preferred approach (Dahl 1986: 21). To attract Danish workers to Greenland, a new reform, G60, made it possible to pay a 20 percent higher wage to Danes coming to Greenland, than to Greenlanders (Lund Jensen 1977:14). It created a reality where Greenlanders in Greenland watched the Danes take all the well-paid jobs (Sejersen 1999: 128). This was locally experienced as injustice. The difference was meant to equalize the salary of Greenlandic wageworkers with the income of Greenlandic hunters and fishermen (Sørensen 2007: 120). Despite local protests, Danish decision makers regarded it as the solution best suited to do justice to everybody until 1970 (ibid: 130).

As there were not enough Greenlandic teachers who spoke Danish in Greenland in the 1950s, Danish teachers were recruited. Within a context defining growth to come from the outside, Danish teachers were clearly assigned a paternalistic role. It looked like “solid cultural imperialism and the Danes were confident that they were sharing their ‘higher’ culture with the Greenlanders”, writes Sørensen (2007: 103). In 1950, a new primary school law placed the Danish language centrally in the Greenlandic system (Møller 2011: 153), and a major expansion of the school system was set forth (Sørensen *ibid*: 114). In 1954, the Danish branch of Save the Children was given sole right to run childcare institutions in Greenland, and by 1968 had established 20 preschools up the west coast of Greenland.

The encompassing process of industrialization, modernization and centralization in the 1950s and 1960s greatly increased Greenlandic economic dependency on Denmark, and it also affected a markedly higher presence of Danish people in Greenland (Dahl 1986). Only a few hundred Danes lived in Greenland up until the Second World War. By 1950 this number had increased to a 1000 Danes among 22,500 Greenlanders, and by 1970 rose to 7000 Danes among 39,000 Greenlanders (Sørensen 2007: 119). What, in response to an international concern about colonies within a new world order, was supposed to be a retreat in terms of colonial power, namely, the inclusion of Greenland as a region in the Danish realm in 1953, became an experience of being crowded out of their homeland to many Greenlanders. Experiences of social inequality among Greenlanders, led in the 1970s to the establishment of local political parties. In 1979, Siumut (upwards, forward) became the first leading party in a Home Rule government. In 2009, Inuit Ataqatigiit (Inuit Community, IA) won the election at the same time as Greenland after a referendum adopted Self Rule. Also in the 1970s a political awareness as indigenous people began to grow and, in 1977, Greenland joined the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), where today’s president is Greenlandic Aqqaq Luk Lynge.

As this section has demonstrated, the idea of emancipating the Greenlanders from their assumed underprivileged position (as colonized) was in fact a move towards total assimilation to a Danish model of society. The change in life prompted by industrialisation was an inscription of social life in a political-economic register. The direction of life and attention to industrial ends had direct consequences for the structure of social life and for the period of time we call early childhood, as the re-location of the population subordinated family based hunters' way of life to industrial occupations. The next section exemplifies how this change was experienced.

Transformation: Lived experiences of social change

The alignment of life in Greenland with life in Denmark implied a particular construction of being human and, related to this, transformed the *significance* of life locally. The educational-development had changing effects at all levels of life. People were objectified as representations (Jackson above) of capital, and 'life' was constructed as a future acquisition of a position in a pre-objectified world. As citizens in the state of Denmark 'life' was produced as having symbolic and representational meaning according to an economic and bureaucratic framework. A powerful political agenda re-composed life. People going through this period remember it not as a period of growth and prosperity, but as a period of disintegration. What their memories tell us, is how the practice of education as an object to be imposed upon subjects' changed experiences of what it means to be human in the world, as it simultaneously changed the constitutive relations and re-configured social reality. Below I begin with the personal (but very public) story of former Greenlandic Prime Minister Kuubik Kleist. I then continue with recorded memories of some of the 22 Greenlandic children who were picked to become a (living) bridge to the new Greenland. I end with the recollection of being segregated in primary school according to language in the 1980s.

In 1924 a coalmine was opened in Qutlissat, on Disco Island in Northern Greenland. It is sometimes referred to as the first 'proper town' in Greenland. By the end of the 1960s it closed again. To many, Qutlissat is an image of the G60 policies of centralization (Dahl 1986: 51). It was the birthplace of the first workers union in Greenland and so also nursed a new and different rights-based sense of community. Greenland's Prime Minister from 2009 to 2013, Kuubik Kleist (1958-), is a product of what he himself calls 'Danish Greenland.' He is from Qutlissat, the son of a Danish telegraph worker and a Greenlandic mother. In 2009, when he won the election, he said to a German newspaper: "I'm a genuine product of Danish Greenland and was actually programmed to fail". The article further states:

Born in 1958, the embodiment of a 'lapse' by a craftsman from Denmark, he was first forced into a foster family and then packed off to his Arctic homeland's former colonial master, where drug addiction nearly ruined him. He knows the problems firsthand. In 1957, his father impregnated his mother, a deaf and dumb member of the indigenous Inuit people, and left her soon afterward. The Danish authorities took Kleist away from his mother and entrusted him to a foster family.

He turned out to be a talented boy, and since continued schooling was only possible in Denmark, that is where he was sent at age 11 - alone and with no knowledge of Danish.

Kleist returned to Denmark in the early 1980s for university studies, but drug abuse nearly undid him. He barely managed to straighten out his life, worked several jobs in his homeland and found success as a singer. His countrymen dubbed him Greenland's Leonard Cohen on account of his deep, smoky voice. (Monster&Critics 2009)

Retrospectively, Kuubik Kleist speaks of being *programmed* for failure. In correspondence with Kleist's reflection, some informants, in speaking about the social problems in Greenland, have referred to how life was lived in Qutlissat. I have heard stories of growing up with sexual abuse, alcohol and violence. In 1972 a government decision closed the mine and all supplies (food, electricity, medicine) were cut. People were instead offered a flat in newly built apartment buildings in towns with growing industries. Interestingly, Qutlissat is today most often associated with the social rupture caused by the government shutdown of the town for economic reasons, which complicates the picture somewhat.

Probably the most epochal event of the process of decolonization is the forced removal of twenty-two Greenlandic children. These children were from a strategic level objectified as the realisation of the assimilation strategy for inclusion in Denmark. In 1951, 9 girls and 13 boys, between the ages of 5 and 8, were sent to a foster home in Denmark for a year and a half to learn Danish. They were picked up from different places by a ship, which then sailed them to Denmark. On recommendation from a Danish doctor, a foster home led by a Danish nurse was in the meantime built in Nuuk to house the children upon their return (Bryld 2010). They were to form the nucleus of an imagined new bi-lingual elite (Kleivan 1969). The focus on the Danish language was not only a matter of communication but also of cultural development. As the quotations from Lynge above show, among Greenlandic opinion leaders, the Danish language was also thought to *encode* Danish culture. Speaking Danish was thought to enable children to think and act Danish. Greenlandic belongs to the Inuit-Aleut language group, Danish to the Indo-European, and thus there is no genetic relation between the two languages (Kleivan 1969: 118).

The Danish social worker, Tine Bryld, wrote a biography of the lives of the removed children, which I cite fragments from here (2010). One is the story of Kristine Heinesen. She was a bright Greenlandic, girl who lived on the West Coast. As a child her family lived in a peat hut. Her dad died early and her mother became ill with tuberculosis. She was much looked after by her elder sisters, and known to fol-

low her brother Ole, wherever he went. In the book, he says he thinks someone from the local authorities said she should go to a children's foster home. No one in the family knew she was being sent to Denmark. Ole took her in his boat to the ship in 1951. He did not see her again for thirty years (Bryld 2010: 166-167). After a short stay at a Danish foster home, a Danish family took Kristine into their care. They recall her as a sweet and bright girl, and they also recall how she would sometimes, about once a month burst into tears (ibid: 17). After a year and a half, 16 of the 22 children returned to Greenland. They thought they were going home, but instead they were re-directed to a new foster home in Nuuk. They were told to live there, and to begin primary schooling in Danish in Greenland. One of the children was a girl from Nuuk. When they arrived with the boat, her mother was awaiting her. As they hugged, they realised they no longer spoke the same language. The mother was told she could visit two hours on Saturdays. When other children in Nuuk in general realised they did not speak Greenlandic, they were teased (Bryld ibid: 29). The boys and girls at the children's' home were, according to Helene, one summer day instructed to parade through Nuuk with the Danish flag, singing a Danish hymn heralding Denmark as homeland:

We are children of the sun,
But akin to wind and rain.
We are born, where the beech is green,
And sheltered by the hedges and fences.
There is singing in the tones of the language
There is song in the memory of voice
There is song when the sea waves roll
Rolls toward the dune and coast

There is no beech, hedges, fences or dunes in Greenland. In her written memoirs to Bryld, Helene says, she wishes, she had had the guts to sing:

We are children of the snow and mountains

We are robbed of our family

We are born where the snow falls

In the shelter of hills and mountains

There is pain in the language tones

There is pain in the memory of a voice

It is cold when ocean waves

Rolls toward the coast of Greenland

(2010:36, my translation)

In the following years, as part of a student's deep training in Danish, a scheme was set up to send Greenlandic children to Denmark for a year. From 1961 to 1980 about ten thousand children, aged 10 to 12, had spent up to a year in Denmark and equal numbers were there on shorter trips (Sørensen *ibid*: 114, Møller 2011: 154).

Arctic researchers Csonka and Schweizer note that Greenland, like other Arctic societies up until World War II, had led an autonomous life (Csonka, Schweitzer 2004). According to these scholars, this sense of autonomy was changed with the post-war assimilation policies (*ibid*: 48). To them this period reflects an act of profound imposition:

Most of the social and cultural changes in the post-war area were directed by government agencies. Many of them, such as the provision of education, health care, and welfare, had ethical justifications. Even though some of these changes were for the better, the way they were imposed led to a loss of control over local affairs and over collective as well as individual destinies. According to Csonka and Schweizer “the feelings of estrangement caused by loss of control over changes in turn contributed to the rise of social problems, such as suicide, violence, law-breaking, and alcohol abuse” (ibid:49).

This period to Greenlanders is similar to other Arctic communities, again noticed by Csonka and Schweizer:

a period of little autonomy and at the same time a period of undergoing the farthest-reaching changes ever experienced (ibid). Some have evoked the notion of a ‘lost’ or ‘broken generation’ to describe the group of people who lived between two worlds, not really belonging to either of the two, and who may have felt as little connected to their parents and grandparents as to their own children. (Csonka, Schweizer 2004:49)

Researchers in Greenlandic affairs commonly argue that the administrative initiatives following the formal de-colonisation act of 1953 needs to be analysed within a colonial frame (Dahl 1986: 18 citing Sørensen 1979: 210, Heinrich ibid: 194). The experiences of a Greenlandic woman I interviewed show how this colonial framework continued up through the 1980s.

Julie grew up in Nuuk in the 1980s with an alcoholic, Greenlandic mother, and an absent, Danish father. As a child she only spoke Greenlandic. She remembered the years in primary school as an experience of segregation according to ethnicity. Children were at this time divided into Greenlandic and Danish speaking classes after third grade. One level ‘U’ (Uddannelse/Education) was aimed at further

education. The other level 'A' (Arbejde/ Work) was thought to teach children skills needed to take up work in the fishing industry, or lower-level jobs in public administration and helping professions similar to what we categorize as vocational training. Although the distinction in level was formally not drawn according to language, in reality the Danish speaking children went to 'U' classes and the Greenlandic speaking to 'A' classes. Julie told me they all knew that there was an A-team and a B-team. She, as a Greenlandic speaking child, was on the B-team. Dividing pupils in lower secondary school into classes for further education (Danish speaking), and classes for the labour market (Greenlandic speaking), was upheld until 1985. The school system rewarded Danish-speaking students, which translated directly into most significant positions at the labour market. As a result, the school system produced an elite particularly recognised by their Danish language⁸.

Still in the 1980s, some Greenlandic children were encouraged by their Greenlandic speaking parents to speak Danish instead of Greenlandic as a means to connect to the new society. They form what is today known as Danish speaking Greenlanders. Julie's husband was one of them, and when I had the opportunity, I asked his mother, who is trilingual, why she did not speak Greenlandic to him when he was a child, and why he attended the 'Danish' classes. She answered, that to her, it was the best thing to do at the time - a common answer to current bewilderment about past actions. For parents aware of the significant features of the new, political-economic society, learning Danish was a natural choice for growth as in climbing a class-based society. It should also be noted that the practice of not letting Greenlandic children speak Greenlandic in the home was much debated in the 1950s and 1960s (Kleivan 1969: 127), and have probably also stirred arguments later on.

This section has illustrated the institution of education as an object implying the marking of learners as disembodied objects according to assumptions about their future, and the use of language according to an assumption of its pre-given capability to bring development as a line of connection with an outer re-

ality. In an industrialised and capitalising context, people came to know the meaning of educational activities as *separate* to who they were. Substituting your mother tongue with another language speaks of incorporation of the subject matter of education as providing movement in terms of carrying transformative capacity within. Coping with the differentiation of students according to language abilities implied for Julie an awareness of the specific situation in which it was conducted. Similarly, singing the Danish song in the streets in Nuuk implied self-displacement as part of participating in an educational activity. These are are sensuous dimensions produced as part of participating in the social practice of education in a modern-capitalist context and appearing in experience as external to being in the world.

The title of this chapter, ‘Growth: The dynamics of Straight Lines’ engages the concept of ‘lines’ as a way of crystalizing the appearance of the particular social dynamic associated with an idea of social life as organized around rational relations. To be able to get beyond a focus on pre-categorised objects such as learners and students belonging within a shared disciplinary-political discourse on education we need a decentred, non-dualist perspective. Ingold, in the chapter “Up, Across and Along” from the book called ‘Lines’ (2007:72-103) analyzes the straight line of modernity as a certain movement constituted in historically specific relational entanglements. I will use this to differentiate between the social practices of education as linearities that embody particular narrations of life in their performance and, in their way of movement, configure life itself. I begin the analysis below with another empirical example of social disorientation as an effect of social development in a capitalist sense.

Straight Lines: The production of stiffness

I have visited the remnants of Qutlissat. It is situated on a typical Arctic coastal line at the northern end of Disco Island in the Davis Strait. It is only accessible by boat. Embarking on the shore, my first impression was surprise by the remnants of straight lanes. The spatial structure was geometrically regular. The traffic of people had been directed around it, through arrays and around corners, which contrast

the twisting passages sensitive to landscape features I know from other Greenlandic settlements. Along the roads were rows of two-storey houses. There were remnants of a hospital at the town centre, and a school. From one side of the town a small railway track led to the nearby mine.

Paying attention to the intervention in physical surroundings: the establishment of a mine, the design of the city and the simultaneous design of social relations (in particular of education and care) and comparing how Kleist remembers the Danish influence with my own experience of Qutlissat emerging from walking about in the city remnants, made me think of the concrete structure of the city as conveying a sense of the world as perceived by planners at the time it was established (1950-1960).

The centralisation of welfare as visible in the positioning of the school and the hospital in the centre according to a geometric logic makes sense from a 'distributional' point of view. Here was a system that objectified individuals as resources and as social isolates in need of mechanically provided care within a society simultaneously objectified as an assemblage of mechanically related objects. The mine performed a context reminding of the interrelatedness between specific features of the town and wider national and global networks. The town structure illuminated the change in social processes of life and created reflections on the experienced linearities involved in living along the human-environment relations narrated in the plan of the town.

The design of the town space in Qutlissat reflects the plan of a map where elements are joined as to form a plot (Ingold 2007: 92). The way different elements in the geometrical structure of the city related to each other, was like a series of appointments: houses, work, health care, school. To Kleist (above) interacting with this design gave rise to an experience of being programmed and thus of separation of action from meaning. The experiences of the children being sent to children's homes first in Denmark and later in Greenland are similar in this regard. The meaning these acts employ is external to the life

world of the people enacting them. During Danification, children were *planted, positioned* in an imagined technocratic structure of societal development; foster homes, pre-schools and schools became sites for cultivation. Important teachings consisted in regulation of the day and change of language and simply the *re-planting* to a different physical environment. In this framework, the particular use of education narrated Greenlandic children as plants that had to have a change of soil to grow. When the children had grown tall in the fresh soil, they were to throw life-renewing shadows upon their countrymen.

The change of primary language, along with social and economic conditions, was from a political point of view a strategy for equality through assimilation. However, as we have seen, the songs Helene learned to sing at the foster home in Danish did not take on constitutive significance to her. In short, the Danish national hymn did not figure as a thread to pick up and follow into the world. What was achieved in her case was the representation of words useful in a school-based context segregated from her life world. Her sad poetry speaks of emotional strings that were ruptured as part of becoming educated.

Greenland had with the de-colonisation act become part of Danish domestic territory. This context narrated education as a change-act coming from the outside. As Ingold writes, from time to time in history:

Imperial powers have sought to occupy the inhabited world, throwing a network of connections across what appears, in their eyes, to be not a tissue of trails, but a blank surface. These connections are lines of occupation. They facilitate the outward passage of personnel and equipment to sites of settlement and extraction, and the return of the riches drawn therefrom. Unlike paths formed through the practices of wayfaring, such lines are surveyed and built in advance of the traffic that comes to pass up and down them. They

are typically straight and regular, and intersect only at nodal points of power [...] But lines of occupation do not only connect. They also divide, cutting the occupied surface into territorial blocks. These frontier lines, too, built to restrict movement rather than to facilitate it, can seriously disrupt the lives of inhabitants whose trails they happen to cross. (Ingold 2007: 81)

Ingold's conceptualization of 'the inhabited world' is in line with 'the indigenous world' or 'common world' framed by Dewey earlier in this chapter. The distinction thus, between the inhabited world and the world of the occupant, is one we have come across earlier as productive of differences in way of paying attention. We can parallel the process described in the citation with how a system of education was established as an act of drawing lines of connection between Denmark and Greenland. From a surveying point of view, establishing lines of connection between parts were seen as a means to inscribe Greenlanders in a political society beyond ethnic differences ("we want to make a good Danish citizen out of the Greenlander", above). What is revealed is how the constitution of education within a modern and objectifying / capitalizing framework forms part of the problem of education through its disembodying practices. The way the use of language as a tool for connecting with external relations was picked up by mothers reveals the impact of the social technologies embedding education on how Greenlanders experienced themselves.

Yet in the process, these connecting lines also turned out to disrupt other *relations of line* that are alive in the indigenous or common use of language and place. Education in this framework produced particular subjectivities implying an individual performance of growth as a movement in a dichotomously constituted world. The girl from the foster home, Helene, learned a new language and learned to use language as a representation acquiring its meaning through its significance as means of communication. However, in this use language only appeared as a means to traverse distances. This use of education relates to a

transport modality of movement. Language and manners function as vehicles of culture-language transport, in contrast to the use of language as a tissue of trail (as quoted above). The connecting lines, as Ingold writes, also divide. Within this dynamic of straight lines, education is constituted, and it constitutes separation from everyday life or indigenous life.

Education emerging as an effect of entangling capitalist relations and dichotomist discourses appears in a historical perspective as a process of serial accumulation of external knowledge. Taking up with this linearity in practice embodies self-objectification as object of education. Socio-linguist Hymes (Hymes 1972) has criticized teaching strategies directed at “the content as the end product of learning” as it reduces people to “filing cabinets of information with which to perform certain behavior” (ibid: 7). These ‘filing cabinets’ are the occupants in Ingold’s terminology. Teaching children Danish as a measure of knowledge for them to be able to ‘connect’ with society as a point ahead, packed a process of growth into the confines of achieving *a position*.

What the history in Greenland teaches us at a general level, is that following the imperative of the straight line does not create efficiency in terms of learning and development but, to the contrary, *stiffening*. Reflecting upon the construction of students as ‘filing cabinets’ and education as the acquisition of objects, as exemplified in the language strategies, a pattern of lines appears, which is insensitive toward place and lived experiences. As already stated, the pattern is composed of straight lines, and has its own dynamic; it is static as it cannot really go anywhere without having a set end – a position – in sight. It is per definition in-sensitive toward place and local livelihood practices. From a certain viewpoint it appears as efficient, but this is based in mistaking efficiency for measures of speed. As Ingold says:

[The Straight Line] goes from point to point in sequence, as quickly as possible [...] for every successive destination is already fixed prior to setting out, and each segment of the line is predetermined by the points it connects. (Ingold 2007: 73)

From within dynamics of the straight line, people (learners) appear as categorical representations of stages, as well as for instance language is known through its representative value. Looked at this way, the project of human and societal development and emancipation (de-colonization) emerges as the institutionalization of colonization in the sense of displacement of indigenous life. The children who experienced the linearity of the straight line as a condition ‘to grow into’ Denmark retrospectively speak of separation and disintegration instead of enfoldment and development. They were left with a language which had significance as a thing to be applied to external relations, and they lost the language which to them embodied relational qualities at a life world level. Later in life the 22 children who were sent to foster homes, deprived of their cultural habitual conduct of life, were unable to establish passages into Greenlandic community. When Kristine was 15 and had to leave the foster home, she took a position as a maid in a Danish family, and when they went back to Denmark, she went with them (2010:157-161). In 2010 two of these children lived in Greenland and 11 were dead (Bryld 2010: 20).

Discussion: Disorder as an effect of intersecting movements

In 1979, when Greenland achieved Home-Rule, the educational portfolio was one of the first to be transferred to the new Greenlandic government (Møller 2011: 156). This represented a policy-shift in the educational system from Danification to Greenlandification (Hindby 2004:5). However, it did not actually represent a shift in the practice of education which continued its significance as a tool of policy. Planners addressed the problem of Greenlandic children’s school motivation as a problem of cultural *in-compatibility* (Hindby 2004), yet in their framing of the problem continued the production of differences and of education within a dichotomizing and objectifying logic.

Since 2002, the present reform which is a continuation of the shift in 1979 has slowly been implemented in different parts of the educational system, beginning with selected schools, continuing with a cluster of pre-schools, and in 2011 it reached the high-school level. It began with a reform of the primary and secondary school, Atuarfitsialak (the Good School), and later included the preschools, Meeqquerivitsialak (the good pre-school). Being Greenlandic was with this reform symbolically constructed as having particular educational value, and Greenlandic became the primary language of instruction. Yet, this is the educational system that in the beginning of this thesis was targeted by the employers union for not leading to economic expansion and social development.

In the debate about how to reform the educational system, planners and commentators seem to have adopted education in its euro-centric and capitalist form. Embedded within power relations continuously narrating education as an independent object, reform is reduced to a matter of substituting elements in education, but not their significance. Greenlandification implies a shift in language as means of communication (language as representation), but not a reconfiguration of education according the life embodied in Greenlandic as a relational action.

Keeping in mind the deep changes in ways of relating to the world involved in constructing Greenland as a 'society' and Greenlanders as 'citizens' we can speculate about the use of Greenlandic language in school centric contexts today and the implications for how it interacts with experience. In the case of Malik, even though Greenlandic was the primary language in his pre-school, its usage as an objectification of children according to levels representing stages in education dominated the possible linguistic traces to a line of relations emerging in his interaction with his 'year-mate' on his way of home. Thus, the language alone does not have transformative power and can be subordinated other ecological and nar-

rative contexts, such as the profoundly structured organization of people and places in a school environment answering to a global society.

Scholars in cross-cultural education argue that this type of ‘minority culture’ reform commonly includes alignment of national curriculum with international standards, teaching standards and standardized testing of teachers and students (Montecinos, Sisto et al. 2010). In this way, reform initiatives are dominated by the continuous configuration of education within socio-political entanglements of power. In 2006 Greenland and the EU agreed on a comprehensive partnership regarding, among other areas, education. Accordingly, Greenland receives approximately 25 million Euros as Sector Budget Support for the Greenland Education Programme (GEP) adopted by the Greenlandic Parliament in 2005. GEP’s overall purpose is to ensure that two-thirds of the work force has an education that provides them with academic qualifications or vocational skills in 2020 (<http://uk.nanoq.gl>). The orientation toward a global society at a political level no doubt continues to define students worldwide as members of a stratified community. It can be observed that legislation on Education in Greenland from April 2012 entailed pedagogical screening of children down to five years of age to estimate their preparedness for schooling.

It is possible to draw a parallel between imperial powers and a centralized government administration in the way both seem to approach social development from a surveying point of view. The similarity lies in the way learners are objectified *as* students prior to any activity. The reduction of lives to nodes on a map is a continuation of the Euro-Centric construction of the educated person within a time-space image of the world as depicted in the previous chapter. Greenlandic politicians striving for national independence scan the population similar to how previous imperial powers have scanned the Greenlandic population. The scanning was and is intended to connect objectified and distinctly bounded resources, such as people and knowledge. At a general, social level the narrative of growth embodied in the sepa-

rating and connecting movements of the straight lines is that of a bringing together of parts, an assemblage. It can be distinguished from that of a dynamic of growth as a relational enfoldment of possibilities. Attending to growth as a bringing together of parts, in the outset separates the learner from the object, and beyond this, it limits growth as lines *between* pre-set positions are void of movement.

At an individual level the dynamic of the straight lines has implications for performances of becoming knowledgeable. This point is related to Dewey's inquiry into the social implications in terms of significance in way of perceiving art. To the spectator (the child learning about society) knowledge is composed in constructions of representations. What is implied here is an epistemology that sets knowing and being apart. Engaging with this way of knowing, what is produced is a gathering of representations in the mind, in the modus of connecting and thus implying a split of mind and body. Education becomes co-constitutive to a world in which humans acts from their acquired positions as 'spectators' to a static world.

Summing up: The linearity of the Straight Line

I have theorized the construction of education and the simultaneous construction of life and learners as part of the practice of education itself. I have showed how powerful political-economic relations intertwine to perform education as a representational activity that embodies a separating dynamic that in fact produces learners as bounded entities. From a learner's perspective, the experiences of Greenlanders growing up during the changes associated with Danification have showed us how this line embodies a use of knowledge (exemplified with language) according to its representational significance within a pre-objectified 'outer' reality.

I have analysed educational disorder related to cultural encounter between indigenous children and dominant culture at school through the memories of people whose lives have been affected by the im-

position of educational ideas and practices from another place and another idea of life. The periods of Danification and Greenlandification each describe periods of intense social change in Greenland. The re-structuring of everyday life and the acquisition of Danish as a code to transmit Danish culture led to experiences of des-orientation and split. Yet, these experiences were not only experiences of a transformation into a Danish society; they were the experience of becoming an industrialized and politically administrated national society. This political-economic model of social life was continued after 1979. The rupture that this experience symbolizes to them today focuses fresh attention on education as a historically and culturally particularistic construction.

This chapter has showed that education in the sense we know as schooling involves participation in linearity of straightness. At times, this involves separation of activity and meaning, as practices of education emerge from relations external to the everyday life of the learner. This is the case when global interests lead to particular uses of for instance language or age categories. Education shapes the lives of the people it implicates, and a lack of school motivation might in the light of this chapter be read as a warning of the stiffening of human activity and growth that is necessarily enacted in local and relational contexts. The history of changes in Greenland traced out in this chapter show that living this linearity in fact impedes growth. Contrary to the intent of efficiency through rational connection, the movement arising from pre-planned connecting activity between parts is static.

Drawing on Dewey and Ingold, I have suggested that the disorder in education is related to the way education is constituted and appears in experience. Imposition of external programs disengage the object; education from the learner, and the lines of relation constitutive to the indigenous or inhabitant world. The fact that the disorder seem to emerge from the way different compositions of life conjure in experience, urges reformists to reconsider the relationship between focus of change and its interrelatedness with institutionalized educational practices.

I bring these advices with me into the next chapter, where I address the need to do research in education in ways which embraces the situatedness of education as a process constituted along manifold relations.

5 Walking: Research as a process of learning

So far, my argument has been that education as a practice (schooling) is closely interrelated with Education as a field. I have shown how the field of Education emerged as an entwinement of religious ideas of the world, enlightenment philosophies and political developments sharing an ontology of the world as split in ‘inner’ and ‘outer’, human and world, mind and body, subject and object. The previous chapter showed the effect of this ontology for the way learners are produced along with the world and education itself as a subject matter. The decision to theorize the particular form of social attention that emerges from interrelated and constitutive processes as lines came out of field work experiences. Here, cultural differences affecting conceptualisation of education came to the fore, making clear what it means to educate and become educated at the level of human-environment relations. To study this without reproducing classifications and categories shared between practitioners, policymakers and researcher in the overlapping region between education as a practice and education as a field of research, we need an approach which can approach this overlap as part of its analytical object.

The concept of the line today not only serves as an analytical tool for the objectification of processes of education, but can also be operationalized in relation to an understanding of the field as a narrative. In total I did field work across a period four years and at various sites in Greenland. My sense of the field developed intertwined with subject matter of research. Originally my fieldwork was oriented toward pre-schools, but this pre-set spatial limitation, imposed for what was at the time considered methodological reasons, had to be dissolved as I realised that I was objectifying education as a school-centric activity, and that this would limit my ability to do a comparative study in a way that allowed for differ-

ences at an ontological level. And this was the sort of study that the anthropological theory I was at the same time consulting suggested in dealing with cultural dilemmas. Looking back, I never saw myself as doing school-ethnography. The details of what went on in the classroom were not as important to me as the relations between classroom and what was beyond the fence of the pre-schools.

What initially confused me turned out to stem from differences between disciplines (education and anthropology). The difficulty spanned research approach (observing/engaging) and theories of the social (dichotomistic/narrative-organic). This conflict has been at work underneath the entire thesis as part of the combination of my education as an anthropologist and taking a position as PhD student at a department of education, and has productively caused in-depth reflections on my choices and their contextual dependency. I will draw out my reflections regarding the fieldwork through a contrast with more sociologically inspired approaches to education.

From anthropology I brought with me an interest in social practice, the body, and knowledge as performance. Incidents at the college of Social Education in Ilulissat had ahead of my fieldwork supported an interest in the relational constitution of educational activities. One winter I taught classes in 'Drama' and 'Ice sculpture'. As these subjects were really not my field of expertise (but there was a lack of teachers), all I did was to frame the purpose of the lessons. I might, for example, propose that students relate art and drama to children's learning processes. From this broad input grew creative drama projects, drawing on a skillful use of storytelling, sewing and making puppets. Equally, for the ice-sculpture project, students produced clever and intriguing figures. Some ice sculptures (all considerable in size) ended up being instructional, some humoristic, some inviting participation, some sculptural.

What struck me was the *ease* with which students crafted with materials that were peripheral to the theoretical subjects I was ordinarily teaching (culture and identity, pedagogy and psychology) and the im-

pact of place embodied in their work. Materials and tools such as ice, snow, and skins of different sorts, needles, and thread were obviously continuous with physical surroundings and traditional social practices, as well as storytelling and play as media seemed familiar. In use, they addressed the subject matters of education from within life practices relative to place and a history as hunters. Sewing, storytelling and crafting with ice took detailed knowledge of productive processes that were marginalized as workshop subjects in the school plan, and as such the knowledge embedded in these activities was separated from theoretical subjects. Later, during my field work, I saw this separatist dynamic repeated in the pre-schools, when there was no direct association between classroom activities and immediate physical surroundings or other local forms of relatedness.

Unlike the study of representations of a theoretical reality from an expert perspective, learning about constitutive relations demands that research proceeds from the position of an apprentice. The apprentice learns in a “hands-on context of activity” (Ingold 2000: 37), thus learning relations that are constitutive of the activity itself. From the perspective of an apprentice, the research activity of observation is altered. What is commonly structured as a gathering of information, sometimes according to pre-organized schemes for data-collection, is transformed into an active attending “to the movements of others” (ibid).

In this chapter I draw on Ingold’s conceptualization of an apprentice’s way of becoming knowledgeable and the knowledge that emerges from it, as well as the educationalist Jan Masschelein’s ideas about attentiveness as a process of educating the gaze (2010). Becoming attentive, argues Masschelein, is not about complexity in method; it is a matter of “discipline” (ibid: 43). To Masschelein becoming attentive is achieved through exposure to the unknown. The process in demand is a process similar to that of walking with no particular end in mind, but simply moving attentively within (and with) the surroundings. Apprenticeship, to my mind, closely parallels Masscheleins call for ‘walking’ as a process of be-

coming knowledgeable of human-world relations. The way of the apprentice, that is, is an art of attention that emerges from specific performances of these relations.

The present chapter describe my field work as well as it presents some proposals for re-thinking educational research. I begin with a discussion of the purpose or intent with research and how this interrelates with researcher's way of being present in the field. This is followed by a description of how attendance to movements in the field led me to go 'north' and 'out' as an act of following clues (Ingold *ibid*) rather than doing documentary research from different sites. This is followed by a recollection of the process of apprenticeship and the sensory attention it embodies. I then discuss the analytical shaping of the object of comparison based in approaches allowing for differences at an ontological level. This is related to traditions within the fields of anthropology and education.

Wrong education: The matter of the manner of research

When thinking about method in the context of educational research and critical research, it is easy to assume it should be about obtaining a deeper knowledge of 'real' social conditions and about the relations that obtain between individual position and a wider social (societal) context. In Chapter One, I referred how the educationalist Levinson observed how education, understood as liberation from the entanglements of culture, shared its aims with research designed for the purpose of arriving at a more objective account of the world. The objective is the construction of context-independent knowledge as a means to overcome or counter assumed structural limitations. According to Masschelein the intent of such research is to contribute – through research design - to emancipative processes by establishing critical 'consciousness' (Masschelein 2010: 43). This idea of 'consciousness' obviously withholds a dualism between the individual (with the consciousness) and society and between mind and body. It is the enlightenment ideal transferred into research and it reproduces an ontology displacing indigenous and embodied knowledge.

Writing this chapter I came across Jean Lave's recently published book on critical ethnography, in which she describes her challenge in seeing the processes of learning among tailors in Monrovia. In the book she describes how she found herself studying the production of 'the wrong trousers'. By this she meant trousers correctly sewn, but when understood as objects separate from the subject sewing them, she essentially understood them independently of the relations constitutive of their social and cultural meaning in a local context (Lave 2011: 48-49). The object, to Lave, after this experience became to establish apprenticeship as separate educational *form* with separate categories such as masters and apprentices (2011).

Lave found herself looking for learning that she could not see, although she could well see the product of learning processes in the shape of nicely sewn trousers. Our fieldwork challenges were similar. At Angujaartorfik children and youth were recognized for being educated. However, when I looked for teachers, students and curriculum it was not there. At the pre-school, teachers did 'teaching', yet the artificiality emerging from these situations as part of the lack of local relations in architecture, toys, food, activities communicated relational disorder as part of pedagogical practices. These 'disorders' analytically acted as clues to a re-structuring of research attention. Lave proposes that her blindness among tailors in an alley in Monrovia was caused by the categories she had at hand for describing learning processes: teachers, students, classes, tutorials (ibid). The tailors knew how to enact these categories but, since they were acting, they only reduced education to role-play. The same could be said to be going on in Greenlandic pre-schools.

Reading Lave's book, I was reminded of an incident from my fieldwork in the hamlet pre-school as an example of how my lack of knowledge of the totality of the situation blinded me to knowledge practices sensitive to a distinct context. One day one of the teachers in the pre-school deliberately demon-

strated to me how the children in her group knew all the numbers from one to ten. She held up sheets with the numbers and the children counted almost melodically, forward and backwards. I then had the impulse to pick random numbers from the table, and show them individually to the children. Isolated like this, the children did not answer. Either they did not know the numbers, or they were uncomfortable with my way of asking. Whichever, my action turned a situation of joint activity into a situation of testing individual knowledge. The result was disruption of communication between the children and me. Their eyes flickered and their attention withdrew. If this had been a school test, the children would have failed. If I, using the categories at hand (such as children as students, and knowledge as object) concluded that they did not know the numbers, I would contribute to the continued isolation of problems in schooling to children as subjects. However, until my interruption, the children and their teacher were engaged in a shared, meaningful activity. Similar, and yet distinct, to Lave's experience, I could see the product of the shared activity of singing numbers in the form of smiling faces and an atmosphere of joint activity. I could grasp ethnographically attentive movement in their gestures and postures, yet in interpreting it according to my known categories; I obviously disembedded their activity and as such deprived it of meaning.

Similar to Lave, I was unwittingly studying the wrong education, which revealed itself in the reaction to my questions. When I tried to participate, the children let me know I was in fact interrupting and dismantling the flow of their engagement. Yet, just as Lave could see that trousers were being sewn, only not the trousers she knew, so education was definitely going on in the sense of a shared movement organizing experience and participation. Similarly, the education I experienced was not the education I knew, and I realized I needed to work more on how to study and open up other cultural concepts of education.

What these experiences essentially touch upon is the relation between theory and method in fieldwork.

Critical research: Education of the gaze

This is a serious matter. What I was unknowingly on my way to doing (and so was Lave) was categorical imposition of ‘my’ world onto other people’s world, well-known imperial strategy used by modern explores (Smith 1999, Thomas 1994). Withholding ‘products’ as objects of education I was also withholding a pre-categorization of education as a system of positions, and with this teachers and students as units of comparison. Frustrations regarding experiences like this brought me to the discussion about the relation between theory and data and the analogous discussion about the relation between society and individuals referred to in Chapter One. In this section I elaborate on the distinction between doing research from the position of an expert or from a relation as apprentice. Related to this reflection is a point about what it means to be critical; whether it is about ‘emancipating’ consciousness or a matter of being attentive to the world as perceived by the people living this world.

Working from a preset categorization of activities in the field – for instance a classroom - the aim is to make clearer what is going on, and this is achieved through the objectification of activities relative to theoretical concepts. Yet, implied in this configuration of research is an assumption about knowledge as representation; people and activities represent the particulars of a universal logic. Within this epistemology, researchers know what is (truly) critical in the situation. This approach ultimately aims to understand and to intervene, or to make people able to intervene in the circumstances of their life through critical consciousness, obtained through the researcher’s clarification of their positions. Method in this context is a question of how to clarify these positions in the best possible way. Method – ethnography – thus has to answer for itself in relation to how to establish theoretically relevant data.

Now, what happened to me at the pre-school was that ‘the data’ refused to act like ‘data’: the children did not act like students learning about an object (numbers), just as they did not accept the oppositional relation between me and them, me as teacher and them as students. I was not accepted as a teacher,

and my experiences would not translate into representations of schooling. In other words, my cultural-theoretical assumptions about what constitutes an educational situation did not apply to the ethnographic situation. As stated earlier, we cannot study education as an object. Even when it is performed as an object, we have to study education as a process. In relation to fieldwork, if the process and meaning one seeks to understand cannot be contained within the theoretical concepts and categories, then research needs to be more than a collection of representations.

Studying from the presumption that education exists in the plural, poses a challenge to research dependent on theoretical concepts. The challenge has to do with how we methodologically accommodate lived differences. In the related field of knowledge studies, Roepstorff has argued that discussions about different kinds of knowledge, for example scientific and local knowledge needs to be recognized as *forms* of knowledge derived from “the interfaces between certain persons and groups and their environment,” which also implies “that there are important differences in what counts as knowledge and how this is constructed” (Roepstorff 2003. 117). Following this takes us beyond differences in types (above) to a more relational definition of difference. As we know, discussions about education are often politicized, and, as also noticed by Roepstorff in relation to fights over knowledge of fisheries in Greenland, these discussions often take place at the inter-face between experts and locals (ibid). The knowledge emerging from the interface between people and their surroundings is easily reduced in such discussions of what Hastrup calls “object knowledge” (Hastrup 2004. 410-412). When the exchange of knowledge is reduced to relativist perspectives on ‘what’, we must conclude that forms of knowledge are different, but not their different applicability or potential (ibid: 412). At an empirical level, this would be the narrative context in the terminology used here. In presupposing that education leads to participation in civilized society, a critical study of differences in schooling is a study of ‘what’, whereas approaching education as a relationally constructed process (a line) relative to a particular perception of

the world (a genre) enables a critical discussion of the ‘how’ of human-world relations and the matter and manner of education in this relationship.

To research the ‘how’ of a social process is to take the perspective of others. Masschelein calls the process of incorporating a distinct perspective an *education of the gaze* (2010). According to him, it configures ‘method’ as displacement of view as a path to exploration of culturally produced perceptions of a social phenomenon – as education. The displacement of view is not about methods in the sense of techniques, but about how ontology and epistemology interrelate according to the researchers’ subjective way of being present within the field. He calls this “poor methodology”, referring to ‘poor’ in the sense of ‘in-sufficient’ because it is not about developing more specific theory-dependent techniques for gathering data but about being less prepared (ibid: 44). I read this as a way to accomplish the suggestions and considerations made by Roepstorff and Hastrup above, both in relation to understanding what is going on empirically, and in relation to substantiating theoretical knowledge through ethnographical approach.

The problem with research reproducing dualist presumptions about how the world works (Ch. One: 27) is that it reduces what people do and who they are to *positions*. It is a process of simplification through abstraction that shunts flows of *life* to one side. Masschelein speaks instead of ways of being *present* within the field as quintessential to conducting fieldwork. Educating the gaze, he says, is a matter of *displacing our view* and becoming attentive (2010: 44). He draws a distinction between becoming conscious and paying attention. To him, consciousness is

the state of mind of a subject that has or constitutes an object(ive) and aims at knowledge. Attention is the state of mind in which the subject and object are brought in-

to play. It is a state of mind which opens up to the world in such a way that the world can present itself to me [...] and I can be transformed. (Masschelein 2010: 44)

Above Masschelein speaks of undergoing a process of transformation as part of doing research. Bringing the subject and the object into play ultimately does away with the theoretically constructed dichotomy between researcher and object. The construction of an analytical object in research therefore implies the subjectivity of the researcher. There is no research object without someone objectifying something. Following Masschelein above, it is from within the experiences of being transformed as a subject that we can learn, for instance, about local objectifications of growth as part of relational and context-dependent processes. What this shows, is that adopting a critical stance from the outset is tied into experiences of relatedness in research. According to Jackson, what is “critical” in research is relative to actual social and cultural entanglements and informed by “the claims of our particular life worlds upon us” (1996: 18).

In this section, I have problematized the relationships between theory and method in relation to their impact on the object of research. At the very beginning, I also mentioned a colonial aspect of studying indigenous societies from within a theoretical logic, which keeps a relationship of dominance at the center of reference. Other than that, I have proposed an anthropological use of ethnography as a means to develop theory, and, by drawing on Masschelein, argued that this re-configures research from a matter of methods of data collection into a question of the researcher’s presence and subjective experience within the field.

In what follows, I retrace my longitudinal fieldwork as a process of expanding “self-displacement”.

Field work: An overview

In a traditional linear perspective, my fieldwork period stretched from late autumn 2008, where I did the first pilot-interviews in Ilulissat, to August 2012 where I sailed off from Angujaartorfik for the last time. As stated earlier, I primarily did fieldwork in three communities in western and northern Greenland: Ilulissat (town), Saqqaq (hamlet) and Angujaartorfik (hunting site). Leading up to the ‘proper’ fieldwork period, I lived and worked in Ilulissat for a year, and my experiences from this period as a teacher and parent helped to shape my initial understanding as well as provided contacts, adding another year to the total time spent in Greenland. As a parent I had dealt with dilemmas regarding instructor language in secondary school (Danish, Greenlandic or English) and as a teacher prior to the PhD-project I engaged in debates about indigenous pedagogy and colonial legacy in formal education in Greenland. As part of my contract, I was obliged to teach 650 hours, split between the University of Roskilde in Denmark and Perorsaannermik Ilinniarfik, the Greenlandic teachers college in Ilulissat. Teaching Danish students interested in Greenland, and Greenlandic students interested in education and culture, also offered valuable insights into the analytical field such as recognition of the impact of colonisation on the social categorisation of activities and people.

Positions

I did fieldwork from distinct structural positions: As teacher, as observer, as interviewer, as employee and as a mother, to name a few. At times I was given a position related to my nationality, at times relative to my status of mother of two, and at times as a teacher at the seminar. Each position emerged from within the field and had its own limitations and possibilities. Among Greenlandic teachers with a research interest, my background in anthropology was highly validated to a point where it sometimes ‘negotiated’ the expectations related to my nationality. During fieldwork the search to find ways to overcome the structural context in the field of education and the pre-objectifying analytical interest along with my own and other people’s presence as structural representations became central.

In 2008 I began with observations in pre-schools, interviews with teachers, parents, readings of policy documents regarding schooling, BA-students essays, focus-group conversations, an interview with a child psychologist, a conversation with a priest, a day-study following a pre-school child (Malik) from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. In total, I did observations in four preschools, one in Nuuk (south, capital), and two in Ilulissat (Northern town) and one in the Northern hamlet, Saqqaq. During the first year in particular, I had numerous talks with people engaged in education and societal development in Greenland from a local, parental, professional, political, artistic and religious perspective. The themes covered were children's educational trajectory, impact of colonial relations on education (as perceived in institutional design, curriculum, school materials and school diet), children's motivation, teacher's ambitions, country-city contradictions, life trajectories and everyday life. Some dialogues were short and hurried, others developed over a series of occasions. Some of these continued over the course of four years. Some interviews were conducted at the workplace, some included dinner at the interviewee's home. Some contacts continue on email or through Facebook. When does it begin and when does it end?

Intervention

On two particular occasions I organized research as intervention. At the beginning of my research period, I included students from the college of Social Education in Ilulissat as co-researchers over a period of six months, and later I set up a drawing-workshop for children at the hunting site.

Regarding the first: A class doing a module on methods in educational research was engaged in a collaborative process to create new reflections on cultural miss-matches as part of schooling at all levels. My aim with this was double: 1) to give students an experience of contributing to research and 2) to experience what they would see or hear from within their language and their relational position as

Greenlandic speaking students of pedagogy. As mentioned, this project stretched over a period of six months. I did a methodology course with the students, focusing on open-ended observations and participatory methods, and the students then brought this project with them as part of their scheduled internship in pre-schools and schools. When they returned to the college of Social Education, I designed a workshop including reflective dialogues and a drama exercise. The drama exercise was included to minimize the tendency to sum up observations in individual interpretation and standard (Eurocentric) pedagogical categories of action, and instead communicate individual observations through performance. These performances were then considered in a group talk, and students individually prioritized reflections and wrote them down on flip-over paper. The themes the students elaborated on were all located at the interface between the demands of schooling and children's performance such as lack of talking interpreted as lack of participation, or bullying as a disturbance of the children's learning environment. The students were free to use our common results for their BA projects.

My second intervention was at the hunting site. On my initial visit to Angujaartorfik I intervened in daily life with a pre-designed drawing workshop for a group of children. I had thought of it as a way to begin a conversation with children on topics central to their experience of the place, or to the activities there, or both. It did not work. The children produced representations of the surroundings in the now familiar 'role-play' manner, which left me with reflections about my cultural capacity to do inquiry based research without taking on the role of a teacher and as a result creating a classroom in the midst of a hunting environment. Was I marginalising whatever alternative educational environment might lie beyond my immediate appreciation?

Cross-disciplinary work

From Chapter One we know how I tagged along with archaeological surveys around a summer hunting camp in both 2010 and 2012 to pursue education as it occurred as part of ‘Allarsimaarneq’. Ahead of this, in spring 2010 we designed an interview study in the historical and actual use of the landscape surrounding Angujaartofik. This was done in collaboration with the local museum in the nearby city of Maniitsoq, west Greenland. Funding from the Greenlandic museum allowed us to conduct elaborate, qualitative interviews in Greenlandic and have these interviews transcribed. The people we interviewed identified as hunters. They shared with us their detailed knowledge of the hunting area Angujaartorfiup Nunaa, to which we were headed for the summer season. I constructed a section of the interview guide which specifically addressed narratives of life embedded in growing up within a hunting community; season dependent activities, children’s doings, skill development, social organization, human-nature relations and learner-educator relations.

Joining up with this interdisciplinary research group opened way to enquire into education from within the life practices related to a life context contingent on animal migration, seasonal changes and inter-generational dependency. I will analyze ethnography from this site in the following chapters.

Interviews, conversations and language

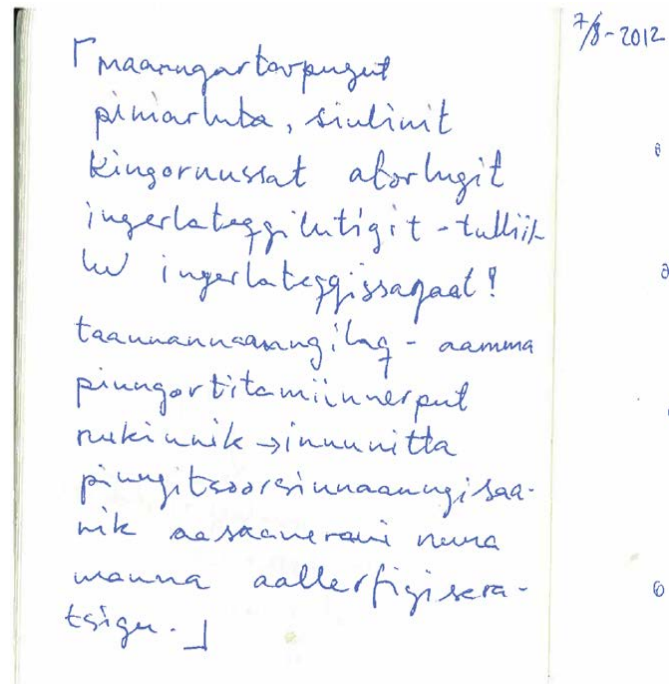
In between 2008-2010 (before going to the hunting camp) I recorded twenty conversations, five of them on tape, primarily with educational authorities and others with a special interest in education, such as parents and students. I did two group conversations as well, which I also taped, with students from the teaching college. With several of these people, I picked up the conversations again later, to clarify or to elaborate. The interviews took place at the college, at other pre-schools or schools, or at people’s homes. The group conversations were both at the seminar.

In general, interviews did not prove a very successful method. A combination of unstructured participation, observation and conversation worked much better, possibly because it was more sensitive to actual context. Unstructured conversations could take place anywhere: at the harbor, in the supermarket, at a break in the coffee room in a pre-school, while working to keep flies away from the meat drying at Angujaartorfik. Neither the interviews nor more casually organized conversations began with the same set of questions. Rather, I directed attention toward the subjective and particular engagement of the interviewee with education. Following Kvale, interviews are about “assisting subjects in the unfolding of their narratives” (Kvale, Brinkmann 2009: 166). Part of the assisting had to do with the specific set up of the interview in terms of language and in terms of a model of dialogue. Interviews and conversations were mostly conducted in Danish. However, for the group conversations, I had an interpreter along to be able to elaborate in Greenlandic, and very often, when more people were gathered, I invited Greenlanders to reflect on the topic in their own language, or to dwell on a narrative in their own language. I always encouraged this dialogical process, and for the same reason gave up on tape-recording in most situations as I would not be able to retrace the voices. Conversations improved as I became more experienced and able to ask questions in a way that demonstrated some knowledge of local life, history and livelihood.

In Chapter One I summarized my experience of teaching in pre-schools as theatrical in the way roles were distributed according to script, the timing of actions according to plan, the bodily postures according to actual scene (activity) and mechanical rhythm in teacher-learner dialogues. I put in my notebook that I felt like I was watching a marionette theater, where the movements of the puppets are dictated by external hands holding the strings. In an analytical perspective, what I experienced might be compared to doing an interview in the sense that the interviewee provides answers with “well-polished eloquence” as Kvale and Brinkmann calls it (2009: 165). In effect, in their work, educators *posed* contradictory relations to education.

My notebook became a cherished companion. I used it in various ways, of which I will mention a few here. I used it as a diary, i.e. a tool to reconstruct and bring order to experiences I had had during the day. I also used it as an extension of my hand, simply writing everything down that happened in specific situations for later revision. At times like this, I noted simply what I experienced as close to my perception as possible: noise, silence, comfort, discomfort; as well observations as emotional experiences of situations. Later I would rework notes and draw up themes to be explored further, such as the relation between use of silence and educational context.

In general, I took elaborate notes, and sometimes suggested that people wrote a passage, in Greenlandic, in my note-book, for later translation.



Translation of text in notebook: We go here to hunt, to use what we have inherited from our forfathers – and the next generation must continue this! We do not just gain force from being in the outdoors, we use the land here in summer to gain something we cannot be without in our lives. (Hunter Ulrik Lybert, Angujaartorfik, 2012)

I achieved a very basic understanding of Greenlandic. I learned enough to deduce the topic of a conversation, but not enough to actually have a conversation in Greenlandic. For the sake of future research, I would urge that a greater emphasis should be put on the research value of speaking Greenlandic from the beginning (a matter of time and funding). Practicing Greenlandic proved a really good way to establish contact with children when working in the hamlet pre-school. They drew images or colors in my notebook and taught me the Greenlandic word for it. As I have mentioned, I had my own two children with me on this occasion too. While I was at work, they were at school. They learned enough Greenlandic to play games with other children, which improved integration of the three of us in the small community of approximately 200 people. In the bright, Arctic evenings and nights, we would meet up with people in the small harbor to chat and play.

In Chapter One I commented on the obstacles related to the shared history of colonial relations between Denmark and Greenland leading up to the referendum for independence in 2009. My experiences of this relation might have been influenced by the local Greenlandic debate about independence from Denmark. As I understood it, language choice or ability primarily became a problem when contextualized within a political-historical frame, such as the schooling context. In a political context and related to national identity, language easily became an ethnic matter. Outside political contexts, I felt appreciated on a personal level for trying to understand the locally spoken language.

Acceptance and participation in the world of others depends on a multiplicity of factors, in my case particularly the role of places in a process of 'displacement of view'. The experiment with the drawing workshop once again taught me about the intimate relationship between the manner and matter of research. The difficulty was not just a matter of words and discourse, but of modalities of enquiry rooted in my research habitus - and my hunter's training in appreciating the organising principles of this habitus. The drawings were later exhibited at Maniitsoq museum in west Greenland as representations of

camp life, which today, to me, merely demonstrates the power to reproduce images of life independent of the ones whose life it is.

Above I wrote about apprenticeship as allowing for displacement of view. What this suggests is that fieldwork is not only a matter of 'going out' in a spatial sense, but also about perceptual movement. My journey 'out' and 'north' was also a journey directing a re-reading of notes from earlier fieldwork experiences from a de-centered perspective and engaging with classical anthropological literature on the social life of hunters and gatherers as well as regional ethnographies regarding Inuit. This also meant that initial hesitations not to indigenize modern Greenlanders by establishing a hunter's gaze on education were manifestly shunted to the side by picking up threads in everyday life (like name use and ritual sharing of luck or joy) and let them trace out a narrative use of history as hunters as part of town-based, child-directed activities.

Ethics

The boundaries between fieldwork and social life in more general terms are arbitrary. Sometimes I would be engaged in a daily conversation, and then ask the person I was talking to whether he or she minded if I took notes. The notebook then marked a change of scene. From an ethical perspective I felt comfortable displaying my interest as something other than mere curiosity. My children, too, learned to know the difference between fieldwork conversations and daily chit-chat through whether I had my notebook in my hand.

At the beginning of the fieldwork I promised people anonymity. But I changed this strategy as I experienced how my assurance of anonymity was met with surprise and an expectation of being referred to by name. Also, as the point about education as situated practice grew, it became increasingly necessary to give voice to the actual relation between places and people. I continued to anonymize the people

with whom this was initially the agreement. People who are mentioned by name in this thesis, and people who have had their faces shown in photographs, have consented to this use.

When I worked in the hamlet pre-school I introduced my project as being about the dominant perceptions of children and education. This was explained on a whiteboard at the entrance of the school. I sketched a big child figure and probed parents to comment on the board. In other pre-schools where I did observations on a regular basis, I made an agreement with the management and informed the staff about who I was, my intention with being there and that their status in the final report.

Doing research from a situated perspective is also in this case a local and indigenous perspective. This necessarily includes ethical considerations about the relation between researcher and field, which in this case, from a distanced perspective, was imbued with historical relations. Adopting an apprenticeship perspective reformulated the object of research in a way that dissolved expectations based in dichotomistic relations such as ‘us’ studying and representing ‘them’.

Field as path

Above I have listed actual research activities. However, we don’t just ‘go places’; the act of going might have greater significance to research.

As the word indicates, *fieldwork* points to a field – a place in the world (Hastrup 2010b. 57). In this definition, the field exists independently of the research interest. Contrary to this, is the field of inquiry, which is the analytical object framing research attention in fieldwork (ibid). How the field is objectified intertwines with research approach in general and thus with researcher’s performance in the field. Hastrup defines fieldwork as participation in inter-human relations to study the quality of social practice relative to particular relations (ibid: 56). I follow Hastrup in her definition of the (anthropological)

field as an analytical field framed by research attention, yet, I include non-human beings as constitutive of the field through their perceived participation. If the wind involves itself in educational practices, why should the researcher in me not follow?

The advice to go ‘north’ and ‘up’ were relational advices tracing out attentiveness to the implications of local, indigenous or everyday life. They were suggestions to experience education as a dynamic movement emerging in actual human-world exchanges. This could not be represented to me in interviews, as the what it really was, the meaning of it, belonged within embodied experience of relational exchanges. In this perspective, field work is a matter of doing – of walking – as what can be found out is embodied in action.

Exploring education as movements emerging from human and non-human relational entwinements involves a distinct fieldwork dynamic, also to anthropologists who have previously been concerned with a detached representation of cultures as pre-objectified entities. It establishes a pull toward a sense of journeying instead of being in one or more places. It is like following stories and it impacts the analytical configuration of culture, which is more like an open-ended narrative than a bounded entity of sorts. In ‘Routes – Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century’ James Clifford (Clifford 1997) suggested seeing culture as a site of travel, and argued that rethinking culture in terms of travel would question the organic bias of the term (culture) and display better experiences of “displacement, interference and interaction” (ibid: 25). I follow his point in opening up the concept of culture to engage with negotiations and experiences of rupture (ibid). Yet, instead of seeing culture as a site of travel (a representation) why not see culture as a movement in itself? In this case, the challenge of research is not *what* we are as researchers (native, traveller), but *how* we act. Letting go of dualisms and the idea of researching to produce representations of what happens ‘out there’, does the ‘opening’ at an epistemological level.

As Clifford says, travelling implies “a range of material, spatial practices that produce knowledges, stories, traditions, comportments, music, books, diaries, and other cultural expressions” (ibid: 35). Movements, I would say, accomplish this, but they “delineate their own meanings through their embeddedness in social and material contexts of action” (Ingold 2000:170-171). Experiencing movement is experiencing material and spatial practices that produce knowledge. Every line is the trace of a gesture (Ingold 2007: 131). Experiencing movement, for instance as a push for displacement of perspective or for dislocation, is experiencing linearity at work. Through experience it can be objectified from a de-centred and non-humanist perspective so as to get beyond the trivial dualism continuously rounding up borders around ‘knowledges’ otherwise on their way.

By focusing on a line’s emergence and on movement in general, we can focus on what people do – activities, practices – rather than their sociological status. In my case, it obviously frees the subject matter of education from its ties to politicized domains of research, i.e. from ‘who has it’ to ‘how does it come about’. Looked upon like following a story, fieldwork and doing ethnography is figuratively an act of following the red thread, a term often used, but maybe we should re-think what it means to follow a thread *in practice*. The process of threading a research trajectory is possibly analogous to how a story comes into being. Ingold cites Berger about what constitutes a story:

No story [...] is like a wheeled vehicle whose contact with the road is continuous. Stories walk, like animals and men. And their steps are not only between narrated events but between each sentence, sometimes each word. Every step is a stride over something not said. (Berger 1982: 284-5 in Ingold 2007: 92)

Following a story, according to Berger, is in a sense to be in continuous movement. This emphasises that places of fieldwork are not sites for arrival and departure (like positions on a map), but integrated,

as touchstones, in a continuous flowing act of movement. Narratives can be both coherent and open-ended (like roads with other roads intersecting) and thus allows us to conceptualize culturally coherent processes, which is distinct from institutional, bureaucratic social coherences. Following stories is a way of being and a way of doing research. I guess one could say that doing research this way is *a linear practice of threading*.

This way of conducting fieldwork embodies what Masschelein calls ‘self-displacement’ as a subjective process and perceptual movement, rather than a matter of relocation. Fieldwork conceptualised as an act of threading brings out the narrative aspects of physical movement implying a transformation of perspective. The actual process of moving to gather threads is far from ‘collecting data’ across ‘field sites’. Whereas the first suggest the collection of elements representative of bounded sites, the latter stresses the subjective engagement of the researcher expanding his or her awareness, conceptual reach and ability to tap into a distinct flow of life.

In this section I have aimed to decentre the field as a naturalised site of observation by suggesting threading. Clifford finds the metaphor of travelling invites a focus on relations rather than on the distance implied in the naturalisation of the field as a place (1997:67-68). I agree, and take it further. Threading as the act of finding one’s way focused on immediately experienced coherences is distinct from travelling between destinations that pre-suppose theoretically (distant) and thus artificially established coherence. Below I elaborate on the process of learning as a process of change in way of being bodily present in the world.

Walking: Displacement of gaze through sensory attentiveness

When I asked the women at Angujaartorfik how to cut the meat, they told me with words and hand gestures that I had to *feel* it. The starting position for cutting meat was from the ground, with your legs

stretched out and your back in an upright position to economise stress on the body. A lump of meat would be held in the open palm of one hand with the fingers providing a soft grip around it, and a knife in the other. The knife was then used ‘side-ways’ in an unfolding, sliding movement. The idea was not to separate the meat lump into smaller pieces, but to unfold it into one large, delicately thin piece for drying. Feeling the meat called attention to surface and texture as immediate points of orientation and comparison between lumps. Enquiring into this I was told of the difference between young and old animals, sexes, and distinct grassing areas.

Masschelein writes of attentive positioning as an act of exposure enabling the world to *command us* (2010: 46). Masschelein writes this with reference to a text by Walter Benjamin on the differently experienced power of a country road when seen from a plane and when walked (ibid: 44). We can relate this to the narrative relatedness between places discussed above. Here, the focus is on the implication of embodied place in experience. According to Benjamin, only the one who walks the road “learns the powers it commands” and how it “calls forth distances, belvederes, clearings, prospects at each of its turns” (Benjamin 1979: 51 in ibid). To Masschelein this registration of distances in time and space is “an extremely precise indication” of how we should go about critical research in education; it directs our attention to the *act* of walking as the ‘how’ of research, independently of where we are going (2010: 44). From the position taken here, ‘critical’ means analytical and what is analysed are cultural differences in ways of perceiving the world. The point I want to make here in relation to research approach is simple: researching as learning through feeling the world depends on the willingness to expose oneself not only to other people and new places, but to distinct ways of engaging with the world. It is common in qualitative research to hone ‘openness’ and in this case this included a use of tactility, distinct from the controlling grip of meat with one hand and the use of a knife for separation.

I cut meat with different people at different times (men included). Feeling the meat in their hands, they would often relate the structure or taste of meat to the landscape surrounding us, pondering the question of where the animal had been grassing. Along with this activity, remembrance of previous walks inland emerged as events of life history. These were historical and cultural traits embedded in practice and alive in the movement of fingers. Contrary to seeing the researcher as an expert within a (disciplinary) field, research aimed at learning through the displacement of view begins from the manner of *apprenticeship* (Ingold 2000: 415). ‘Apprenticeship’ refers to a way of being (a manner), rather than the position as apprentice. Masschelein speaks of the need to explore situations with the lack of intention (2010: 277) to achieve self-displacement, and I think this ambition is similar to Ingold’s in conceiving of fieldwork as apprenticeship. Being an apprentice implies ways of knowing (how) rather than as who (what); for instance, there is a way of coming to know what is to be known (experienced) about meat from the manner of an apprentice engaging with a relationally constituted field of dynamics.

When interlocutors in the beginning of my fieldwork reflected on experiences with schooling, they drew cultural distinctions by way of a narrative of bodily postures and rhythms. Some of these, we already know: How to sit, when to sleep, where and what to sing, how to talk. If a way of sitting in a classroom at the level of experience indicates a distinction in an educational line then this is the answer we need to engage with.

The practice of cutting meat embodied a world in which I did not speak the language, literally and metaphorically. It constituted a semiotic challenge, which I embraced, for exposure to the unknown is the aim (to the same point see Ingold 2000: 403). I was exposed to the unknown in two ways when I felt the raw meat in my hands. First, the traditional way of working with meat is opposed to standing at a table with a knife in hand and cutting out the meat in a top-down and top-through movement. Second-

ly, knowing how to work the meat from the feeling of its texture suggested a tangentially (walking) sensitive way of engaging in a process.

Ingold and Vergunst (2008), speaking to the same point as Masschelein when he talks about being present in the field, suggests we approach thinking and feeling as ways of walking too (ibid: 2). This approach critiques the position that thinking is “to set up a relation of external contact or correspondence between subjective states of mind and objectively given conditions of the material world” (2000:2). This is similar in intent to Masschelein above, when he draws on Benjamin to make a distinction between ‘flying over roads’ instead of walking them. It matters for what we are in a position to compare. Distinct from the ‘surveying’ perspective, the command of the narrative and narrating road presents the engaged researcher with a reality that cannot be excused once experienced; experiencing it *as* reality includes a transformation of the one who has experienced, i.e. instigated a path through it (Masschelein after Benjamin ibid: 45).

It is crucial that we overcome dichotomies analytically, to engage from within the world as culturally perceived. This is what Lave, Masschelein and Roepstorff have called upon us to focus attention on, how paths (knowledge, Roepstorff) come into being relative to actual entanglements of relations. Walking, or engaging with the body in research practice, is, as I have described it here, not a method, but an art of inquiry.

Field, fieldwork and analytical object

The construction of the field as a field with fluid boundaries makes it even more important to be aware of the analytical field within the field’s trajectory. This might explain (to other disciplines) why anthropologists are so concerned with the intimate link between fieldwork (ethnography to many) and anthropology; experience and conceptualisation of research is dialogical. Staying within the terminology of

the line, we can think of the analytical work of writing up research as picking up threads and turning them into traces. Ingold has elaborated on the distinction between threads and traces (2007: 51-52); for now, it suffices to imagine fieldwork as a practice of moving much in the way one would pick up a thread from the ground and follow it without having a precise idea of the final destination, and, conversely, picking up the threads to turn them into coherent stories as a ‘trace of the world’.

The analytical process of pulling out matters of general significance for presentation demands, according to Masschelein, a recasting of our experience in the field (2010: 46). As a road, experience imposes itself upon us with its own authority, as when I was compelled to displace myself to see that I was looking for the wrong performance of ‘education’. In a learning process, we interact with appearance of the world in experience as a path to walk along. In a methodological and analytical perspective, this represents a distinct manner of becoming knowledge than research objectifying ‘the other’.

To a comparative science like anthropology, the discussion about what can be compared is central, and I will elaborate on it here as part of the historical background for the configuration of research as a process of learning. During the 1980s and 1990s the social sciences and perhaps especially anthropology turned toward linguistic and literary approaches as a way of paying attention to the world as historical and constructed. It was a response to the natural science ideal and modernist idea that the world can be known positively as it is *per se* (Hastrup 2005: 135-136). From within a modernist framework, fieldwork at that time consisted mainly of collecting ethnographic samples representing the local cultures. As a contrast, semiotic and narrative perspectives put an emphasis on culture as text and on meaning as discursively constructed (ibid: 136). In this period the analytical interest was less bound to regionalism, and the ‘where’ mattered less than the ‘what’ of fieldwork. The discursively based approaches focused scientific attention on the diversity of human constructions of the world.

However, as Hastrup comments, social constructivist trends like these paradoxically seemed to overlook the impact of being social (ibid). These approaches, focusing on what went on in the minds of people *prior* to their daily doings, separated mind from practice, and from the action and materiality of the phenomenal world. Ingold comments that postmodernism paved the way in anthropology for a new interest in narrative constructions of reality (Ingold 2011: 136), which is continued in the approach, I take here. Whereas a narrative approach has been much used by social constructionists, forgetting the deep social condition of life (ibid), however, a narrative approach incorporating a phenomenological dimension continues to take the sociality of life as its point of departure (ibid). In a phenomenological view, the social can never be just an object among others, or a construction of mind, but is a deep condition of walking through life. Education as social phenomenon, then, is not an object of thought, but a life process.

However, where would a comparative study of knowledge formation in the Arctic begin? Scholars such as Greg Sarris (1993), Cruickshank (2005) and Ingold (1996, 2000, and 2011) have worked with this question among indigenous people, and the latter two among peoples of the North. In analysing education I draw on their comprehensive writings on the coming together of competing systems of knowledge. American/Arctic Boasian Anthropology, with a sensitivity toward culture as meaning (Carsten 2000: 4), and research before theory, thus merges in this thesis with a heritage from European Social Anthropology, developed in a Durkheimian tradition focusing on social rules and social organisation, which, according to Hastrup, provides us with a disciplinary legacy in the form of an ‘awareness of humans as social to the core’ (2005:133). *The cultural* in this latter view is always ‘a social fact’ (ibid), and meaning is not a form humans dictate to the world, but is implicit in social practice; always there as a relational context to human actions (Ingold 2000: 22 & 2011: 236-237). Anthropology, according to Hastrup, works in ‘the social’, in between the individual and the universal (2003: 20). This level addresses the experience of coherence and reciprocity – distinct from measurement or number (ibid). It is

at this level that “the particular meets with the universally human without being explainable with reference to one or the other in isolation” (ibid, my translation). A narrative-ecological approach, as taken here, is based in the merging of cultural anthropology (meaning) and sociality as tangible and real in experience.

As stated in chapter one, educational anthropology has drawn attention to differences in teaching and learning processes across cultures. Unfortunately culture has often been communicated as a set of collective symbolic representations, as a systemic whole as criticized above, and thus an example of comparison of the ‘what’ of education, leaving the social process of education un-criticized. Collectivity/culture in this model is a set of rules for public life (Ingold 2000: 159) and what is compared is units.

This model underlies the traditions that look into systems, schemes and models and their organizing principles (ibid: 159-161). They assume, like Durkheim, “that cognition consists of a process of matching sensory experience to stable conceptual schemata” (ibid: 161). Contrary to this, researching forms of knowledge related to social conditions of existence is researching knowledge as *relational*, and as emerging in between people and between objects and between people and objects (Hastrup 2004: 410). This kind of approach may be seen by some as ‘totalitarian’ as it reaches for answers to questions about the conditions of life. To this I have two comments. First, I think the reach should be read as a reaching down, not out; it is striving for depth. Second, as it is epistemologically based in a philosophical inspiration, it does not aim at translation as in representation, but at re-discovery (Ridler 1996: 246).

Recapitulating from Chapter One, the ‘Lines’ perspective enables a structure and systematic in understanding education as a total phenomenon through a particular approach to how attentiveness emerges and figures. This perspective rests in the dwelling perspective (Ingold 2000). In 2011, Ingold summarises the ‘dwelling perspective’ as “a perspective founded on the premise that the forms humans build,

whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise within the currents of their involved activity, in the specific relational contexts of their practical engagement with their surroundings” (Ingold 2011: 10). This understanding of being is concerned with how all beings (human and non-human) are immersed in the currents of the life world (ibid). Ingold draws on Heidegger in developing his understanding of dwelling (ibid) and, in a way, seeing education as social attention is a continuation of the dwelling perspective; however, with more focus on fluid properties of attention. From this perspective, education is not a product of humanity, but part of being as such, without which nothing else would take place (after Ingold 2011:10)

It goes with this perspective that education should be studied in its totality and in relation to the constitutional relations that it is ecologically and narratively part of. The process of entanglement embedded in acting is what urges and limits social attention. What is important here is that the ‘lines’ perspective is relative in an organic sense which allows a cultural perspective beyond relativism. The concept of lines does not command or even invite a representation of life processes as ‘out there’ independent of experience. Rather, I find, this concept has paved a way for me to think along a de-centered perspective, open to distinct perspectives on education. ‘Lines’ provides a conceptual form for analysis that *dissolves* (objects, frames) on the one hand, and *gathers (relations, narrative connections)* on the other. Those are central conceptual *capacities* to write a text that opens up a space of new understandings. It allows an ecological-narrative conceptualization of cultural process, i.e. of coherences in experiences, imaginations, practices expectations and self-inflicted limitations across time and space.

This is a crucial point when it comes to generalizability and comparison. What is compared is not people according to positions in a scheme, but cultural processes as experienced and sustained theoretically.

In this section I have outlined how an approach to culture as life perspective is inclusive of experiences of social reality as it is lived. This provides a critical, comparative perspective, traditionally kept aside in school-centric analyses privileging schooling as a site of education. In short, by de-centering the analysis of education from the relation between teacher and learner, or knowledge and child, to a question of cultural process, we first focus our attention on the actual context of educational engagement. Next, by conceptualizing this process as an environmental-narrative, we overcome culture-nature dichotomies in the analysis of activity. This, finally, includes a notion of partiality; the cultural processes presented here are context-bound and yet open for comparison at a general level.

Validity

This kind of research and scientific production cannot be ‘validated’ by standard, positivistic research techniques. Walking as an art of inquiry answers to a disciplinary interest in the world as it presents itself to me through interaction. To some this subjectively based research strategy might raise a question about scientific validity. In an argument against rules of triangulation in qualitative research, which they say keeps the assumption alive that there is a fixed point or an ‘object’ that can be triangulated, Richardson and St. Pierre suggests “crystallization” (Richardson, St Pierre 2008: 963) as an image of validity for postmodernist texts (ibid). As they say, crystals combine “symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change and are altered, but they are not amorphous” (ibid). This is only a more detailed account of what Masschelein sees as ‘cutting through’, but their commentary is relevant as they argue, “crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of ‘validity’; we feel there is no single truth, and we see how texts validate themselves” (ibid). I do not see my text as a ‘postmodernist text’ but, as argued above, postmodernism opened a view to constitutive processes. The text only validates itself through the substantiating dialogue with other texts. At the end of the section above, I stated that we conduct our research from the paradox that we feel the world is there, yet we can only experience it

partially. Interestingly, the more we ‘cut through’ the world i.e. the more we know from this emplacement along the road, we know, there is more to know (to the same point, see Richardson and St. Pierre, *ibid*).

So far, I have demonstrated how experiences from the field made me realize 1) I was studying the wrong kind of education and 2) I was approaching the field along routes that complicated experience of the present. I have then argued for an anthropological approach based in a notion of culture as social process and embedded in how people go about their lives. I want to end this section by citing Masschelein at length on why it matters so much how we do our research. Some people find anthropologists obsessed with analytical debates and it is, for a good reason, a core in the discipline. Masschelein is an educationalist trying to re-direct the research attention of educationalist, so we share a path:

the problem of critical education in our (postmodern) times is changing. Not [...] because we moved from education to learning, and to learning to learn as the main aim (thereby seemingly solving the problem of what to learn), but because our condition has changed (related partly to the omnipresence of images). [...] in contrast to the very common idea in educational theory and philosophy that one of our main endeavours in education should be to raise a critical awareness with student that every ‘world’ is but a view on the world [...] I would maintain that today this awareness is widely spread and indeed has become the basic stance. [...] it confronts education with a problem which is, so to say, opposite to the modern one. Not: how to represent the world and how to make students aware that this is not the real world. This awareness is present enough. But: How to turn the world into something ‘real’, how to make the world ‘present’, to give again the real and discard the shields or mirrors that seem to have locked us up increasingly into self-reflections and interpretations, into endless returns upon ‘standpoints’, ‘perspectives’

and ‘opinions. [...] the problem [...] is precisely about the (dis)-stance i.e. the way we relate to the world, it is about the right distance which opens up an existential space. (Masschelein 2010: 276)

Discussion – Anthropology and Educational research

In this chapter I have discussed fieldwork (method) in relation to my epistemological context and implied ontology. This context also narrates the object of research. To put the use of an anthropological (narrative-environmental) into perspective, this section elaborates on distinct objectives in research relative to discipline.

I adopt a distinction made by the educational anthropologist Levinson between field-specific theory and broad, social theory (anthropology). According to Levinson field-specific theory is aimed at improving the practice of teaching and schooling, whereas the latter tries to give an account of “how and why ‘society’ works the way it does” (Levinson 2011: 1-3). Adding to this distinction, drawn along disciplinary objectives, there might be a distinction too in what counts as ‘critical’ in the relation between the research field of education and political agendas. Nabe-Nielsen (2012) argues that blurriness between politically initiated suggestions for education, on the one hand, and scientific suggestions, on the other, is also due to the view of humanity present in both. The particularly human forms a background for political ideologies as well as for research agendas (ibid: 13).

Why is this distinction between conceptualizations of education at a theoretical level important? The answer is that it goes to the object of analysis and the consequential discussion. Theorizing at the level of sociality inscribes the field of education into a discussion of how the world continuously comes into being along relations of care, power, kinship, opposition and more. Further, the anthropological take on theorizing through critical-analytical approaches differs from theoretical approaches pre-

categorizing humans as subject to structural dominance and in need of emancipation. As discussed in this chapter, this theoretical position continues a dichotomist perspective reducing the flow of life to subject-object relations. Levinson himself stays within this perspective when he refers to society as an organization of human-human relation (ibid: 6, 11). To be fair, Levinson is fully aware of the limits of critical social theory in being specific about ‘emancipation’ (ibid 12). However, what he regrets is the limitation of research, its inability to give directives for transformation of position, which to me is an imposition of an epistemological constraint through theoretical context. Why not change the question and learn what is real?

Summing up

The choices we make during fieldwork need retrospective reflection. Not in order to be justified, but because this dialogical exchange between established theory and experiences of distinctly situated perceptions of the world is how anthropological knowledge is crafted. The analytical approaches I applied for this project have in this chapter been described through a critique applied at two levels of the analytical process: the relation between theory and method, and the relation between fieldworker and field. I have argued that we need personal exposure to the field to get beyond reifying dichotomist models that treat cultural diversity as a relativist representation of universals, and, in particular in relation to education, keeps schooling at center stage for comparison.

Overcoming dichotomies and reconfiguring research relations, from a person-centered relation between researcher and field to an apprenticeship aimed at embodying constitutive relations at the level of sociality, answers a call for research to present the present. The aim is not knowledge as representation but knowing as learning.

As a frame for this pursuit, I have suggested to do research in the style of a walk commanded by the road itself. This approach does not aim to satisfy rules but allows a displacement of objectives and thus a voice to pre-objectified relations. Within this framework, my fieldwork has consisted in a variety of approaches, of which I have in this chapter retraced experiences with formalized interviews, unstructured conversations, observations in- and out of institutions, participation as employee in a pre-school and momentarily participant in livelihood practices at a hunting site. Although I have applied distinct approaches for the production of ethnography, they have all been applied from the perspective of an apprentice. I have discussed theory and field work experience across themes like engagement with situated materiality and corporeal sensitivity. I discussed how experiences of social distinctions as intersections allowed a theorization of cultural diversity as movement. I have argued research from a learning approach in the shape of walking does not deliver ‘data’, but can ‘crystalize’ what we have come to experience through embodying constitutional relations of the narrative we engage with.

Finally, I discussed an anthropological approach to education in relation to educational theory, as a difference in level of analysis, with anthropology as ‘closest to the ground’ in terms of relating questions of education to how life appears. Following educational anthropologists who have had substantial experience with this discussion, I argued that the difference is vital for the development of new perspectives.

The following two chapters explore education situated in practiced human-world relations at the hunting site Angujaartorfik.

6 Growth in an open world: Hunter's educational line

We go here to hunt, to use what we have inherited from our forefathers – and the next generation must continue this! We do not just gain force from being in the outdoors, we use the lands here in summer to gain something we cannot be without in our lives. (Hunter Ulrik Lyberth, Angujaartorfik, 2012)

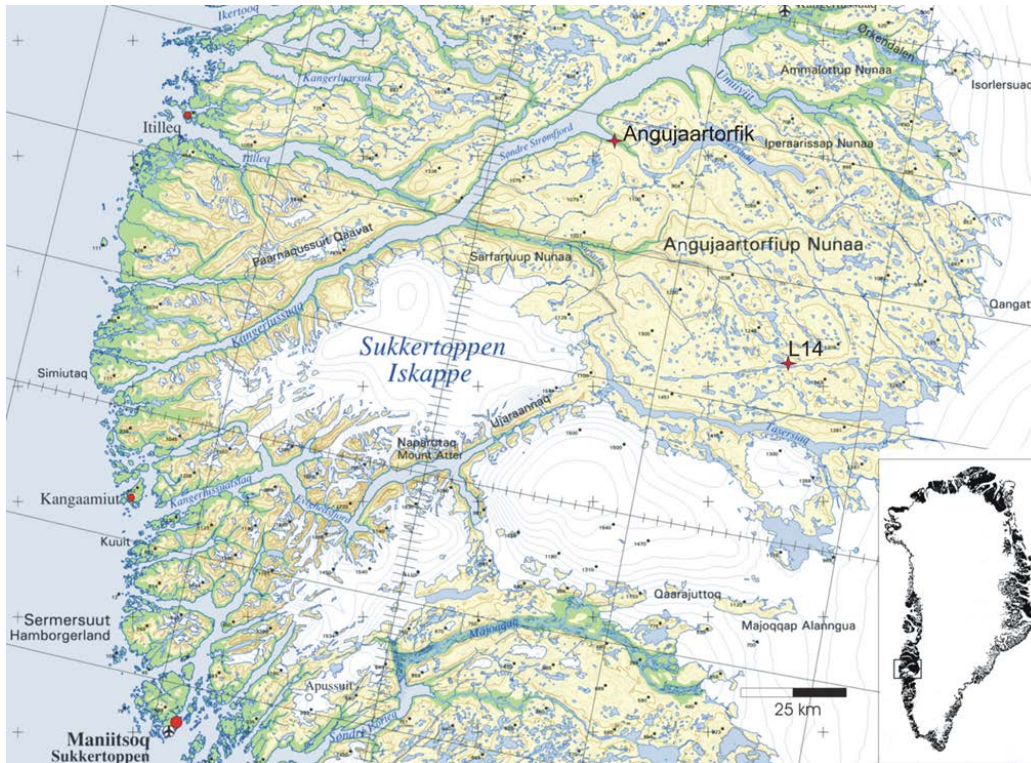
Where people live or journey is not interesting in itself; what *is* interesting, however, is if and how it makes a difference to *how* they live and perceive of life. In the beginning of this thesis, I described how Greenlanders within modern life schedules continued fragments of a pattern of life which is based in hunters and gatherers traditional nomadic life. So far this thesis has demonstrated how the history of schooling in Greenland has involved a re-structuring of social attention along what I called straight lines. Euro-centric thinking institutionalized in schools and pre-schools relative to an idea of society as a closed world, and humans as entities (citizens) taking up positions in this pre-set world, has changed the way life moves, and the way life is gestured as part of educational process. I have argued that there is an epistemological affinity between the working order of modern schooling and the quest for knowledge in most educational research, which is why we have to blaze a new trail, to know in new ways, as stated at the end of the previous chapter. To know what education would look like if we looked with the gaze of a hunter and gatherer is the aim of this and the following chapter.

In Chapter One, I argued that a focus on education is a focus on the conditions of growth (Dewey 1966:10). This chapter particular focuses on the implications of place as context for educational practice. The next chapter looks at how a hunter's life practices imply particular teaching strategies. What I

will argue throughout both chapters is that place makes a difference to educational practices. In previous chapters I have showed how school centric educational practices is regulated according to its structural association with a bureaucratic and commodifying global society which divides being and knowing, as when age is used as a categorical representation (Chapter Four). Education according to the working order of the abstract straight line instills boundaries between participation in ‘society’ and a life world embodied in relations with place.

At Angujaartorfik, place as the embodied context of education re-articulated educational practice as relative to people’s life world, i.e. to their sense of the world and their being in it. At a cultural level this disentangled ideas of education relative to an abstract order of ‘society’, and instead education emerged as a narrative process of formation and transformation through relatedness and the continuation of flows of movement constitutive of concrete human-place relations. The concept of line allows for an analysis of education as embodied practice and processes of change in experience. Contrary to the goal-oriented and fragmented movements of the straight line, the linearity at work at Angujaartorfik narrated the subject matter of education itself as a social and binding movement that at the same time creates senses of belonging within particular cultural and social human-environment relationships (sociality) and creative enfolding of individual human-world relationships. I aim to show that this linearity embodies a sense of the world as open-ended in its way of moving. In its use as a context for learning, it situates learning and becoming educated as a process of way-faring and as such challenges the significance of school centric education as a matter of optimizing human resources according to pre-set positions. The analytical approach suggested here, makes it possible to analyze education as process rather than an object. Thus the focus is on relationships and their enfoldment. Hunter’s educational practices introduce time or “social tempo” (Rosaldo 1989: 107) as a relational dimension that situates particular experiences of education in time and place. According to a representational epistemology, direction in education is dictated by curricula’s relation to an abstract cartographic order (of society). This research

points to direction in education as emerging as part of a relationally constituted movement in and with particular surroundings.



Map of West Greenland which shows travel routes to Angujaartorfik from the towns Kangamiut and Maniitsoq.

In their use of this camp today, present day Greenlanders dissolve theoretically constructed dichotomies between life practices of the past as Inuit hunters, and modern lives⁹. As the quote above reveals, Angujaartorfik is a particular place to the hunters who have been coming there for generations. They associate coming to Angujaartorfik with continuation of tradition and personal life empowerment. To this hunter's experience, this use of place is different Westernized uses of place for 'going outdoors'. As a starting point for education, place has implications for knowledge and purpose. As has been documented in the first part of the thesis, schooling relative to a Western modern model of society has as its purpose to assure that children acquire pre-objectified knowledge of the world. (Osberg, Biesta et al. 2008) criticize the general working order of modern schooling based on "representational epistemology" (2008: 213). This critique is similar in intent to the critique implied in the analysis of modern

schooling as the aim of drawing attention along straight lines. However, through analysis of Angujaartorfik hunter's use of place this chapter offers an interrogation of what schooling would look like if based on a different idea than the one of knowledge as representational. The next chapter accordingly focuses on what teaching would look like without the idea of teaching as an imposition of pre-objectified knowledge.

I begin this chapter with an introduction to Angujaartorfik as a site. This is followed by a section that provides a brief overview of the history of Inuit hunter and gatherers coming to Angujaartorfik. I then introduce human-environment relations as a particular anthropological research interest that emerges from studies among Arctic communities. These three sections establish a break with educational history in Greenland as the history of implementation of Eurocentric imperatives. I then begin an analysis of Angujaartorfik as an embodied place by showing how place is pre-figured in hunter's naming practices. In use, these practices trace out Inuit traditions as context for human-environment relations and thus for ways of being in the world. This is followed by an analysis of social tempo as analytical perspective on movements that are constitutive of wayfaring lines as a particular linearity that situate educational processes in context bound acts of relatedness. I end with a discussion of wayfaring as linear practice. The discussion in this chapter offers an alternative conceptualization of education and an alternative context for understanding school failure among indigenous Inuit children.

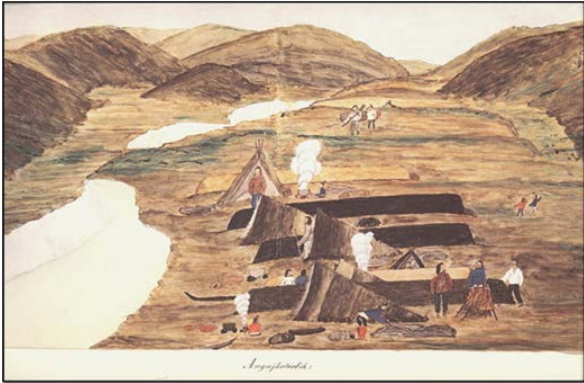
Angujaartorfik: 'The place we meet up

In the summer, when we sail or hunt – that is when we live the real Greenlandic life. You have to go to know about it. (mother, Ilulissat, 2012)

Hunting (and gathering) is to many Greenlanders a central everyday life activity. Despite the fact that most of them live in towns and have ordinary wage-paying jobs, hunting continues to be an important component in life (Sejersen 2004: 72), as among Inuit in general (Wenzel 1991: 15). I begin this chapter with an ethnographic introduction to the hunting camp Angujaartorfik. Followed by a reflection on the intermingling traces of human and non-human life at the camp. Toward the end of the section I contextualize the description of summer life at the camp with a short note about the pre-history of caribou hunters in Greenland.

Angujaartorfik is downriver, where sandy sediments allow for a lake-like widening of a strong-current river coming from glaciers at the ice cap, approximately 100 kilometres away. The water has until this point been hurling over blocks of granite rock. The river brings fresh water from the glaciers, and fish, and the surrounding mountains shield it from the wind. The sandy banks of Angujaartorfik are perfect for harbouring boats. From the lagoon, one just has to know when the water-level is right to slip over the narrow strait and through the loch, where the river has a narrow arm to the deep firth leading to the ocean and the Greenlandic west coast. In Greenlandic ‘Angujaartorfik’ means ‘the place we meet up’ or ‘the place we meet again’. The camp is an old hunting assembly camp. In summer, people would depart from their coastal settlements (as described in Chapter One) and disperse into the country in smaller groups. People journeying up the fjord, would gather at the camp for some days before dividing again and walking further inland. At the end of the season, they would meet at the camp again, and share stories of the summer. Some would gather to accompany each other on the journey down the fjord and out to the sea.

The camp, Angujaartorfik, is part of the mountainous inland area called Angujaartorfiup Nunaa in west Greenland. It is situated at 50W and 60 N, just below the Polar Circle.



To the left a water coloring by Aron from Kangeq, 19th century (Thule Culture). To the right a girl returning from hunt, 2010.

In the watercolor image above, from the 19th century, we can observe camp life next to the shore. To the right is an image of the niece of the hunter I cited at the beginning of this chapter. In this picture, she has just returned from hunt with her uncle in 2010. At the back of the painting two hunters are returning from the inland. To the right in the image, two children are waving. The return of hunters along the same path, and children greeting them is still today a familiar sight: On my first visit, a young boy one day returned to the camp along with two elder hunters. Crossing the last hilltop before arriving at the camp, they fired three shots. At the camp, people looked toward the sound of the shots, and when they spotted the hunters, there was joyous calling: ‘Inuit, Inuit!’ (Humans, humans!) Youngsters and other hunters rushed off to help carry the heavy load the last bit of the way to the camp. By 2012 the sound of shots as signs of hunters returning, and the head-band style of carrying (although the skin was left at the field) had become a familiar observation to me.

The central tent house in the group of people we spend most time with, was the tent house of the married couple Elisabeth and Esra Rosing and their two children. This particular tent house was, as it was remembered by an interlocutor, established by the late Baselaj Rosing in 1948, who arrived by rowing boat from the coastal settlement Kangamiut. Esra (Baselaj’s son) and Elisabeth moved into this tent house in 2010. Until then, Esra’s mother, the huntress Agnete Rosing had come to Angujaartorfik eve-

ry summer, even after her husband's death. She had lived in the tent house along with her bachelor son, Titus. At the time of my visit he had moved to his own tent. Around Elizabeth and Esra's tent house there were other tent houses with Rosing family members (Esra's siblings were in proximity). However, in 2010, on the outskirts of the camp, there were two other families with no direct relation to the Rosing family. One Greenlandic family had come there before; another was a first-timer, ethnically Danish family from Nuuk coming to fish in the river as part of their summer holiday. In 2012, an actual tourist camp for fishing tourism had been established at the river bank, across a path leading from the hunters' tent camp to a bend in the river with slow stream, used for collecting fresh water.

On our visits, the inhabitation in the camp area was predominantly divided between two families, hailing primarily from two distinct coastal towns. They mainly camped on each side of a plateau (on the water color only one side of the plateau is depicted). A married couple belonged respectively on each side, and switched side every year to nurture relations to both family groups. In general, a topographical hierarchy existed where younger members of a group were settled around an elderly couple as the gathering point. On the fringes of the camp areas, new families with no former relations to these old families were moving in. In total, during the caribou season, the camp area was probably home to 30 households. I was told, the number differed every year. I have counted 28 boats on one occasion¹⁰.

Arrays of tracks were significant features at the campsite. In 2010 I seated myself at the central plateau to draw a map of Angujaartorfik. After a while I had to give up as I could not match the paths, I was observing, with the actual dwellings. Looking back, the point is banal and has to do with dominating perceptions of how paths that humans use are constituted, and who they are for. And just because of the banality of this insight, it was a reminder to me of the tacit cultural conditioning of my perception. Drawing a map, I was looking to separate and connect according to pre-established categories of path-users (humans) and path-destinations (dwellings, water collect area, meat preparation areas). As over-

looking the area from above did not bring any coherent sense of the place, I then decided to descend from the plateau and tread the paths. Actually walking the paths, I realized they were open-ended parts of routes of distinct users. Each route had no particular starting point and no particular end. But walking the distinct paths, what had looked random from my position above now felt sensible – as routes. The paths webbing the ground at Angujaartorfik were not connections between human subjects and other objects (the river, the coast, and other hunters). Thus they did not have the typical focus of transportations between occupations as lanes in a domesticated context have (Chapter Four). Further, the paths at Angujaartorfik were also animal paths, and also sometimes converging with a fold in the ground: At times a path would stop, and then continue one step to the left, or a few meters ahead. Reflecting upon the plasticity in the constitution of the path and without being able to ask a deer, I guessed the simple answer lay in a difference in ground level or bushes performing an immediate temptation to move to the side. To straighten out the paths for efficiency in transport would be an act of desocialization. In autumn and winter, when it gets too cold close to the inland ice and the ground is covered in snow, caribou and musk ox come to the waterfront to find grass and to drink. They arrive at the campsite through the same valley hunters venture through in summer to get to them. Thus imprints of other seasonal hosts crisscrossed the camp, and the human marks on the landscape, pre-historic and present time tent rings and one wooden hut at the outskirts, seemed secondary to the marks left behind by migrating animals. The most worn path threading from the camp to the inlands was by hunters identified as a human path and by archaeologists as an animal track. It was of course the track of numerous journeys from both groups of users.

This section has introduced us to Angujaartorfik as a gathering site and particular human environment. This was already mentioned on page one in the first chapter of this thesis. This section has added information about spatial structure at the camp site, physical surroundings, kinship relations, as well as my own experience-based reflections about ways of knowing this place. To illustrate the historical

depth of the life practices continued at Angujaartorfik, I now turn to archaeological readings of the pre-historic structures in the area. I draw this in as I think the historical-cultural history of hunter and gatherer ancestry performs an important and different baseline to enquire into indigenous Greenlandic children's problems in modern schooling than the possibilities represented in the history of schooling in Greenland.

Ancestral capacity: A pre-historic perspective

Below I briefly present the pre-history of Angujaartorfik and the surrounding hunting terrain: Angujaartorfiup Nunaa. The term pre-historic is in itself a colonial term, convincingly counter-argued at Angujaartorfik by the presence of stories told to skilled perceivers in archaeological structures.

In the historical past, three hunter-gatherer cultures have immigrated to Greenland from the Arctic North America, and have hunted in the land stretching behind Angujaartorfik to the ice cap approximately 100 km from the coast. Those cultures are called 'Saqqaq', 'Dorset' and 'Thule'. A fourteenth century sample from a hearth in a stone age Saqqaq tent ring from the camp dates from 3500 BC. Another sample from a Thule culture settlement camp in the area dates from 1350 AD (Odgaard 2007). The vast stretch of land from the camp Angujaartorfik to the ice cap known as Angujaartorfiup Nunaa is a summer grazing area for the Greenlandic caribou. It is an almost "intact and fossilised landscape, where the archaeological remains, especially of the Thule culture are very well preserved" ((Pasda, Odgaard 2011b: 35). Thule is the latest culture in the area, and is today considered "direct ancestors of modern Inuit" (Odgaard 2007: 89). Thule culture can be traced back to Alaska (Odgaard 2007: 22), and reached Northern Greenland around 1200 AD (Pasda, Odgaard 2011: 1). During the next 300 years Thule Culture succeeded southwards (Odgaard 2009: 182). At this time the Norse was present only in the south-western part of the country (Pasda, Odgaard 2011: 35 after Gulløv 2007). Members of the Thule Culture primarily lived off marine resources, but enjoyed going hunting inland in summer for

caribou (Odgaard 2009: 182). The meat of caribou was eaten and the skin used for clothing and beddings and the horns were used for tools (ibid: 183). A change to a colder climate around 1500 might have stimulated terrestrial hunting among the Thule culture settling in West Greenland, as well as a developing trade system around 1650 (Knudsen 2009). The Danish Mission began in 1721 and by around 1800 Inuit in West Greenland was dependent on goods from the West and had converted to Christianity (ibid). However, this only moderated the habitual seasonal use of land. Although people lived in towns and settlements during winter, they would still journey inland in the summer season (personal conversation, Ulla Odgaard).

As is clear from the archaeological readings of the terrain around Angujaartorfik and the nearby hunting fields, the area is extremely rich in historical-cultural traits of ancestral life of modern Inuit/Greenlanders. The archaeology of the Greenlandic past challenges the Euro centric notion that Greenland was discovered by Danes and documents to nomadic life practices as a life modality with noticeable endurance through climate changes and culture contact. Relating the archaeological research of pre-history of nomadic life trajectories to recent social research documenting the continued centrality of hunting to modern Greenlanders (as cited at the top of the section) calls for critical reconsideration of possible institutionalized approaches to life practices that index belonging within this community as belonging in a past state.

This section has introduced us to Angujaartorfik as a geographical, historical and cultural place. With this introduction I situate Greenlanders as followers of a history of seasonal nomads whose lives were temporally structured in movements between coast settlements in winter and family based hunting journeys in summer. The relation between the annual migration of animals and human mobility has been a central topic in Arctic Anthropology. Below I introduce disciplinary bearings from this tradition as it forms a key inspiration to the overall comparative analysis of education within the context of hu-

man-environment relations in this thesis, as well as it informs further analyses of the relation between ways of life and how life is perceived.

Arctic Anthropology: Challenges to schooling from Inuit way of life

The study of hunters and gatherers in the Arctic is within anthropology as old as the discipline itself. A particular theme in this research field is the relation between nature and culture, more specifically the relation between the physical environment of the Arctic and Inuit life practice. In this section the work of Franz Boas, Marcel Mauss and Tim Ingold represent this tradition and the way it has developed theoretically.

At the end of the nineteenth century, anthropologist Franz Boas (1858 – 1942), performed what was to become a baseline study of Inuit Culture, presented in the monograph ‘The Central Eskimo’ (1888). As mentioned in Chapter One (p. 19-20) this work departed from fieldwork aimed at mapping out the Baffin Island area, and drew on Boas’ training as a geographer. In the introduction to a 1964 reprint of ‘The Central Eskimo’, Collins underscores the lines drawn on Boas’ maps “indicating the seasonal movements of the Inuit which are essential to an understanding of the distribution, mode of life, and interrelationships of the various tribal groups”(Boas 1964b). Boas’ study of the relationship between the Inuit way of life and the country, in which they lived, opened up questions about the constitution of humanity of a more general character. His fieldwork among Inuit assured him of a relation between physical environment and social life, but based in how he had experienced this relation, he problematized the common conception of the time that natural surroundings imprinted people with a character.

This radically repositioned questions of cultural difference in a world otherwise seeing development as the result of unilineal evolution and natural determinism. We encountered this view in Egede’s first account of the people he met as barbarian and cold-blooded (non-human) as described in Chapter Two.

According to this view, human activity (as cold-bloodedness) was immanent in their (biological) nature. Hastrup argues that owing to Boas “nature in the sense of race [became] open to change” (Hastrup 2013: 6). Boas made cultural relativism a central premise for anthropological research and took a position in favor of a particularistic approach against “ethnocentric typology gauging levels of development” (Eriksen 2010: 15). From a non-ethnocentric, non-positivist perspective, Boas deconstructed the idea of ‘cultural level’ according to a uni-linear European standard, as identical with Inuit hunters mental capability. In 1911 Boas wrote:

We have found that the unproved assumption of identity of cultural achievement and of mental ability is founded on an error of judgment; that the variations in cultural development can as well be explained by a consideration of the general course of historical events without recourse to the theory of material differences of mental faculty in different races. (Boas 1964a: 29)

Essentially this meant that life practices which to a European gaze might have seemed primitive (such as nomadism) did not express the level of intelligence of the people living this way. In line with the relativist stance, Boas endorsed historical particularism and thus dismantled naturalization of processes of development as following a universalist scheme (Eriksen *ibid*). In short, Boas’ study of Inuit life pattern led to attention to human-environment relations as constitutional to life modality in a non-deterministic, socio-historical process.

Another Arctic researcher, Marcel Mauss (1872 – 1950), was preoccupied with the relation between the social organization and the physical environment of the Inuit. Mauss built on Durkheim’s interest in exposing laws of the social. Mauss added to Inuit research the focus on the relation between varying social organization and temporal framework of the seasons. In his work on seasonality as socially con-

ditioning among the Inuit, he argued that Inuit social structure differed between summer and winter *as* expositions of the season (Wenzel 2008: 4). In winter Inuit would gather in coastal settlements, whereas in summer the settlement population would disperse for hunting trips (Stern 2003: 148). The relation between temporal and spatial *regulation of life* and other forms of social regulation is by now a standard theme in Inuit research (Stern 2003: 148, Wenzel 2008: 3). Theoretically, Mauss applied an ecological perspective, and in his way of theorizing he implied a relation of determinacy, according to which human life practices represented possibilities within the given environmental structure. Mauss argued for an *adaptive* relation between ecology and social form (Wenzel 2008: 3).

The theoretical work of Tim Ingold (1948 -) originally built on fieldwork among caribou herders in Finland; thus the non-dualist and ecological-narrative approach applied for this research is founded in studies of indigenous northern life practices. Ingold's work is ecological in perspective, like Mauss's, but formulated in non-dualist and non-determinist terms, focusing on human-nature relations as processes of organism-environment reciprocal constitution where social and biological rhythms interact in a dynamic, non-adaptive movement (Ingold 2000).

According to the outline presented here, anthropological research in the Arctic has historically been pre-occupied with human-nature relations. There is a gap in time between the work of Mauss and Boas and Ingold. Somehow human-environment relations, like the Arctic region itself, did not receive the same attention for many years. At a theoretical level the neglect of the regional theme of human-environment relations as primary research topic was paralleled with postmodern tendencies to focus on micro perspectives. To Hastrup, postmodern anthropology replaced a holistic approach with a focus on fragmentation which prevented a rejoinder against facile positivism, but the drawback was that nature was written out of the anthropological work, all while it was acknowledged that cultures were nothing but written – meaning that they were semantic constructs. The resulting social constructivism has been

tempered if not obliterated in the 21st century: anthropologists have realized that there are limits to construction, and that the truly interesting questions always come when a particular social construction must be accounted for (Hastrup 2013: 7.) For this research, such a social construction is the continued variation in life modality, even though fragmented, according to seasons as central to life in Greenland.

In this section I have presented how research among Arctic people draws analytical attention to human-nature relations as pregnant themes for social research, and how this might be a resource from which to re-engage with formative processes and philosophical questions in educational research. Situating Greenlanders as inhabitants in an Arctic environment in relation to education, draws attention to how growth is perceived and enacted in relation to an everyday life embodying following the seasons and animals migration.

The following section is the first of three sections analysing the role of place in Angujaartorfik hunters' educational practices. I want to know how place is used, and the implications of this for practiced linearity. I begin with hunter's perception of specific places as alive and social. This is followed by an analysis of the way of knowing a place through the sensory use of the body; finally, I look into hunter's way of practicing place as a temporal practise situating movement and what is known in actual bio-social and human-nature engagements. After this follows a discussion of the implications of Angujaartorfik hunter's use of place for school-centric practices of education at an epistemological as well as an ontological level.

Human-land entwinement: Place as socially conducive

Where inhabitants meet, trails are entwined, as the life of each becomes bound up with the other. Every entwining is a knot, and the more that lifelines are entwined, the greater the density of the knot. (Ingold 2011: 148)

This section analyzes empirical use of naming among Angujaartorfik hunters as a relational conduct facilitating particular relations with place as a context for growth. To explicate the impact of place as relationally constituted, I employ Ingold's conceptualization of places as knots of life lines (Ingold 2007: 62, 98 and above). The words in the epigraph above evoke for me, now as when I first came across them, the sense of human-nature entanglement of life lines that Angujaartorfik hunters' use of places reflected to me. The image of the knot can help us imagine place as constituted by a coming-together of lines coevally produced by human and non-human movements of life. Inuit researcher Stuckenberg has said that, to the Inuit in general, place names often indicate relations between persons and place, or relations between one place and another (Stuckenberg 2006: 97). This accord with my experience from Greenland, where places are generally known through the activity they afford: Angujaartorfik translates into 'the place we meet up'; beds are places to sleep and schools are places to learn to read. In contrast to colonial practices of appropriating places as representations of human control, place names according to Inuit linguistic tradition are *relational*, and reflect conceptualization based in human-material inter-action. At a semantic level, the place-name 'Angujaartorfik' pre-figured particular social rituals related with hunter's journeying practices. One could say that historical and historizing narratives embedded in a particular place name form a mesh in a knot.

At Angujaartorfik naming seemed a key process relating people with place, yet distinct to the 'age & level' locating practice of bureaucratically structured educational systems. At Angujaartorfik people had several personal names which each gestured personal significance in particular relationships. In one situation, one might be addressed as 'the one who takes responsibility' because she did so as a child in a

group of children, in another ‘sister’ – not because she was sister to somebody, but because the relation between two women (aunt and niece) appeared to others as sister-like. Similarly an elder hunter was known as the one it was nice to look up to. I want to elaborate on two ethnographic examples of this naming practice which shows the social use of place, and the way place comes to participate in the formation of life trajectory.

One of the very skilled hunters at the camp was a woman; Wilhelmina. She had her name after her father’s best male hunting friend; Wilhelm. At her birth, her father had thought she resembled his friend in character. Wilhelmina described to me, how she had been her father’s darling, and how he had always taken her hunting, when she was a child. In the camp she was known as a very skilled huntress. Relatedly, the nephew of Wilhelmina, Baselaj, had his name from his grandfather, who had been a very cherished head of the Rosing family, particularly known for his generosity in sharing meat with everybody in need, and for his kindness in general. When we visited the camp, Baselaj was a child and the tent house was in use by his parents. According to Wilhelmina, the late Baselaj made sure that lumps of meat were given to those who were unable to hunt themselves, and had no one else to pursue meat for them. His aunt, Wilhelmina, told me that in providing Baselaj with this name, there was also a hope that the way the late Baselaj had taken care of his obligations would continue.

In the case of Wilhelmina, what she shows us, is how a name can be a path to follow, and how, in use, taking up with the social path gestured in the name embeds continuity of life practice and social order. Place is immanent in this process. Following the path suggested in the name requires the acquisition of physical skills relative to caribou hunting across the mountainous inland by foot, as well as social skills related to ‘Allarsimarneq’, the social practice of going hunting. Wilhelmina was an expert in endurance, for instance, and gave me advice on how to avoid thirst on day walks by sucking on a little stone to produce spit, and never really drink fresh cold water from the many creeks coming down the hillsides

before the camp was in sight again. Wilhelmina's name here indexes a particular engagement with place, immanent in specific skills. In this sense, her name articulated the relatedness between herself, history and place. Educational process as a social process of participation in life is here articulated in practice as interactions constitutive to the continuation of this person-place-history entwining movement.

Ingold argues that the Western use of personal names, contrasts this relational practice in that to a Westerner, a personal name is a marker of unique self-identity indexing the particular human capacity "qua persons to intervene in nature" (2011: 166). According to this, to have a name and an address is to occupy a place; to be without name and address is to be out of society and reduced to animal existence (ibid). This is different from the use of names among Angujaartorfik hunters. The names of Wilhelmina and Baselaj are relational or descriptive; they do not manifest a position in society in a mechanistic sense (name and address), rather a name embeds an activity. We saw this in the case of Wilhelmina whose name referred to the skill of hunting, i.e. to activity and movement. With Baselaj's name we can observe its relatedness with social obligations and how this differs from having (an inherited) position. According to Greenlandic researcher Sejersen, leadership is uncommon in hunting societies, but great hunters (piniartorsuit) are highly respected as their obligations are centrifugal (2004: 49). In line with this custom, Wilhelmina told me how they hoped the way the late Baselaj had cared for others would continue *with the name*. According to this, personal life trajectory is closely entwined with that of life in general. It is the name as a continuation of a life activity which is at the center of her concern, not a secured 'position' for Baselaj.

The ontology of human-nature relations, evoked as entwining knots in naming processes, might be better understood by a short detour around Inuit naming practices in general, which also serves as introduction to the life world of Inuit. Fienup-Riordan has described the manifold relations that are in-

volved in Yup'ik Inuit use of names. Fienup-Riordan learned from the Yup'ik Inuit that a name (ateq) was as essential to one's life as one's thought, breath, heat, vision, voice and image:

A nameless person was a contradiction in terms. When a child received a name, that aspect of the dead destined for rebirth entered the child's body. With the name an essential aspect of the dead was transferred across the boundary between worlds. As the part recalls the whole, the dead were reborn through the gift of the name. (Fienup-Riordan 1995: 123)

Naming is according to this an act of bestowing life to a newborn. According to this use, a name does not represent self-identity, but *an activity* which *as the part recalls the whole*, relates the newborn to previous life trajectories. What I want to draw attention to is the use of names for casting life activity, rather than use of name to sediment life within a bounded sense of person. It goes from this that identifying with a name is tantamount to taking up with a particular human-land relation alive in activity. Baselaj is not something Baselaj *is* independent of where he is, but a life flow in which his actions continue a sociality based in relatedness.

Above I made a short reference to research by Fienup-Riordan to compare naming practices at Angujaartorfik with other Inuit naming practices. The ontology of relatedness it presents us with is one in which the focus is on the continuation of ways of living as maintenance of the current of life itself. It is difficult to grapple with a world in which names are verbs; it profoundly de-stabilizes our sense of society as constituted in a relation between individuals and a bounded social structure. Nonetheless, what Angujaartorfik hunters present us with is a fluid world. Following Ingold, hunter and gatherer societies in general “suspend the world in movement” and practice a way of knowing “akin to storytelling” (2011: 169). A world of storytelling, following the ethnography of naming practices at Angujaartorfik, is

a world with no beginning and no ending, and in which participation is a matter of taking up with an end, and from here embark on a trajectory of one's own. With this in mind we can understand why hunters insist on the necessity of the seasonal journey to Angujaartorfik. Going to Angujaartorfik contributes directly to becoming part of this narrative; it is in this enacted sense that place is conducive to the life of Wilhelmina and Baselaj as well as the elder hunter who rejected a reduction of the activity of Allarsimarneq or hunting-going to being 'outdoor'.

Keith Basso who has done research among the Apache on their use of places, says that places, as part of human social world form, are part of the construction of history (Basso 1996: 6). According to Basso, in the world before literacy, places were socially significant as:

durable symbols of distant events and indispensable as aids for remembering and imagining them [...] the answers (places) supply, though perhaps distinctly foreign, should not be taken lightly, for what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and as inhabitants on earth. (Basso 1996: 7)

Researchers, that is, need to listen to what people make of their places to understand how they perceive of the world. In a fluid world where life is not contained within the limits of the physical body and neither within a static social structure, but unfolds in correspondence with ancestral movements as well as with the movements of non-human beings such as animal migration, life continuity is immanent in continuing historical and socio-cultural human-land relations.

As a practice of narrative and relation, we can observe how what hunters make of their place, Angujaartorfik, is realized through its performative capacities: Angujaartorfik performed a place to meet up. Similarly, people were known for the activity or flow they enabled: In Baselaj's case generosity in shar-

ing and for Wilhelmina the skilled responsiveness to the movements of prey. In performance, human and land merged as a knot in entwining movements. From within these movements, place cannot represent nature as an object to occupy or extract resources from. Rather it is enfolded as a relation. This ontology, where place is experienced phenomenologically, confronts ideas of separation between land and human (nature-culture), and articulates a question about the art or line of social attention in a world known not through boundaries (in/out) but through relatedness. The way Angujaartorfik hunters stressed the need to go to Angujaartorfik to pick up with this way of life suggest that the experienced values of Angujaartorfik cannot be conveyed in textbooks about the place or about customary life practices. In activity that merges human and place, such as, for example, the unfolding of a narrative embedded in physical skills, social attention emerges from an embodied practice of attending. Place is performed as part of interactional relations contextualizing and situating growth and educational process *as* enactments of the life world continuously re-emerging as part of attentive, context-sensitive wayfinding movements.

At the beginning of this section, I quoted Ingold, who formulated relational movements as movements' formative of binding relations. Every entwinement, he said, is a knot. This section has introduced us to Angujaartorfik as a fluid world where human-land relations merge in narrative movements of relatedness. I have discussed how the use of place at Angujaartorfik is conducive to a sociality that destabilized the sense of social order based in human-nature dichotomist relations as when Westerners go outdoors and animals are reduced to objects of human striving.

Social attention: Beyond outdoor education

What are the implications for growth, if the people we study do not express a need to establish distance between educational practices and everyday life? As described above, the camp at Angujaartorfik was not organized as a linear reproduction of town structure, where roads are objectified and constructed

according to a map-like image of the world with points to connect. Paths were not paths between dwellings, but a manifold of animal tracks threading their way to the waterfront and into the mountains, now and then tangling up with human use of an area. In other words, the place was not managed or architecturally designed to represent a cultural form. As a knot of entwining relations, the intermingling *uses* distinguished it from schools, which communicate what to do where before any actual encounter.

During my fieldwork in general, but particularly at Angujaartorfik, parent-educators drew comparisons between education among hunters and education at school along the lines of control and ability to move according to one's own *feel* for things. When asked to elaborate on experiences of control, parents at Angujaartorfik compared the way children at school were subject to external directives: where to sit (in the classroom), when to talk, how to do homework etc., and the ability at Angujaartorfik to 'move freely'. We came across this theme in Chapter Three as well. Angujaartorfik child rearing practices challenged an ontological division between knowing and being, and thus between mind and body. This is the analytical issue in this section: the ontology of schooling refers to objects to be known by subjects, and relations are organized as relations between subjects and objects; the knowing subject and the object to be known, or the learning subject and an object to be learned as in completed. In this framing, the body is ignored or reduced to a means of transportation of the bodily detached and knowing mind. At Angujaartorfik the body appeared differently central to knowing and to processes of becoming knowledgeable.

One morning I was speaking with a foster mother of three boys, one was a baby. I asked the mother about her experience of bringing her children to Angujaartorfik and the intentions behind it. Contrary to other children at the camp, hers had not come there all their lives. She told me her older boys (8 and 10) must "learn to use their bodies". At first, this was too cryptic for me. Then she developed her view by comparing the behavior of her sons to other children. We sat in front of her tent house which was

situated a little up the hillside from the river, and with areas with bushes and crisscrossing paths between the dwelling and the waterfront. As she answered, she looked toward some bushes, and then pointed out, that her sons stayed closer to their tent house than some of the other children, and the idea of passing the time catching little birds in the bushes did not come as naturally to them.

This needs elaboration, and we can begin with the relation between the use of the body and the imagined appearance of surroundings as embedding activity. The mother articulated the surrounding from a rigorous bodily scale which related and entwined movement, place, material components (birds and bushes) to compose and gesture a way of being present in the land. In her elaboration of the ‘what’ of using their bodies, she answered with a ‘how’, thus drawing attention to relation between bodily activity and knowledge. Angujaartorfik had to be known through bodily movement. She wanted her boys to engage with the surroundings through use of the body thus telling us that the surroundings do not themselves tell what they can be used for: It is not signposted, and she will not tell them to go and catch birds. Unlike a school-centric logic of imprinting areas with specific purposes ahead of use, she gestured Angujaartorfik as interactional relation.

Although perhaps a bit cryptically at the outset, this parent-educator related the growth of knowledge straightforwardly with way of being, thus bringing together what schooling according to a representational epistemology, building on dichotomies such as nature-culture and knowing-being, take apart. The body, which in school-centric education is treated as an object of correction (how to sit, eat, speak), is in this situation regarded differently: The parent-educator wants her boys to use their bodies, but not as a means of transport i.e. representations of a pre-designed form. Her sense of the body is as a capability enfolding in interactional activity. Catching birds is a part of a walk embodying experience of shape and form of land. The walk to the bushes is not a transport to go and see the birds, eventually catch them, but part of the experience of the land as alive. Ingold contrasts a world filled with objects each bound-

ed from one another to an “open world” as a world (2011: 117). According to Ingold, the open world has:

no such boundaries, no insides or outsides, only comings and goings. Such productive movement may generate formations, swellings, growths, protuberances and occurrences, but not objects. (Ingold 2011: 117)

Ingold here speaks of coming and goings as productive movements. I think this puts into perspective what the mother above was trying to explain to me. Walking away from the tent house, bushes and birds appear or occur, as part of the experience of their dense growth and the mild, yet busy chirps of small birds.

In an open world, according to the ethnography presented here, the body performs the primary condition of engagement in a field of entwining relations. Following the currents of the landscape, purpose of place and activity enfolds in movements (sounds, the material constructions of bushes and ground, foot posture etc.) interweaving in bodily perception. Just as Ingold explains the relation between tool, material and practitioner in relation to cutting wood as more like a walk in which the skilled craftsman like a storyteller tells his tales in his practice rather than in words, and whose tools in use embody the activity they are part of (2011: 57), the activity of catching birds too is more like a walk than a step. Had it been a step, the mother might well have answered my initial question by pointing to the destination (step). Yet, she focused on the process and, in particular, on the role of the body as capacity of relating. In this perspective, place (Angujaartorfik) embodies a context of growth in which becoming knowledgeable is a process of bodily engagement. This implies that knowing and being form part of the same movement, and that the world is not out *there* for us to find, but *here*, present in the movement of which we, beginning with the sense of body, continuously form part. In a world of continuous becoming, it

cannot be given ahead of the actual relation what children need to learn *from* an activity (for instance to catch birds). Something is left open to emerge as the enfolding of the entwining movement embedded in the act of walking.

This section has put focus on bodily movement as constitutive of knowing the world as an open world. The section before this one traced out how a hunter's way of knowing the world is akin to storytelling in its way of suspending borders, and this section has, similarly, but at another level, compared the hunter's knowledge practices with the way storytelling merges knowing with being. Contrary to classroom-based excursions to the outdoors to study representations of 'nature', being with land dissolves school-centric dichotomistic models of the world. Implicated in the experience of a fluid and narrative world, is a notion of human-nonhuman shared sociality embedded in the sharing of tempo. Below I focus on temporality as constitutive of the lived world at Angujaartorfik.

Life as tissue: Temporality as an act of sociality

In an interview on childhood experiences from growing up as part of family following the seasons and going hunting for months every summer mountainous land around Angujaartorfik, an elder hunter provided an eloquent description of a life lived in accordance with changes in seasons and specific landscapes:

We were raised as part of a hunting family. In the winter we stayed in town, and as soon as it became spring, we went out in nature to harvest food and supplies. It is not like... we did not go out to explore nature; we went out to get supplies... Parents... let children help whenever possible. We were to... help carry things down to the boat, when we going. It was also our duty to row the boat if we could. When we came home we had to help carry our things up, put up the tents... From early childhood we began to learn about tools and harvest to survive in this land. Dependent on where the harvest was, in the summer,

we would sail from one place to another. At that time it was part of life, to go in summer into the fjords. When the catch, for instance char, had been prepared, we went to the mountains to get fuel (brændsel). In Isortoq we looked for fuel in the terrain, and at the same time someone went into the inland to get meat, get reindeer fur to use as mattress in the tent, everything had a use and we, as children, participated and learned, how the adults sorted things out. Training of us kids happened in the way... which things are significant to be able to live a durable life, and children participated in different chores, maybe without knowing, they were being trained. (Hunter, Maniitsoq 2010)

This is a story about growing up as a caribou hunter in West Greenland. Similar to the hunter whom I cited at the beginning of this chapter, this hunter, too, immediately drew a contrast between the use of nature for leisure and land known through specific activities. According to the narrative, children participated in what adults did and chores were remembered as helping out within a family unit. Changes in season were appreciated as a welcomed opportunity for procurement. The animals they hunted were valued for their use in differing parts of the household. Where they went varied from year to year; they had no set destination when they set out for their summer journeys; on the other hand, they were not sailing off with any sense of where they were going, but followed the animal's migration. Education is remembered as training and related to survival.

The hunter brings us back to the interrelatedness between human and land in actual movement. Nature is not looked at and considered as a thing, whether for its beauty or its challenge, but *followed*. For the experience of moving along a common human-nature path, time is a crucial component. Michael Husen analyzes experienced totalities made up by the processes they figure (gestalt) as figural time (Husen 1988: 60). This notion of time contrasts standardized measurements of time splitting the world into sequences. Instead, sensitive responsiveness to actual occurrences along a path constitutes *moments*. Movement is (again) not a step-like completion of a sequence, but a particular human/non-human en-

tangled co-presence which suspends calendrical time. Land experienced from a journeying perspective is land enfolding as process and as relation as part of moving along. A journey is experienced *in* time: It takes time to look for prey, cut meat, find fuel etc. and the journey enfolds as one activity leads to another, or corresponds with another, as we saw in the case where some go for prey and others look for branches. From within a journeying perspective, place is not a point in the world for vacation categorically defined by its opposition to workplace, but a process experienced as part of own life trajectory.

The weight of this temporal and human-land entwining dynamic became clear in talks about changes. To the people continuously going to Angujaartorfik *for the season*, modern work schedules and faster boats had brought about changes in the composition of the journey, which, in absence appeared as constitutional to perception of place. For instance, Wilhelmina told me how she sometimes missed journeying to Angujaartorfik in slow, silent boats. We sat at an old tent house ring, and she looked toward the fjord as she recounted to me the abundant silence of the fjord, and the joy she experienced as younger when the intense smell of flowers from the hillsides hit her as a sign of spring, and of coming closer to the inland. Change of modality of travel affects a change in relation, and one which is narrated as a loss. Without the sense of particular components entwining in experience to form an exchange based sense of belonging, Wilhelmina's sense of place is altered.

To the same point as Ingold, Lefebvre has stated that “rhythms are formative of the tissue of everyday living” (Lefebvre 2004: 21). Rhythms, then, offer an alternative articulation of 'the social' or 'collective'. I want to elaborate on the temporal experience of place as part of the tissue of life and thus as a binding relation to demonstrate the shared human-nature sociality. An elder hunter demonstrated how activities associated with hunting beyond the act of going hunting itself contributed to a sense of being constituted in dialogical, rhythmic exchanges with practices embodying material surroundings and change in seasons:

preparations for hunting start early. When we stop in autumn, it is because of the cold. Then we begin preparations for next year; I must do this when I have time, I must buy this when I can. Hunting has become such a part of me that when I am on the sea or in the town it is as if I am on a hunt. My thoughts are busy with the hunt; I will do this next summer, I must get on with these preparations. When the season starts it is like everything gets settled and as the days pass it is like I get a chunk in my throat because I am so eager to go. (Hunter, Maniitsoq 2010)

This hunter knows he is going, because his body tells him so. He does not have to plan as in separate out time to go hunting, because his body is already taking up with a thread traced out with the change in seasons. 'Nature' appears as part of the tissue forming his sense of everydayness.

We can learn from this how the temporal dimension of following the seasons implicates an attunement with land and the movement of animals in time. The change of seasons is constitutive to this temporal aspect of experience of land. As the hunter in the quote above tells us, they stop hunting when it gets cold and during the winter and early spring, preparations are part of life. Buying stuff in wintertime as preparation for going hunting is a rhythmic event corresponding to the seasonal structure of life. When it is time, the hunter experiences this through a bodily reaction in his throat.

A mother told me how she was pleased that her boys after Christmas started playing that they were out hunting. She saw this as a sign that they were looking forward to activities of spring and summer. In this way, she situated her boy's growth in the relations stated by the hunter above. This shows the intermingling of education according to a bureaucratic structure (these boys went to pre-school in Nuuk) and growth of personhood relative a life world as hunters. To people living this place, Angujaartorfik has bodily felt implications. It forms part of their tissue of life and pre-figures a particular way of at-

tending to particular life components, such as the change in seasons. I want to end this section with an ethnography that documents both the continuity of ancestral Inuit traditions and Angujaartorfik as a place alive through the lines grown in interweaving paths.

One day at the hunting site, a boy returned from a hunt with his dad and his brother who was two years older than him. His mother was alerted about their arrival by shots saluted from the last hill before coming into the valley where the camp was. Four shots had been fired, which was one more shot than usual. She was excited by this, anticipating that maybe one of the boys had made a first kill. She was right; the youngest one had indeed shot his first musk ox. As he reached the tent house area and his mother, she burst into joyous singing and dancing in a style mimicking *acts of thanking* as observed in North-West Greenland and latest described by (Jensen 1963). Jensen explains this ritual as a dance performed when good prey had come to a place. Typically, it was performed as a sole-dance by the wife of the hunter, showing her thankfulness (ibid: 189). With her performance, the mother at Angujaartorfik framed the relationship between animals and humans according to traditional Inuit cosmology.

Ingold has commented how, according to this tradition, animals *give* their souls to the skilled hunter (2000: 13). However, the soul lives on when the body is dead. As hunters hunt the same animal over and over again, maintenance of a good relationship with the animal spirit is crucial for the animal to present itself to the hunter again (ibid). This perception of the physical surroundings as animate opposes indigenous people's world perception to the Western inanimate view of nature (Wenzel 1991: 61, c.fr. Sejersen 2004: 41, also Ingold 2000: 42-44 & 2005: 68-69, Vitebsky 2005). In an open world with no boundaries, land is experienced in encountering game on hunting journeys. According to Ingold, from a phenomenological-ecological-narrative perspective, at world that is continuously coming into being is a world of formative and transformative processes (2011: 117). Following this, education emerging as a socially constituted and relationally depended process similar to acts of breathing is com-

posed in intimate experiences of human-nature interweavement, rather than along societal positions obtainable through system education as a market product. In a world where human and non-human beings are ontologically equal, life flows along rhythmically constituted paths of *relating* as part of being-in-movement. As we have seen, beginning with the naming practices, growth is formed as movement, as a flow or path that traces, as part of its movement, stories of the past (for instance in names) and experiences with non-human beings and material surroundings, and is related to by others (human and non-human) as part of their tracing out their line of life.

At the beginning of the chapter I drew a distinction between places as representative of knowledge or places as experienced through ways of being present. The three sections above have documented hunters' use of place as non-representational and embodied, social and socially constitutive *practice*. Anguaartorfik was practiced as an open world, continuously re-narrated and performed in ways calling forth sensory attunement to the world as experienced in change of seasons, movements of birds and locations of animals. In this world, critical knowledge of the world was acquired through intimacy at a relational level. I analyzed breathing as a modality of being emerging from an experience of the world as continuously re-enacted in processes of coming and going. In the next section, I discuss the consequences of this way of knowing for how to think about education.

Wayfaring: Education as relationally constituted process

Anguaartorfik hunters' uses of land make up an ethnographic example of a particular condition of growth which I have framed as living in an Open World. What I want to draw attention to in this section, is first the relational view of land and animals, and secondly how the theme of coming and going as a fluid quality emerging from within the modality of walking (as opposed to observing and classifying to accumulate knowledge) as way of being present structures – and is structured by – a wayfaring way of attending to life as well as a particular educational epistemology.

Above, acts of thanking were enacted to ensure a re-occurrence of animals through maintenance of a relation. At Angujaartorfik, land was generally experienced and spoken about as a contributive place. I have analyzed the reciprocal relationship as possible from within an experience of shared temporality and thus of ontological equality as beings in the world. This changes how we can think about education. From within a fluid and open world of relatedness, the quintessential educational movement is not a uni-directional movement away or above nature, but a movement in attunement toward coordinates marking human-nature entwinement, such as weather changes, smells, and sentient sounds (for instance of little birds). I have analyzed the attunement toward reciprocal relatedness as participation in a movement; a fluid quality reminiscent of breathing. Participation in this movement takes being *with* material surroundings rather than objectification of *them*. I have previously in the thesis (in relation to method and in Chapter Four) suggested that we can understand sensitive and experience based presence in the world as acts of walking. From within the movement of walking, place does not represent a location to go to, but comes into being in the way it appears through the smell of summer flowers, fish in the river and the sight of animals in the horizon as well as the feel of weather changes.

A comparison of the straight line of modernity as practice and context of education with the wayfaring line reveals tensions in how life movements emerge. Thanking land in enactment is an act of attending to the social and cultural world pre-figuring this practice as well as continuing (being reproduced) as embodied context. Life flows in passages formed in moments of sharing (breathing). This modality of being present embodies a temporal shape, a rhythm, which binds knowledge, purpose and sociality entwining as intermingling acts of mutual attendance. The sociality performed along wayfaring movements flowing through relating is distinct from the sociality embedded in the straight line hastening to connect with its destination. Whereas the movement of connecting separates, the wayfaring line integrates along a temporally defined path of intersections.

Comparison along the lines of practiced sociality extends the issue, education in culturally different social contexts, from a difference at a cultural relative level, to an ontological difference in a way of being in the world. The ontology implied in a way of being impacts the epistemology of education. The way-faring line moves along tensions that embody rhythmic exchanges with relations constitutive of a world. As stated in Chapter One, it is in the interrelatedness of movement and intentionality that action is a movement of perception, as Merleau-Ponty argues (1962: 110-111, in Ingold 2000: 170). In other words, when hunters perceive of relations written out in Western dualisms from a position of bodily moving-along, they not only perceive of a different world; they *perceive* differently, and enfold according to the sociality embodied in this perception of the world.

At the beginning of this chapter I cited Osberg, Biesta et al (2008) for problematizing representational epistemology as characteristic of modern schooling systems. They claim the focus in schooling on selected representations of the world made to fit with standardized formats leads to a world of “closure” (ibid: 214). What they are saying corresponds with the analysis presented in previous chapters, where we saw how schooling was introduced in Greenland to bring the Greenlanders to the same level as Denmark or civilization. This pre-set goal implied the use of the straight line as formative of the educational processes at all levels. It configured education and schooling in terms of transmission of representations, and we saw how it leads to a sociality of stiffness. Phenomenological speaking, the introduction of the straight line, securing efficiency in the distribution of representational knowledge according to a static notion of the learners, dominated meandering lines of relatedness. The above mentioned scholars in education find the representational characteristic of schooling generally worrying. To counter this development, they suggest a “temporal epistemology” which I think comes close to what was practiced by hunters at Angujaartorfik. They say:

[A temporal epistemology] implies that the quest for knowledge is not in order that we may develop more accurate understandings of a finished reality, *as it is*. Rather, the quest for knowledge is about finding more and more complex and creative ways of interacting with our reality. (Osberg, Biesta et al. 2008. 215)

The concern with the epistemology of education makes it possible to relate the sociality enacted at Angujaartorfik with imagined purposes of education. A temporal epistemology is one that operates according to actual human-reality interaction, Osberg and Biesta explain. At an epistemological level, then, temporality as a working order of education changes the purpose of education and with this the object. Education according to an indigenous or temporal epistemology is broader and aimed at a shared concern for ways of interacting with social reality.

We have heard how hunters from within an experience of land as a journey, and of being as wayfaring, practice a sense of the world as 'open'. The perception of the world as open destabilizes the sense of school as a center of knowledge with participants accordingly distributed in levels. In an open world, as embodied in the practices at Angujaartorfik, educational focus is decentred from school as well as from students and foreground human-environment relations. Material surroundings are enacted as educational components as when flowers and weather changes affect educational practices (such as playing hunting). At Angujaartorfik knowledge occurs along lines of human-nature engagement, which in practice embodies rhythmic sensitivity distinct to getting to know about nature according to classificatory exercises following a school centric plan.

The above discussion about temporal epistemology, understood as a way to transform the quest for knowledge in schooling, reminds us that we are not only exploring possible explanations of failure

among indigenous Greenlandic children in school. Parallel to this, I am exposing a matter of general interest about the relation between education and optimal life formats.

Summing up: The educational legacy from caribou hunters use of land

Mindful of the reality present in hunters' perception of this land and its implications for educational process, this chapter has brought together three bodies of knowledge: hunters, archaeological and anthropological. Angujaartorfik is a place layered with stories in the form of seasonal tracks and narratives of the past retold in practices related to living as hunters. It is by its seasonal human inhabitants experienced as essential to life continuity at a cultural as well as a social level, and this chapter has demonstrated how socio-cultural education takes place from within participation in activities as currents that continue and extend ancestral and seasonal life flows. The relational way of life poses an opportunity for Greenlanders to seasonally re-experience themselves in their environment as they see themselves, and at the same time challenges school-centric knowledge and ways of knowing that are relative to a perception of being human as being a person qua disentanglement from nature.

As already alluded to, this chapter challenges the naturalization of education as representational epistemology, disengaging questions of where and how people live in relation to questions of social process. We have seen how taking up with life at Angujaartorfik embodies a deconstruction of Western dichotomies institutionalized as a base line in school education in Greenland. Angujaartorfik hunters' relations to place perform a critical commentary to the objectification of place based in the Cartesian distinction between subject and object, positioning the subject as confronted by an object (Ch. Two: 63). Contrary to the Cartesian scholar, to hunters at Angujaartorfik the land is alive and social; it participates in educational processes as an embodied world.

When nature and culture share the same ontological status *the object of education is transformed*. For instance, the human-nature relation of co-existence, constituted through time bound relationships, implies a notion of growth that contests those that are centered on individualism and centralized control of developmental processes. Situated within a story, growth is a matter of movement *in time* thus embodying social responsivity. At a general level, the empirical practices of sociality at Angujaartorfik urges a reconsideration between school centric education and education oriented toward life as a process implied in practices of place.

As I showed in the first part of the thesis, present day researchers and planners share the straight line as a modality of attention with the early colonizers. This line fragments relations into entities, which then need to be connected artificially. Inuit researcher Battiste has paid attention to what happens in situations when Inuit indigenous knowledge is translated into Euro-Western thinking. She says that the interpretation of actions as representations of a universal scheme reduces the impact to an empirical content (what they do) and excludes the significance at an epistemological level (Battiste 2002: 11). Following this, ‘use of senses’ or ‘following nature’ as representations of ‘what they do’ will exclude how this interrelates with knowledge systems, i.e. relations between knowing and being. According to Battiste, Inuit not only ‘do differently’ they also ‘know differently’ and to her, this way of knowing defies categorization and should be seen as “an adaptable, dynamic system based on skills, abilities, and problem-solving techniques that change over time depending on environmental conditions” (2002: 11). The context-dependency of knowledge which Battiste draws attention to, can be seen as another example of practicing an open world, where flexibility is what brings stability.

At the beginning of this chapter, I inquired into the impact of where people live and go to how they come to perceive of the world. This chapter opens up the possibility that part of the disorder indigenous children experience in Eurocentric and Westernised schooling has to do with the neglect of place

in schooling. The hunter's way of life historically situates growth within a survival context where life is a task to engage with, rather than a position to occupy. As a way of perceiving life this impacts how hunters frame education. Education among hunters at Angujaartorfik was enacted as a relationally constituted process of integrating through relational activities such as care and experimenting with both material and human surroundings. I analyzed this process as a process of wayfaring in which the wayfarers find their path through sensitive attention to the rhythmic constituents of the life flows in which they momentarily participate. Importantly, 'the social' is through this practice situated in rhythmic exchanges based in embodied sensitivity. In this embodied and temporal world, knowledge grows as relational and rhythmically constituted physical-perceptual movement.

In an open world, newcomers still needs narrators. As this chapter has already displayed, the role of educators is radically different in a non-dichotomous world. The next chapter analyses Angujaartorfik parent-educator's way of teaching as a practice of making lines.

7 Education for life: Hunters educational practices

I try to think of how my mother did, what my grandparents did, I don't think they were thinking about upbringing, they thought a lot about [...] That I would cope with the tasks life would offer me, nothing about giving me tools. (Julie, Nuuk, 2009)

This is the last chapter before the conclusion of the thesis. In continuation of Chapter Six which situated the cultural practice of education among Angujaartorfik hunters in a life world context relative to place (Arctic) and a history as hunter and gatherers, this chapter inquire into how the 'open world' and prefiguration of education as an embodied process of wayfaring imply particular types of educational practices (teaching). Field work experiences with educational practices at Angujaartorfik perform a final component to the contrast between the Eurocentric and School centric education - and hunter's Life centric education embodied in acts of human-world relational integration.

A central figure in the school centric mode of education is the teacher. From the point of view that knowledge exists independently of actual social context, the teacher is the tool of transmission of knowledge to students in a mechanical sense. In the epigraph to this chapter, an adult woman construes this idea of education as the imposition of representations. She reflects on the educational practices of her parents, and finds them incompatible with ideas of 'bringing up' or 'giving tools' for life. Retrospectively, she interprets the attitude of her parents as communicating the message that *life* is giving her tasks. The implicit objectification of growth as personal wayfaring in life in their attitude differs from objectification of education as an accumulation of pre-objectified knowledge provided by a teacher. Accordingly, they do not act *as* teachers.

The impossible question, then, is how do you teach children to become wayfarers from within a world where individual and society are not separated in the first place, and thus there is no need for teachers to impose qualifications? As is obvious from the impossibility of the question, practices of education as attentive practices are interwoven with experienced sociality and life. Another central figure in school centric education is of course children. The autonomy of children is central to Greenlandic child perception and is expressed in a variety of attitudes, among them silence in situations where school centric thinking prompts communication of representations in the form of advisory ‘upbringing’. This chapter analyses educational practice observed at Angujaartorfik relative to an understanding of the world as an ‘open’ world, and children (learners) as autonomous, *able beings* de-settling school centric assumptions about the role of the teacher.

Below I begin with an introduction to the perception of children in Inuit culture. In relation to this, I draw comparisons between ethnography from Angujaartorfik and that of other Arctic research engaging with this subject: Jean Briggs work among the Utku Canadian Inuit, Fienup-Riordan research from the Yup’ik Inuit, Willerslev’s from the Yukaghir in Siberia, and Sophie Elixhausers recent work based in ethnography from East Greenland. This is followed by ethnographic sections from Angujaartorfik detailing improvisation, contextualisation and imitation as central educational practices experienced at Angujaartorfik. Finally I discuss these practices and the social attention they embody in relation to practiced objects of education and in comparison with social attention emerging from school-centric educational practices like teaching.

Autonomy: Capability, sociality and life as narrative

We never force them. They must show their own will. (Mother, Angujaartorfik, 2012)

The above sentence is from a young mother at Angujaartorfik. It highlights the importance of an awaiting attitude among educators, foreign to the institutionalized demands of schooling. In this thesis, working with cross-cultural problems as part of schooling in Greenland has implied critique of Euro-Western assumptions about society and individuals. The first part of the thesis reflected several Western assumptions about children or learners as bound entities *lacking* knowledge quintessential to becoming part of life understood as societal life and thus weak. It goes with this idea that 1) schooling is necessary to achieving participation in social life to which a form is already attached and 2) all children have equal “acquisition mechanisms” (Ingold 2000: 36). As the citation just above as well as the one at the beginning of the chapter, illustrates, the child according to Inuit socio-cultural customs is perceived as authoritative.

In Greenland, the central virtue of autonomy, is expressed in the term: ‘Inuk nammineq’, which means to be able to do things on your own and in your own way. It was mentioned to me for the first time along with the idea of not being ‘brought up’ and not being ‘given tools’, which I discussed above. The woman I spoke to was reflecting on how other people (Danes) often perceived of Greenlandic child rearing as ignorant in the sense of un-attentive, and contrasted it with her own experience of what was going on. In her words:

Inuk nammineq (is) something you master yourself, it is something that has to come forward ... it is your own drive or own destiny that decides it.

This comment puts the view of Greenlandic parents as ignorant into perspective. What might seem ignorant in relation to a perception of children as in need is, from a perception of children as embodying resources, an act of appreciation. There is a duality present in this perception of the child as carrying a will or a drive to be mastered; yet it differs from the classificatory human-nature dichotomy implied in

the Western child model. Where the Euro-Western perspective assumes children to come into the world with the same acquisition mechanisms, as Ingold noted, Inuk nammineq indexes children as unique and unbounded. This present perception of children in Greenland is akin to child perceptions in other Arctic hunting communities.

In her book 'Never in Anger' (Briggs 1970) based in longitudinal fieldwork among the nomadic Utku Inuit in Canadian North West Territories, Jean Briggs writes about child perception too. According to her research:

Growing up [among Utku] is largely a process of acquiring *ihuma*, since it is primarily the use of *ihuma* that distinguishes mature, adult behavior from that of a child, an idiot, a very sick or insane person. *Ihuma* has many manifestations. When a child begins to respond to the social world around him: when he begins to recognize people and to remember, to understand words and to talk, when he begins to be shy and self-conscious (*kanngu*), to learn restraint in self-expression, and to want to participate in socially useful activities, people remark affectionately that the child is acquiring *ihuma*. (Briggs 1970: 111)

Briggs' description of *ihuma* as a virtue with many manifestations de-centers focus from the child to the performance of relations, i.e. interaction with surroundings in the form of social and emotional responses, recognition, and understanding. Instead of mastering a force, Briggs speaks of an acquisition; but it is not the acquisition of a matter, rather a manner that embodies the negotiation of performance. I elaborate on the relation between actual performance and human-environment relations after another example of autonomic child perception from the West Arctic.

Rane Willerslev did fieldwork among Siberian Yukaghirs (reindeer herders) only ten years ago, and found that children were hardly ever taught how to do things. On the contrary,

each child is generally left to reach his or her own conclusion. [Yukaghir children are] allowed almost complete freedom to explore their environment on their own, with little or no intervention from their parents. (Willerslev 2007: 162)

Similarly, I observed at Angujaartorfik how even small children endeavored into natural surroundings with steep plunges from a plateau to the waterfront went on undisturbed, and were watched over only from a distance. It was never my experience that children were simply ignored. At the beginning of this section I cited a mother at Angujaartorfik to suggest that children are never forced and that they must show their own will. There was a shared awareness among hunters at Angujaartorfik of the benefits of children's lack of adult control (the school centric modality of child attention) and the possibility for the self-environment experiences the Angujaartorfik *hesitative* educational practice afforded children.

Hesitation, as a manner of paying attention, indexes sensitivity to what is already present in the conduct of the child. It is not a lack of attention. To Briggs it seemed that Utku believe, *ihuma*

needs to be informed, instructed, in order to develop among proper lines, but that there is no point in trying to teach a child before he shows signs of possessing it. So in many respects the child is permitted to time his own social growth. (Briggs 1970: 112)

Brigg's example above speaks of attentive educational practice, but beginning from a different notion of the perceiver. Educators among Utku await a manner of being associated with proper conduct supposed to develop without teaching. Correspondingly, an elderly hunter at Angujaartorfik told me how

they knew children were becoming ready to go on a real hunt from the way they helped hunters returning with heavy loads at the mouth of the valley. If children knew how to carry the meat and the gun (in front, across the chest) and how to walk in line, they were ready.

These examples show us that even though children cared for according to Inuit customs are not supervised as in controlled from a superior position, their doings are paid attention to. Notably this attention is toward relational conduct as in way of interacting with natural surroundings and skills and attitude toward tasks (such as hunt). The Canadian Inuit researcher Arlene Stairs has made similar observations and suggests we think of the construction of Inuit identity as the construction of a “world-image” instead of the Westernized “self-image” of identity (Stairs 1992). What is interesting, is her observation of a process in which individual life is manifested in enacted relations that integrate the “human” with the environment, which, she finds, performs a reversal of standard Westernized human development thinking (ibid: 119). According to Stairs, gaining an identity among the Inuit is a matter of developing a manner of being with the environment, not a matter of superseding human or non-human relations. The central concept in this process is “Inummarik”, a traditional Inuit concept meaning “a most genuine person” (ibid: 117). It is an ecological concept of identity that introduces the environment directly into a concept of identity and not only qua social context (ibid: 123). What matters for this concept is the “relationship to the surrounding world, simultaneously using and respecting”; and this manner, Stairs tells us, “is the essence of building and maintaining identity” (ibid).

I began this section on Inuit child perception with an introduction to children perceived as autonomous and *capable* beings. Along statements about virtues indexing child perception in Greenland, I have presented comparative ethnography from other Inuit communities, documenting similarity in perceptions of growth as a matter of developing a specific conduct and attitude toward social and natural surroundings. Crucially the virtue reflected in the conduct of *nammineq* or *ihuma* is perceived as a de-centric

process of relational interaction manifested in the activities of the child. The perception of children as autonomous conditions child-adult interaction and presents us with a reversal of human development thinking. Development is not taken to come from the outside (from the teacher) but to grow as part of a process of relational entanglement with human and non-human. A good example of this comes from recent ethnographic research on child rearing in Eastern Greenland.

In 2011, Sophie Elixhauser did fieldwork in a small village in East Greenland. She studied social interaction across everyday situations, and found that patterns of communication revealed

a fundamental tension between social relations and responsibilities on the one hand, and the protection of other people's personal autonomy and integrity on the other. (Elixhauser 2011: ii)

This indicates a world in which respect toward individual choices is highly validated while obligations make themselves felt at the same time. Following Elixhauser this does not lead to a conflict between the individual and the social community, but to an experience of tension grounded in a perception of a person as unconditionally part of the social world.

In her doctoral thesis, "Nammeq: Personal Autonomy and Everyday Communication in the Ammassalik Region, East Greenland" (2011), Elixhauser noted a consistency with regard to ways of encountering one another in the style of

subtlety and indirectness of many forms of communication, along with a particular carefulness not to impinge upon the personal autonomy of others. This personal autonomy, expressed through the concept *nammeq*, should not be confused with 'individualism' as

commonly understood, since it is from the outset embedded within social relations. In addition, East Greenlandic ways of communicating tell us something more fundamental about the notion of the person. A person in East Greenland is a highly permeable entity, not bounded by the body, and not necessarily human. Non-human animals and other beings may also be persons. The ‘open’ person is particularly vulnerable to the impacts of speech, gaze, and other face-to-face communicative modalities, and in many contexts the power of words, and likewise of gaze, is very apparent. This leads to various forms of circumlocution and indirectness in approaching other persons. (Elixhauser 2011: ii)

The east-Greenlandic concept of *nammeq* seems similar to the concept of *nammineq*, I encountered in western, north-western and southern Greenland. As Elixhauser states, being *nammineq* is always already embedded in social relations. Just before encountering the ethnography from East Greenland, we came across Stair’s thoughts about Inuit identity as a world-image in the sense of human-environment *relational* identity. With Elixhauser we can elaborate on this interpretation. The citation above points out autonomy as a *process* enacted within human-environment relations. Identity is here presented as a process according to a notion of a person as ‘open’ and, related to this presence in the world, permeable and vulnerable.

We recognize the notion of a person as ‘open’ as similar to the perception of the world itself as ‘open’, presented in Chapter Six. Here the social (societal) development thinking was reversed from the perception of nature as part of the world of beings, part of life. It is this logic that is mirrored here and implies a reversal of human development thinking. Following this, we might understand Inuit child perception and perception of personhood as a narrative, or an entwinement of narratives manifesting like a knot (similar to the perception of place analyzed in Chapter Six). Enacting this knot simultaneously situates the child or the person in a particular environment. In this process, education grows as a

process of unfolding human and non-human relatedness. In the examples above, paying attention to the viability of this process reflects virtues of autonomy within a world in which enacted integrity *in* relations is socially significant conduct. Within the framing of the general Inuit perception of autonomy, ‘mastering’ something that comes forward is a matter of paying sensitive attention to its relational impact.

The conception of the world and persons as ‘open’ and as a relational process de-centers the notion of what life and growth is about. In an unbounded and fluid world, individual growth might not be a matter of becoming a ‘figure’ against the ‘ground’ of nature, but about tangling up with relations formative of *life*. From the first part of the thesis, we know how the idea that life itself was not bestowed by one single force was read by the Mission as paganism and viewed as something to be rooted out (Sørensen 2009: 12). However, the way Inuit traditionally perceived of humans, the body was animated by breath (spirit), mind (umyaq) and life spirit (unguva) ((Nuttall 1992: 60) “qualities without which it could not sustain life” (Fienup-Riordan *ibid*: 51). According to Nuttall, within Inuit practices, spiritual aspects or elements can travel, and are not limited to a body, neither of an animal or a human (1992: 61). This point is reflected in the citation above, where Elixhauser too states that non-human beings may also be persons.

In daily life, the perception of children as empowered, relational beings always already part of the social world, impacts child-adult power relations and thus potentially school based student-teacher relationships. As a final example illuminating the specificity in power relations among adults and children in Greenland, I once again draw on Elixhauser’s work. During her fieldwork in 2006, one morning she asked a friend of hers whether her daughter, Thala, would be going to the kindergarten that day. According to Elixhauser, the friend answered:

‘nalivarnga ... nammeermii’ (‘I don’t know...she has to decide herself’), and passed the question on to Thala. The three-year-old girl raised her eyebrows, showing her consent. I was quite surprised that such a decision was up to the girl and not to be decided by her mother. (Elixhauser 2011: 1, Elixhauser’s translation in parentheses)

As noted by Elixhauser, the distribution of power in Greenlandic child-parent relations is unfamiliar to a Westerner. As part of her educational practice, this mother embeds a notion of Thala as already situated in a field of relations which she takes hold of in her choices of what to do. In the rest of this chapter, we shall see more examples of educational practices situating children as already part of a social and relational world.

This section has traced out Greenlandic child perception according to Inuit culture. I have traced the relatedness of central concepts reflecting ideal images of children and persons in general. The concept of Inuit *nammineq* is recognised in variations across the Arctic, and the hesitation about controlling children’s whereabouts is also found in non-Inuit hunter and gatherer societies such as the Yukaghir in the Eastern Arctic. The Inuit concept of personal autonomy reflected in relation-sensitive and non-confrontational child caring is also non-essentialising and in this manner differs from typical westernised notions of individuality. The next section takes us into the practices of educators composed by the understanding of a child as autonomous manifestation of entwining human and non-human life lines. I analyse concrete examples of educational practices aimed at children perceived as *able beings*. The implicit comparative background for this analysis is curriculum-based teaching as imposition of pre-objectified knowledge – the institutional colonial heritage practiced in town based schools in Greenland. This contrast, which has been with us throughout the thesis and is central to my argument as the frame of the discussion can now be fully developed with the fieldwork experiences with educational practices at Angujaartorfik. Hoping to draw analytical attention to the relatedness between purpose of

education (content) and actual educational practice, I will discuss differences in educational practices as related to attention to growth through the backwards reading of a map or forward reading of skills.

Enskillment: improvisation, imitation and contextualization

“There is no script for social and cultural life” says Ingold and Hallam (Hallam, Ingold 2007. 1). Somehow this is not reflected in schools continuously practicing education as if there were. In the previous chapters, I have several times referred to school centric education as the backward reading of a map. In a backward reading of education, knowledge is separated from being as growth is separated from the process of becoming. Education as the imprinting of a script (Mission) or enculturation (Enlightenment) reflects the idea of education as backward mapping according to the map as a script. This is the educational culture of the Straight Line, as formulated in Chapter Four.

Ingold draws a distinction between *enculturation* as the acquisition of pre-objectified knowledge, and *enskillment* as “the fine-tuning of perception and action” (2000:37). This brings out a contrast between a dichotomist and a non-dichotomist definition of educational process relative to our understanding of knowledge, where the latter merges being and knowing. For a comparative analysis of educational practices, I relate education as 'enculturation' to the colonialist, enlightenment and modernist project of education as backward mapping. Contrary to this, enskillment below articulates the process of growth situated in action. As practices, they are each productive and reproductive of distinct lines of social attention. In the section above, Inuit children's growth was perceived in terms of actions, negotiations of relations at the level of doing (helping out, lowering gaze, coping with natural surroundings). As explained by Elixhauser, the perception of persons as permeable implies hesitant contact activity that respects non-human centric and open-ended lines of relatedness. Yet, conduct was nurtured, within the social tempo set by child-environment relations (Briggs, above).

I suggest we might think of what is nurtured as a process of enskillment that, unlike education as enculturation, does not presuppose a script. The concept of enskillment can be elaborated by looking into the definition of skill itself:

[Skills are] the capabilities of action and perception of the whole organic being (indissolubly mind and body) situated in a richly structured environment. As properties of human organisms, skills are thus as much biological as cultural. [...] Skills [are] regrown in each, incorporated into the *modus operandi* of the developing human organism through training and experience in the performance of particular tasks. [...] the study of skill demands a perspective which situates the practitioner, right from the start, in the context of an active engagement with the constituents of his or her surroundings. (Ingold 2000:5)

This definition of skill is from 2000. It affords a theorization of the empirical examples of child autonomy and child mastering of relations, as enacted in performance of particular tasks. I think this relates well to what we learned in the section above. Yet, skills are here related to a notion of human beings as organisms that embody an idea of a subject confronting an object (society, life, the world), although Ingold states that skills are relative to the practice and perceived context of the agent. In 2011 Ingold rephrases ‘environment’ to speak instead of ‘domain of entanglement’ (2011: 71). As distinct from ‘environment’, ‘entanglement’ calls forth an image of life as lines of growth and in this, the living being performs what Canguilhem calls a “Centre of reference” (Ingold 2011: 70), a knot in a tissue of knots, whose constituents “strands [...] in other knots, together comprising a meshwork” (Ingold 2011: 70,121,152). Following this, the knot itself is a process, and approaching beings as knots entangling continuous movement, decenters attention along the open-endedness of the lines constitutive of the knot. Rather than the world-image (Stairs, above), the notion of a knot (in a tissue that forms part of a

larger meshwork) stresses a perception of human beings as unbounded manifestations of relations momentarily coming together.

In line with Ingold's reframing of the environment as a "domain of entanglement", and a general focus on movements, I approach skills as properties of relations. Ingold talks about the requirements of studying skills and, bearing in mind my theorization of Inuit child/person perception as a knot of narratives, we might think of this as a request for educational practices with the aim of nurturing processes of enskillment; situating learners right from the beginning within an empowering field of relations, is reading education forward. This is a change in educational practice at an ontological level, i.e. at the level of how we come to know. From this starting perspective, this section explores the educational practices of improvisation, imitation and contextualization as key processes of enskillment.

Improvisation

In Chapter Five I described an experience of learning to cut caribou meat into big thin pieces. Following Masschelein, I analysed participant research through this kind of activity as an exposure to the unknown (2010: 46). In relation to research, my point was about the importance of the manner of research as opposed to only focusing on matter, and the way knowing ties into ways of being present. The central point in this chapter is related. Yet, I am not so much focusing on the perspective of an apprentice, as on how educators enact education, i.e. the 'manner' of teaching. While this conceptualisation (teaching) is problematic, as will become clear, it will serve for now.



A mother of two boys that I regularly meet passing through the village, told me how she one day left her three-year old son on the site when going further down the river to fetch water. When she came back, he was crying and his trousers were wet. It turned out he had peed in them. He had said that he could not find someone to ask, and he could not find out where to go. Telling me this, she shook her head, saying there were people all around, and many places to go. He just had to decide who he would ask or where he would go, “but he is so used to the culture in pre-schools where there are rules and someone will tell him where to go”. How do you answer if you are around and he asks you, I asked her? She answered, that she always gave him at least two choices: “He must learn to feel what will work for him”. After these remarks, I noticed, that she deliberately let her children get into situations where they would have to come up with their own answers.

Some days later, I saw this little boy with his brother in a rubber boat on the river. Due to the strong current, neither I nor the other members of the research team dared cross even where the water was shallow. I met his mother walking through the camp, and as we looked toward the river, she said: “that is the hardest thing... to let them try”. With this remark, she demonstrated all the motherly attention in

the world. Nevertheless they were out there, without life vests or other equipment to protect them from ‘nature’, as I would have required.

This case contains a comparison of educational practices from someone familiar with both hunter’s practices and school centric practices. In his mother’s eyes, the youngest boy suffered from the influence from his pre-school, which left him unable to make autonomous decisions relative to his own experience of things. He was frustrated, and wet his pants. To his mother, his expectation that answers should come from others was interpreted as a result of the impoverishing culture of the pre-school. As an alternative practice, she stated that she never provided him with a clear answer, but with two choices from which he had to make his own based in his own feelings. The way the mother lamented her son’s need for external advice leaves an impression of asking for second opinions or looking around for standardised solutions to an emergent situation. To qualify her sons’ growth, she deliberately framed situations embodying tensions in human-nature relationships, such as when the brothers are alone in the boat on the river. Getting a feel of the surroundings through trying, in her opinion takes priority to adult supervision.

According to Ingold, novice hunters “are led to develop a sophisticated perceptual awareness of the properties of their surroundings and of the possibilities they afford for action” (2000:37). Based in the example with the boy who does not direct his attention toward his surroundings, and his mother’s lament about this, I analyze her approach as a strategy aimed at skilled improvisation according to the situation. Ingold and Hallam distinguishes between improvisation and innovation in an attempt to define creativity. They state that innovation refers to an end *product* within established customs and standards, whereas improvisation defines a *process* demanded by a sense of the world as forever changing, and thus not controllable through pre-defined rules of what to do, neither by a pre-set definition of the

conditions of the world (2007: 2). Ingold and Hallam compares the distinction between innovation and improvisation with reading the world backwards or forwards. They say:

To read creativity as innovation is, if you will, to read it backwards, in terms of its results, instead of forwards, in terms of the movements that gave rise to them [...] we propose a forward reading that would recover the productive processes. (Hallam, Ingold 2007: 2-3)

In this light, we can also see educational practices as productive processes. Improvisation then becomes a particular process of enskillment, of fine-tuning of action and perception, where the boys, as learners, in the mother's performance are situated within a domain of entanglement. The river current is enacted as a relation rather than something to be confronted. Requesting improvisation as part of educational practice, is reading education forward: what to do springs from the moment of relational tension between the boys and their physical and material surroundings. There is no 'what-to-do' in skilled improvisation, only 'how-to-do'; it is a fluid quality. The boys are requested to respond to surroundings rather than to navigate an environment. It was not a matter of where to pee, that pre-occupied the mother, but to work this out independently *through* interaction. There is a temporal perspective to this. Growing skills through improvisation was a matter of *following the moment* constituted as an entwinement of relations. It is the temporally constituted sociality which forms a knot and simultaneously *gestures* a unique line of growth.

It is notable that the boys were not supposed to grow "strong" in the sense of controlling their environment. Instead, their mother's actions required them to walk in the world as wayfarers. Becoming successful as a hunter here depends on the manner in which one literally *does* the world as part of its continuous becoming. This takes sensitive attention to lines of life co-composing the totality of the situation, such as current and previous practice. In the case with the boy who had to find a place to pee,

had he applied a generalized rule about how to act in such circumstances, he would have been making use of lines that treat knowing as a process of locomotion in the sense that he would have plotted a position to which he would then have transported himself (Ingold 2007: 93). Knowing what to do, in this case, would have been technical application of a rule according to a backward reading of the situation. Instead he was urged to act according to a process of reading the situation forward.

In this section, I have analyzed improvisation as a key process of enskillment. To encourage this process of ingress with domain of entanglement, the mother above focused on her boys relational engagement with their surroundings. We can relate the process of enskillment to the wayfaring line of education analyzed in Chapter Six as hunter's educational line: Education emerges as an enhancement of life traced out as part of their embodied and situated movements. Improvisation gathers being and knowing in one process. This perspective is developed below in relation to processes of imitating, also central to enskillment.

Imitation

The brother of Agnete, Titus, one of the most skilled hunters at Angujaartorfik. He is known for walking long distances and tracking down prey, and is also called '*Nuanatorisag*', which translates into "the one who it is nice to look up to". That is, he is a good educator known for his manner of educating. I was told that when Titus had newcomers with him on his hunts, he would play a lot, hiding behind rocks and pretending they were within the zone of awareness of the prey. In fact, he was enabling bodily experiences of animal reactions to various forms of human presence. I have already presented hesitation as relational, fluid quality in teaching. Relatedly this section explores imitation as an educational practice embodying use of affections.



Novice hunter explains to Titus about his first catch. Angujaartorfik 2012

Taking my lead from this relational marker of qualification of a good teacher, in this section I explore the enskillment process implied in imitation. However, I include findings of practices of imitation in which it is not a fellow hunter who is being imitated, but fellow non-human inhabitants of the area around Angujaartorfik.

One afternoon in 2010 we spot musk ox from the camp. Seeing the musk ox across the river, a father immediately called his children, knelt down to be at eye-level with them and pointed out the animal to them. I asked if they were going to shoot it. He said no, it was too heavy. Hearing this, the boys looked at me and said "Umioq Adada" (Daddy musk ox). One of them grasped a pair of horns lying around on the ground, put them next to his ears, and swung his head from side to side to illustrate his point. I later learned that hunting musk ox is different from hunting caribou, as musk oxen in a herd do not flee, but stand their ground, always in a formation that shields the most vulnerable. To defend themselves, they swing their head from side to side. They only run when they do not feel flanked (Stefansson

1943: 18). Bearing this knowledge in mind, the boys performed an embodied understanding of the potential defensive attitude of a parent musk ox.

Adding this observation to what was said about a good educator, brings attention to fluid qualities such as resonance in a relation and maybe even compassion. To experience this, takes accommodation to the movements of the relational being, human or non-human, in the sense of being like through acting like. The knowledge emerging from this engagement is of course tied to the movements of the body. Imitation is part of improvisation, yet by separating it out as a particular nuance, we can focus on alignment as a particular compositional element (Hallam, Ingold 2007: 5). In writing about the practice of walking with non-humans, Ingold and Vergunst explains:

Among hunting and gathering people [...] it is generally acknowledged that successful tracking calls for a precise understanding of the way the target animal moves about, and of how these movements mark the ground. To anticipate what the animal will do the hunter has to move like it, and therefore to perceive the world as it does; to reconstruct what it has done, he has to be able to read back from its traces to the movements that gave rise to them. (Ingold, Vergunst 2008. 11)

Reading back leads to an ability to perceive of the world the way the animal incorporates previous movements in its behavior. What Ingold and Vergunst are after is, not a process similar to reading education backwards from a script, but a way of reading forward from the experience of relations constituting the event. The Inuit researcher Battiste had made a similar observation, and concluded that Inuit learning consist in a process of animating personal abilities to understand the world – consisting of all of nature, its creatures and human existence – around them (2002: 14).

Being like Titus or being like an animal enables displacement of gaze (Ch. Five and Masschelein 2010) from within differently constituted – affectionate - way of being present. Imitation prompts a process of displacement of view from within a change in being. From an aligned presence in the world, the world is experienced differently than from an oppositional relation. By displacing children's view to experience movements as an animal's situated responses to humans, human and non-human interaction in a world of relatedness is foregrounded subjective acquisition of knowledge. Titus attracted attention through postures such as kneeling behind a stone and gestures like signaling not to speak. In doing so, he directed the attention of learners to critical aspects of the activity but without representing; without giving knowledge lessons (Masschelein 2010: 48)¹¹.

In her work on the emotional education of a three-year old Canadian Inuit, Jean Briggs (1998) describes the use of affections as knowledge applied in upbringing of toddlers. Here small children take up a very privileged position and Inuit education focuses on emotions: on feeling loved, of feeling fear and numerous variations in between, related to actual situations and what she calls future *subsistence techniques* (ibid: 47). Use of corporeal sensitivity is beyond an empirical technique also a modality of knowledge transfer in a world where knowledge is a process tied into deriving a livelihood from the perceived environment (ibid: 12-13). Practicing teaching as an *art of opening eyes* (ibid), Titus left behind, as Masschelein says, “the sovereignty of the judgment” (ibid) thus giving novices “something to see” which makes what is learned “evident” rather than truth (ibid).

From imitation as an aspect of enskillment, I move on to the process of contextualization. My aim with zooming in on imitation was to put focus on alignment as part of enskillment. Below, my aim is to draw out the use of traditions as relational context for acting creatively and competently. The central empirical example illustrating the educational significance of context is the process of becoming skilled in cutting meat.



Woman with child drying meat. Angujaartorfik 2010

Contextualization

Children (toddlers and preschoolers) spent a lot of time observing and helping out at Angujaartorfik. Sometimes they would tag along with adults to collect meat from meat catches, branches for campfire, or get in a boat to deposit garbage out on the sea. In between this, they played and watched men cleaning guns and practicing shooting, and (mostly) women cutting meat, and hung out around gatherings where hunter's exchanged information about hunting routes and the whereabouts of animals. In the evenings, when people often strolled through the camp and had coffee outside each other's dwellings, they would be in the periphery, listening.

Unskilled hands were not, as far as I could see, partaking in the traditional cutting or drying of the meat. Yet, when skilled adults were cutting meat, children who showed interest were given not-so-delicate pieces of meat to practice with. Often the cutting was done collaboratively and skilled efficiency was combined with cozy chit-chatting. Cutting meat is a critical cultural skill among hunters, possibly as critical as reading among academics. Odgaard and Pasda have documented cultural continuity in ways of handling caribou meat between Thule Culture and present day hunters at Angujaartorfik. For instance meat is still cut in large, thin pieces, but the bones are no longer smashed and used for cooking

(Pasda, Odgaard 2011a). Traditionally meat was cut this way to dry fast and be easy to transport. When cutting meat at Angujaartorfik, women sat on the ground with their legs stretched straight out to the sides and with their back straight. While cutting the meat the “traditional style” (ibid), women laid it out in front of them, on their lap. Cutting meat was often done in groups, and involved sharing stories of the caribou and its whereabouts. The little variation in bodily positioning on the ground although some tables were around, tell us how hunters related bodily position to quality of work. I joined the meat cutting several times, and in particular on one occasion a very skilled huntress took care to adjust my posture, explaining to me the impact of this for locomotive stability and bodily endurance.

One morning, I was cutting meat with Elisabeth. She cut her meat in larger pieces than the women I had previously cut meat with. I asked her why, and she answered that yesterday she had told her daughter that so did the people who were there before them. Elisabeth’s mother in law, Agnete Rosing, was renowned for being the last huntress who could cut the meat from the caribou in one large piece (Pasda, Odgaard 2011a). The way Elisabeth answered me, was not really in line with my question. Her re-direction of my attention from the object to ancestral practices is crucial to the sensitivity required. The answer did not point to the meat as an object to be targeted by a subject, according to a representative image of animal parts or meat structure, but created sensitivity toward the relatedness between a way of cutting the meat and ancestral practices. My experience with this answer is similar to how Saris (1993), in his study of native Indian basket weavers, experienced being implicitly corrected in phrasing of questions by a weaver’s way of answering. Cruickshank (2000) too found herself listening to stories which to her, to begin with, had no direct relation to her object. Until we learn. Trained in separating out objects as part of reading backwards, I was asking about the script conditioning her style of cutting. In effect, I was displacing context.

In her answer, Elisabeth pointed out that separating the way of cutting from the ancestral way of handling meat, would *displace* - as in separate out – the *relational use* of the historical testimony in her actions. Her answer had performative power in the way it traced out relations embedded in what she was doing; it re-contextualized my efforts. When it happened, it made me take a deep breath and look towards the mountains, while I realized how completely out of tune I was. Cutting meat could not be reduced to learning a technique according to a manual, but implied the growth of a domain of entanglement and thus of human development. Elisabeth did not use her way of cutting meat as a representation of ancestral practice. In turn, I was not provided with an abstract model from which to direct my movements. Instead she drew a line to people with whom we had coming to this place in common. There was no correct answer, but a livelihood context to relate to. She was actually re-situating me within a context, embedding her answer in what is marked off as ‘past’ in a school centric context. Elisabeth was not making the comparison between past and present use of meat that the archaeologists does, but rather engaged an image of the people who were there before them as a way of *familiarizing* me with way of life before attending to the meat. She could have used past practices as ‘models’, yet this would have turned cutting meat into replication in the sense of “running of duplicates from a template” (Ingold, Hallam 2007: 5).

To me, the continuation in bodily positioning as well as in style of cutting speaks of use of traditions as resources for “*carrying on* from predecessors” (ibid: 7, italics original). This perspective includes seeing life as a task (ibid) and taking up skills with the aim of continuity of life. Historical sensitivity in enactment is a fluid quality situating life continuity as a property of skills. Thus, attention to ancestors as an answer to the shape of meat is a *life-centric* answer focused on continuation of flows and movements through skilled practice, rather than the practitioner. Elisabeth’s change of context changed my experience of the meat we were handling. I had at first felt overwhelmed by the massive amount of raw meat. As recounted in Chapter Five from the same situation, I was instructed to let my knife be directed by

my feel of the meat. My fingers ran through the texture of the meat to trace structures inviting the knife. What had at first repulsed me as raw meat, I now felt encouraged to taste. I put in my notebook how I was surprised at its softness and mild taste in my mouth. This situation provides an example of my actions as the manifest centre of a domain of entanglement. Relations coming together to form a knot are phenomenological, historical and social relations. From the centre of this composition, skilled acting is reading the situation forward as part of taking up with life.

Above, I have presented improvisation, imitation and contextualization as components of processes of enskillment. As aspects of the same movement, they all merge knowing with being to encourage critical knowledge which is simultaneously traced out as relational, temporal, and context-bound. In the section below, I discuss educational practices relative to this unfolding of education as enskillment and as acts of reading forward according to a sense of the world and the person as ‘open’.

Discussion: Educating as making lines

Educational practices at Angujaartorfik are tangled up in perceptions of learners as autonomous lives already in movement, a perception of knowledge as a way of being in the world, and teaching as a drawing out of lines. To comprehend this process, one could speak of educators as “line makers” (Ingold 2007: 147). Line makers draw out lines, as part of a distinct practice of education known as ‘Ductus’ (Ingold 2007: 16). Masschelein has come across this concept too. In Chapter Five, I referred to Masschelein’s re-articulation of research as a process of educating the gaze. In developing his concept of attention, he speaks of e-ducere as distinct to e-ducation (2010:44). He introduces two distinct etymological roots of education: educare and e-ducere. The first is the education we know as school-centric education, and as the project of knowledge imposition. The second root, e-ducere, means “leading out or reaching out” (2010: 44). They relate to the distinction between processes of education as

enculturation (*educare*) or enskillment (*educere*), yet focus on how the learner is approached, i.e. the role of the educator.

According to Ingold, *ductus* originally refers to the flowing movement inherent in the conduct of writing (2007: 147). Following this, approaching the paper to write is as an act of *ductus* not an imposition of words on a paper, but a matter of drawing out lines presenting themselves in the creative process of composing a text (*ibid*). Drawing distinctions in educational practice along manner of attention, we can differentiate between educational practices relative to their aim.

In this chapter, we have come across several cases of hesitant or just sensitive educational practice paying attention to flows of life already present with the activity of the child. Child perception as carrying a sense of children as autonomous and capable beings was shared across hunting communities in the Arctic. As it was elaborated, this perception was concurrently followed by educational practices characterized by carefulness toward flows of life present as part of the child's being. Related to this perception we have heard of examples from Angujaartorfik where educators focused on drawing out relational lines among children, natural surroundings and past and present relatives. On this basis, we can understand educational practices related to improvisation, imitation and contextualization as acts of *educere*, which focuses on enskillment rather than enculturation. The aim is different, and embedded in the aim of enskillment among Arctic hunters, as presented here, is a perception of life as open-ended. Angujaartorfik hunters in their way of facilitating growth practiced a de-centered focus on *life*.

The practice of educating through relating to what is already present, re-casts the 'teacher' as a bodily being within a field of relations. Thus the teacher is unsettled from the subject-object relation co-constitutive to teaching in a school-centric sense. To return to the question raised at the beginning of this chapter, of how to educate wayfarers, this means that educators themselves have to walk the road

and expose themselves to the command of the child and the situation. This substantially de-stabilizes school centric teacher – learner relationships, and with this, educators cannot evaluate children's learning according to external scales.

We have seen in this chapter, how educators perceiving of children as autonomous social beings see relational ingress and elaboration as markers of growth. The relevant change that is looked for, the basis of making lines, is change in experience of the world. Dewey has commented on the effect of changes in experience:

Movement in direct experience is alteration in qualities of objects, and space as experienced is an aspect of this qualitative change. Up and down, back and front, to and fro, this side and that – or right and left – here and there, feel differently. The reason they do is that they are not static points in something itself static, but are objects in movement, qualitative changes of value [...] Mathematically there are no such thing as fast or slow [...] and experienced they are qualitatively as unlike as are noise and silence, heat and cold, black and white. (2005 [1934]: 215)

We can think of the boy who wet his pants as someone who had to change his experience of space to be able to get along. The change – or the education – he needed cannot be cut out in a set of rules as they would not apply to a world in flux. He needed to find a *comfortable* place, which cannot be sorted out mathematically. Educators practising educere attend to situations like this through vague answers, such as providing indefinite possibilities. The strategy of answering with further options creates attention to the experienced world, without imposing intent in the form of a rule.

In this chapter I have analyzed the cultural difference between educational practice with the aim of enculturation and educational practice with the aim of enskillment. I have argued that the difference is relative to modality of sociality. Chapter Six and this one has shown how hunter's way of being in the world form meanings of being educated. Educational practices as components of the use of hunting places specific to a particular life world offer an alternative context of education in general. Rather than the dichotomist epistemology of representation characteristic of school centric education which shapes growth along straight lines, hunter's perception of beings and the world as 'open' embody an epistemology in which knowledge is relational and grows in a process of wayfaring, itself constituted through directly experienced tensions in human-environment relations. In this wayfaring epistemology, 'nature' is co-constitutive to knowledge as well as to processes of education. In recognition of this, educators in practice decentres focus on the individual (subject) or on the mind and instead root education in experiences of embodied being and human-nature interrelatedness.



8 Conclusion: Education as movement

On the first page of this thesis I described the continuation by North-West Greenlanders of a semi-nomadic social practice. To this day, they hunt in the style of the Inuit tradition of ‘allarsimarneq’, and practice a series of everyday social rituals that are associated with this tradition. Such practices, and their impact on perceptions of life, knowledge and place, are normally treated as an addendum to questions of how Greenlandic children can achieve better education in school. The life world that is embodied in Greenlanders’ relations with place has historically appeared in educational contexts in distinctly school-centric ways, i.e. as de-contextualized representations of a pre-objectified reality. Allarsimarneq comes to represent life ‘out there’ or ‘back then’ and schools are neither the time, nor the place, for hunting.

This is manifest in a variety of ways. In pre-schools, the Greenlandic language is augmented with the use of Danish words in cases where Greenlandic semantics does not allow for the categorization of children according to a Euro-Centric and also Westernized structure endemic to a bureaucratic society. This thesis shows that the overall framing of education in schooling continues a separation between knowing and being that impedes education as growth in experience among indigenous children. Rather than treating fragments of indigenous culture as elements to be included in schooling or in teacher’s practice, we need to think of them as dimensions of a life world. Through a comparative analysis of education among caribou hunters, I have called school-centric education into question, and in this way challenged our understanding of education as relative to ‘society’ rather than life.

I show that the education of hunters is constitutive of a life world among Greenlanders. Comparing the ideas of growth implied in teaching practices among school teachers and indigenous hunters has shown

that the established legitimacy of growth in a school context as an accumulation of transmitted knowledge is grounded in a Euro-centric cultural idea of growth as disengagement: the human being withdrawing from nature, the mind from the body. In this movement, knowledge is separated from being. A hunter's educational practice, by contrast, situates growth as a relationally constituted movement of human-nature intertwinement.

This shifts our attention from the individual to processes of human-environment interrelatedness. In this movement, knowledge is a relational activity; a way of being-with. To become part of this world takes recognition requires a process of attending to life as a continuously, rhythmically conditioned unfolding narrative (not something we bring or discover) shared among humans and non-humans. Rivers and mountains are part of the story. Movements of growth are movements across the boundaries between human and nature, mind and body, past and present, which are inextricably entangled. The sociality of life that emerges from these entanglements form continuous new beginnings, and growth appears as the embodied movements of relating with human and non-human surroundings as co-constitutions to life. The world of Angujaartorfik hunters is an alive world.

This thesis provides an opportunity to reflect on the role of place in education, in general as well as specifically in dealing with culture conflict in relation to indigenous people. Angujaartorfik hunters approached education with a model of social life very different from a Euro-centric model. The hunter's sociality was co-constituted as place. The implications of place are dominated by bureaucratic practices in schooling. However, at Angujaartorfik the practice of hunting authorized performances of the subjects of education such as acquisition of knowledge and child-adult as well as human-nature power relations that are particular to a hunting modality of life. "We go here to get something we cannot be without in our lives," said a hunter I have cited in a previous chapter. The use of land contextualized experiences of life and life trajectory fragmented in town environments. Activities such as hunting, cutting

meat, exploring surroundings, sleeping in tent houses narrated relationships among humans and non-humans, while the ancestral practices in use at Angujaartorfik fostered experiences of relatedness

Finally, I show that the life world, as a place in which wayfaring goes on, impacts the nature of knowing among Greenlanders. In formal education, shaped by the colonial process of human-land separation, the concrete experience of place is dominated by a map-like space; it becomes an object of human control. This is a change in relation between the gestures that make use of the place and the world they constitute. It impacts how we think of life and of knowing the world. Reduced to an object of human dominion, the world is known through representations, and growth is construed as a change in position between positions on a map. The caribou hunter's at Angujaartorfik, by contrast, lived the land in a way that did not simply occupy a position in 'society'. By understanding place as part of who they are, the hunters find the essence of living in the vitality of the land; it is alive in sensations such as smell, touch, sight and sound. The hunters practiced a sense of knowing through wayfaring, i.e. finding their way by attending to the concrete world as experienced. Growth in this context is a narrative and journeying movement where paths are traced out in relation to earlier journeys corresponding to movements through human and non-human surroundings. In this context, knowledge becomes, not a matter of acquisition, but a manner of living.

Reframing the question of school failure: How lines intersect

Exploring education as a performance in a comparative perspective suggests that a rejection of school-centric education at a personal level might involve the objectification of a subjectively experienced relational disjuncture between education as the operationalization of a centralized idea and education as intrinsic to a process of wayfaring. On this background, we should reframe the question of school failure as a question of cultural difference at a life world level, taking the weight of the question from the individual children.

Through the chapters I have discussed the centrality of the line in life. Focusing on lines eliminates the question of culture in schooling as something that has to be solved as in disappear. From a ‘fluid’ analytical perspective there is no entities confronting each other; not math to be solved. We can instead focus on interaction and how lines entangle and conjure.

I have argued that the straight line of modernity is a central part of the colonial legacy in school centric education. Within a political context pushing for efficiency in schooling, the really interesting thing about the colonial history of education in Greenland is the way it reveals how the replacement of organic, *living* lines out for a walk, with straight and mechanical lines aimed at future ‘appointments’ does *not* create social efficiency in terms of broad school success. This is an empirical comment about the inherent dynamic in the construction of human-world relationship in modern society. As stated earlier with reference to Ingold, the straight line hurrying from point to point is actually void of movement and thus static (Ingold 2007: 73 after Klee 1961: 109).

The standardisation of education globally continues to dominate other ways of knowing and other modalities of growth. The research behind this thesis urges us to turn the question of student drop-out on its head, and instead focus on school-centric education as a system that profoundly disturbs the practices constituent of indigenous knowledge at a social level. Based in research on the role of African indigenous knowledge in the school system, indigenous researcher Dei (2000) suggest, that “operationalization” of knowledges in Western school systems

continues to exclude indigenous knowledges from the academy within the Euro-American context of knowledge production (and) leaves the space for the colonization of

knowledges and cultures in local environments and contexts unchallenged. (Dei 2000: 113)

In formal education, the straight line fragments human experience as part of its dynamic: It moves through attention to entities and abstract connections, separating person and life world. Sefa Dei suggests a pluralization of knowledge to open spaces within our formal systems of education for indigenous ways of knowing the world. In relation to schooling in Greenland this would mean looking into how ‘straight’ and ‘wayfaring’ lines intersect. An implication of the straight line and its (authorizing) correspondence with the bureaucratic structure is the legitimate de-contextualization of indigenous knowledge which in practice means a disentanglement of knowledge and disembodying of place with significance for local/indigenous lives. An example of this is dislocation of cultural practices in school environments relative to place, such as local foods and ways of eating. However, the sharing of local food is a practice performing narratives about relationships among human and non-human beings sharing the land. This practice entwines with other significant practices, such as naming practices, presenting paths to local wayfarers.

Based on this thesis, I suggest that the relationship between Angujaartorfik and education is social in a twofold sense. Participation in the hunters’ way of life affords a sense of continuity and belonging in an Arctic homeland not open to all children, while caribou hunters’ practices of education challenge standard, European forms of education. It has been documented that 1) the Inuit nomadic settlement pattern with shifts between the coast in winter and the inland in summer continues to this day, along with the extended kin-based way of life and other ‘traditional’ activities, and 2) a perception of the world relative to the life-ways of nomadic hunters is also continued. However, the particular history of decolonization in Greenland forms a paradox for an engagement with an indigenous perspective.

Sejersen (2004) has argued that the political decolonization process of Greenland, and in particular the construction of their own parliament, has meant that a sense of *Homeland* relative to traditional use of land as hunters has achieved less attention than in corresponding contexts in the Arctic (ibid: 35). Greenlanders have not had to reclaim land through documentation of past and present use (ibid). As social activity, hunting is related with land, and particularly the close relationship with land is shared among indigenous people around the world; it stresses a local sense of community distinct to abstract communities (ibid: 72), like citizenship, for example. The focus on locality relates place, culture and identity (ibid). In a political context, the local perspective makes sense against the all-inclusive pressure of colonization, depriving local people of their resources. Without a local perspective, indigenous people would be deprived of their opportunities to create development in continuation with their own “need, interests and values” (ibid: 72).

Sejersen argues that the fact that political independence in Greenland was not negotiated in relation to land use and occupancy generated “different preconditions for nation building, and frames the knowledge discourse in other ways” (ibid: 35). Going through the history of colonization/ decolonization and comparing the North American Arctic with Greenland, Sejersen traces out a paradox. According to him, in the North American Arctic there is among indigenous people a sense of two ethnic and political systems that continuously conflict to the disadvantage of native people (ibid: 38). To bridge the gap between the two systems, “local management bodies” have been set up to improve interaction with state institutions. This means that Native Americans are able to influence decision processes, and Sejersen sees this as a result of the land claims agreement (ibid: 38). It is a de-centralized political system assuring Native involvement (ibid).

In Greenland the local government “manages their extensive rights to self-determination [...] in a very centralized fashion, giving little space for regional input and responsibilities” (Sejersen 2004: 38). The

paradox here is that the Greenlandic situation with centralized self-government does not provide space for cultural difference and integration of local knowledge (ibid). However, the everyday social customs related to life as a hunter (like the celebration of a child's first catch or the sharing of food across the country) might be seen as productive of a space for local – indigenous – knowledge beyond centralized administrative structures. Authorizing human-land interrelatedness through educational activities that are bound up with this relationship might provide opportunities for indigenous children to embody the wayfaring line as a movement of growth even within the system of formal education.

Final remarks: Learning from local ways of life

My main concern in conducting this research has been to get beyond researching indigenous education as an isolated object of analysis, and instead apply the way Angujaartorfik hunters attend to the world and practice education as part of this, as a point of social critique. It has been my hope to contribute to the field of education by enlarging the inquiry into indigenous education and school motivation in cross-cultural societies to frame not just human-environment relations but also the social attention gestured as part of educational practices. I have tried to show that directing a research interest toward cultural differences is an opportunity to learn and to re-think education in relation to issues of life formatting. Scrutinising hunters' perception of education has revealed something that puts into perspective who we are as humans in the world.

Analytically, the concept of 'lines' (Ingold 2007) has structured the comparative analysis. Lines trace the relational constitution of movement, and studying educational practices as movements establishes a de-centered perspective that focuses on the simultaneously produced genres or formats of life. Lines of life are produced and reproduced by humans as well as non-humans. This perspective enables the articulation of individual dilemmas as changes and conjunctions in experience, and at a general level, this perspective re-frames educational research into a critical, qualitative study of life formation

Part of this thesis has criticized educational research for being too bound to theories that themselves reproduce a static world, a mathematical world. I made this argument in Chapter One. A continued focus on education as relation between individual and society has colonized the space of critique that might otherwise be grounded in how life is lived. I have wanted to criticize this, and suggest instead a focus on life and cultural variation in lived sociality. The thesis now shows how a local way of knowing can inform science (Cruikshank 2000: 50). A local and *lived* perspective forms the basis of a critical perspective, which shares with educational science a social indignation, but is less politically or theoretically informed. Focusing on life practices, knowledge practices and practices of place as objects of analytical consideration might be a way to dis-entangle studies of education from its implication in socio-political theories and to engage with how people get on with life.

The analytical approach has turned ‘the problem’ on its head. Looking at education from within a hunter’s perception of the world, we see that the use of knowledge and the models of differentiation that are typical of modern society and the structuring elements in schooling de-sensitize us to our relationship with the ‘natural’ world. This, then, invites philosophical considerations of the social attention that is created within particular cultural forms of education, informed by ethnographic details of lived environments. The bracketing of our surroundings as ‘nature’, i.e., as something apart from the unfolding of human, cultural life, produces an image of the social world as free floating and independent of place. Within this disengaging movement is a disengagement of relations with nature as knowledge. The knowledge that emerges in the relational context of someone involved with hunting in demanding terrain and inclement weather, however, is knowledge that constitutes a developmental pathway, fully entwined with the life world. This changes our perception of education, and of people who do not receive the knowledge they are taught at school. The irony of this may be more visible among people whose life history is tied to a constantly challenging environment, as is the case in the Arctic North. Growing

up without learning to pay autonomous sensitive attention to material surroundings is growing up to become vulnerable.

¹ Greenlandic researcher Dahl has commented on how the present life in Greenland cannot be understood through an opposition between traditional and modern. Hunting, in his perspective, continues to exist not as a “survival” of colonization and industrialization, but because people have negotiated modernity and also adapted to modernities for use in this way of living (Dahl 2000: 8).

² Teachers College refers to the formal education of pedagogues for ordinary pre-schools as well as for special care institutions. In alignment with the Danish system, teachers for pre-schools in Greenland are trained three years at Colleges and earn the title Professional Bachelor. There is a Danish tradition for differentiating between teachers and pedagogues, the first implying the school system and formal education as context, and the latter a position as an independent part of the Danish Welfare System. However, the present reform in Greenland include pre-schools in the formal educational system.

³ Following Ingold I take indigenous to mean inhabiting (2006: 14) and as such revealing of a way of being in the world that integrates knowing and being, epistemology and ontology (ibid: 14, 19).

⁴ In Greenlandic the same word is used to describe a hunter, whether he/ she works at land or at sea: *piniarteq*. When I use the word hunter, I refer as well to fish harvesting as hunting on the land.

⁵ Bedsoe describes a very similar process from the imposition of Western Education in Sierra Leone. The similarity lies in the believe in knowledge represented in texts as holding transformative power (Bledsoe 2000: 142).

⁷ Thuesen summarises this process as leading to an epochal decision about forming a Greenlandic educational institution – but at the same time Greenlanders were delimited the possibility of becoming priests and as such a future leading societal position (Thuesen 2007: 76).

⁸ The grading of Greenlanders according to language was in some ways a continuation of a tension in cultural identity linked to economic strategies already introduced in the colonial period. Frank Sejersen (1999) explains that when seal hunting in the nineteenth century was the basic national income, the colonial power gave economic advantages to particularly skilled hunters (storfangere/piniartorsuit) (ibid: 126). Alongside this cultural and economic ranking of hunting as a key in Greenlandic culture and subsistence economy, more and more people took up positions in the colonial administration as primary basis of livelihood. These people encountered the paradox of one the one side following a general fascination with the new possibilities, and other hand lack of recognition as ‘real’ Greenlanders (ibid: 126-127).

⁹ For archaeologically perceived stories particularly about Angujaartorfik and Angujaartorfiup Nunaa, I build on the work of archaeologist Ulla Odgaard, who from an archaeological perspective has studied and compared pre-historical and present day dwelling structures in and around the camp, as well as everyday ritual practices such as details in preparation of meat, ways of dealing with waste and similarities in pre-historical and present dwelling structures – in short, the analytical impact of practices of material culture.

¹¹ Willerslev argues that hunters generally live grounded in ”an ontology that considers verbal accounts to be an inferior way of knowing compared to lived experience” (2007:159).

Bibliography

- ALLERUP, P., KARLSEN, E., THERKELSEN, E., PETERSEN, C., 2013. Analyser og resultater af trintest i den grønlandske folkeskole. Institut for læring – Inerisaavik. Nuuk.
- ANDERSON-LEVITT, K.M., 2012. Complicating the concept of culture. *Comparative Education*, **48**(4), pp. 441-454.
- ANNAHATAK, B., 1994. Quality Education for Inuit Today? Cultural Strengths, New Things, and Working out the Unknowns: A Story by an Inuk. *Peabody Journal of Education*, **69**(2, Negotiating the Culture of Indigenous Schools), pp. 12-18.
- APORTA, C., HIGGS, E., HAKKEN, D., PALMER, L., PALMER, M., RUNDSTROM, R., PFAFF-FENBERGER, B., WENZEL, G., WIDLOK, T. and APORTA, C., 2005. Satellite culture: Global positioning systems, Inuit wayfinding, and the need for a new account of technology. *Current anthropology*, **46**(5), pp. 729-753.
- BARNHARDT, R., 2005. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, **36**(1), pp. 8-23.
- BASSO, K.H., 1996. *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. UNM Press.
- BATTISTE, M., 2002. *Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy in First Nations education: A literature review with recommendations*. Apamuwek Institute Ottawa.
- BATTISTE, M.A. and BARMAN, J., 1995. *First Nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds*. UBC Press.
- BERGER, P., 2009. Eurocentric roadblocks to school change in Nunavut. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, **33**(1-2), pp. 55-76.
- BIESTA, G., 2011. From learning cultures to educational cultures: Values and judgements in educational research and educational improvement. *International Journal of Early Childhood*, **43**(3), pp. 199-210.
- BJØRST, L.R., 2008. *En anden verden: Fordomme og Stereotyper om Grønland og Arktis*. Forlaget bios.
- BLEDSON, C. (2000). The Cultural Transformation of Western Education in Sierra Leone. *Schooling the symbolic animal: Social and cultural dimensions of education*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 137
- BOAS, F., 1964a. *The central eskimo*. University of Nebraska Press.
- BOAS, F., 1964b. *The Central Eskimo: By Franz Boas; Introduction by Henry B. Collins*. University of Nebraska Press.

- BOURDIEU, P., 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge university press.
- BOURDIEU, P. and PASSERON, J.C., 1990. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. Sage.
- BRAVO, M. and SÖRLIN, S., 2002. *Narrating the Arctic: a cultural history of Nordic scientific practices*. Science History Publications/USA.
- BRIGGS, J.L., 1998. *Inuit morality play: The emotional education of a three-year-old*. Yale University Press.
- BRIGGS, J.L., 1970. *Never in anger: Portrait of an Eskimo family*. Harvard University Press.
- BRINKMANN, S., 2006. *John Dewey: en introduktion*. Hans Reitzel.
- BRUNER, J.S., 1996. *The culture of education*. Harvard University Press.
- BRYLD, T., 2010. *I den bedste mening*. Gyldendal A/S.
- CARSTEN, J., 2000. *Cultures of relatedness: New approaches to the study of kinship*. Cambridge University Press.
- CLIFFORD, J., 1997. *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Harvard University Press.
- CRUIKSHANK, J., 2005. *Do glaciers listen? Local knowledge, colonial encounters, and social imagination*. UBC Press.
- CRUIKSHANK, J., 2000. *Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. UBC Press.
- CSONKA, Y. and SCHWEITZER, P., 2004. Societies and cultures: change and persistence. *Arctic human development report*, pp. 45-68.
- DAHL, J., 2000. *Saqqaq: an Inuit hunting community in the modern world*. University of Toronto Press.
- DAHL, J., 1986. *Arktisk selvstyre: historien bag og rammerne for det grønlandske hjemmestyre*. Akademisk Forlag.
- DE CERTEAU, M., 1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans.Steven Rendall.Berkeley and Los Angeles. University of California Press.
- DEI, G.J.S., 2000. Rethinking the role of indigenous knowledges in the academy. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 4(2), pp. 111-132.
- DEWEY, J., 2005. *Art as experience*. Penguin.
- DEWEY, J., 2004. *Democracy and education*. Courier Dover Publications.
- DEWEY, J., 1958. *Experience and nature*. Courier Dover Publications.
- DEWEY, J., 1956. *The Child and the Curriculum and The School and Society*. (11) University of Chicago Press.

- DEWEY, J., 1916. 1966. *Democracy and education. An introduction to the philosophy of education*. Free Press
- DOUGLAS, A.S., 1994. Recontextualizing schooling within an Inuit community. *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, pp. 154-164.
- DURKHEIM, E., 2000. The nature of education. *Schooling the symbolic animal: Social and cultural dimensions of education*, Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 57-61.
- EGEDE, E., 2010. Atuarfitsialak på dumpegrænsen. IMAK. Nuuk. pp. 6.
- ELIAS, N., 2000. *The civilising process: Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations*. London: WileyBlackwell.
- ELIXHAUSER, S., 2011. *Nammeq: Personal Autonomy and everyday communication in the Ammasalik Region, East Greenland*. Ph.D. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen.
- EPINION, 2012. *Kortlægning af forskoleområdet*. Nuuk: Grønlands Selvstyre.
- ERIKSEN, T.H., 2010. *Small Places. Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London. East Haven. Pluto.
- FENWICK, T., 2011. Developing who, for what? Notes of caution in rethinking a global H (R) D: a response to Kuchinke. *Human Resource Development International*, **14**(1), pp. 83-89.
- FIENUP-RIORDAN, A., 1995. *Boundaries and passages: rule and ritual in Yup'ik Eskimo oral tradition*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- GOSDEN, C. and KNOWLES, C., 2001. *Collecting colonialism: material culture and colonial change*. Berg Oxford.
- GRØNLANDS SELVSTYRES ARBEJDSGRUPPE FOR STRATEGISK MILJØVURDERING, 2010. *Arkæologisk Strategisk Miljøvurdering, kap 4*. Nuuk: Grønlands Selvstyre.
- GRØNNOW, B., MELDGAARD, M. and NIELSEN, J.B., 1983. *Aasivissuit: The Great Summer Camp. Archaeological, Ethnographical and Zooarchaeological Studies of a Caribou-Hunting Site in West Greenland*. Meddelelser om Grønland, Man and Society, **5**.
- GUEMPLÉ, D.L., 1979. Inuit socialization: A study of children as social actors in an Eskimo community. *Childhood and adolescence in Canada*, pp. 39-71.
- GULLØV, E., HØJLUND, S. and HASTRUP, K., 2003. Konteksten Feltens sammenhæng. *Ind i verden. En grundbog i antropologisk metode*, , pp. 343-362.
- GULLØV, H.C., ed, 1986. The Revival at Pisugfik in 1768: An Ethnohistorical Approach. *Arctic anthropology*, pp. 151-175. **23**
- GULLØV, H.C., ed, 2005. *Grønlands forhistorie*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

- HALLAM, E. and INGOLD, T., 2007. Creativity and cultural improvisation. Berg.
- HARBSMEIER, M., 2002. Bodies and Voices from Ultima Thule: Inuit Explorations of the Kablunat from Christian VI to Knud Rasmussen. In: M. BRAVO and S. SÖRLIN, eds, *Narrating the Arctic. A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices*. first edn. Canton, USA: Watson Publishing International, pp. 33.
- HASTRUP, K., 1990. Udvikling eller Historie—Antropologiens bidrag til en ny verden. *Den Ny Verden*, **23**(1), pp. 36-54.
- HASTRUP, K., 1999. *Viljen til viden: En humanistisk grundbog*. Gyldendal A/S.
- HASTRUP, K., 2004. *Viden om verden: en grundbog i antropologisk analyse*. Hans Reitzel.
- HASTRUP, K., 2005. Social anthropology. Towards a pragmatic enlightenment? *Social Anthropology*, **13**(02), pp. 133.
- HASTRUP, K.B., 2010a. *Vinterens hjerte: Knud Rasmussen og hans tid*. Gad.
- HASTRUP, K., 2010b. *Ind i verden: En grundbog i antropologisk metode*. Hans Reitzel.
- HASTRUP, K., 2013. Anthropological contributions to the study of climate: past, present, future. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*.
- HASTRUP, K., 2013b. Scales of attention in fieldwork: Global connections and local concerns in the Arctic. *Ethnography*, **14**(2), 145-164.
- HEINRICH, J., 2010. *Eske Brun og det moderne Grønlands tilblivelse 1932-64*. Ph.D. Ilisimatusarfik. KVUG (Kommissionen for videnskabelige undersøgelser i Grønland).
- HINDBY, L., 2004. *Atuarfitsialak - fra idé til virkelighed?* Aalborg University.
- HIRSCHKIND, C., 2011. Is there a secular body? *Cultural Anthropology*, **26**(4), pp. 633-647.
- HØIRIS, O., 2011. Eskimoen som idéhistorisk figur. In: O.M. HØIRIS Ole, ed, *Fra vild til verdensborger. Grønlandske identitet fra kolonitiden til nutidens globalitet*. Århus: forfatterne & Århus Universitetsforlag, pp. 97.
- HUSEN, M., 1988. *Arbejde, rytme og tid*. Nyt nordisk forlag.
- HYMES, D., 1972. On communicative competence. *Sociolinguistics*, **269293**, pp. 269-293.
- INERISAAVIK, 2011. *Folkeskolen i Grønland 2010-2011*. Nuuk: Inerisaavik.
- INGOLD, T., 1996. *Key debates in anthropology*. Psychology Press.
- INGOLD, T., 2000. *The perception of the environment: essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. Psychology Press.
- INGOLD, T., 2007. *Lines: a brief history*. Routledge.

- INGOLD, T., 2011. *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description*. Taylor & Francis.
- INGOLD, T. and VERGUNST, J.L., 2008. *Ways of walking: Ethnography and practice on foot*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- JENSEN, B., 1963. Notes on an Eskimo Thanking Act. *Folk*, **5**, pp. København.
- KAHLIG, W. and BANERJEE, N., eds, 2007. *Børn og Unge i Grønland - en antologi*. Nuuk: MIPI, Ilimatusarfik & milik publishing.
- KLEIVAN, I., 1969. Language and ethnic identity: language policy and debate in Greenland. *Folk*, **11**(12), pp. 235-285.
- KNUDSEN, P., 2009. *Culture historical significance on areas Tasersiaq and Tarsartuup Tasersua in West Greenland & Suggestions for Salvage Archaeology and Documentation in Case of Damming Lakes*. Greenland: ALCOA.
- KVAALE, K., 2004. Tradition. Det oprindelige modernisering. I: Kirsten Hastrup (red.) *Viden om Verden. En grundbog i antropologisk analyse*. København, Hans Reitzels Forlag, pp. 303-327.
- KVALE, S. and BRINKMANN, S., 2009. *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Sage.
- LAVE, J., 2011. *Apprenticeship in critical ethnographic practice*. University of Chicago Press.
- LEFEBVRE, H., 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday life*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- LEVINSON, B.E.A., ed, 2011. *Beyond Critique - Exploring Critical Social Theories and Education*. 1 edn. Boulder usa: Green press.
- LUNDBERG, P. (2005). *Blindhed. En antropologisk analyse af de blindes verden fra renæssancen til i dag*. Ph.d-afhandling. Institut for Antropologi, Københavns Universitet.
- JENSEN, L., E., 1977 *Grønland og EF*. Kragestedet, Vedbæk.
- MAINLAND, I. and HALSTEAD, P., 2005. The economics of sheep and goat husbandry in Norse Greenland. *Arctic anthropology*, **42**(1), pp. 103-120.
- MASSCHELEIN, J., 2010. E-ducing the gaze: the idea of a poor pedagogy. *Ethics and Education*, **5**(1), pp. 43-53.
- MAUSS, M., 2006. *Techniques, technology and civilisation*. New York: Durkheim Press/Berghahn Books.
- MCELROY, A., 2007. *Nunavut generations: change and continuity in Canadian Inuit communities*. Waveland Press.
- MERLEAU-PONTY, M., 2007. *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge.

- MIEDEMA, S. and BIESTA, G.J., 2003. Instruction or educating for life? On the aims of religiously-affiliated schools and others. *International Journal of Education and Religion*, **4**(1), pp. 81-96.
- MINOR, K., 1992. *Issumatuq: Learning from the traditional helping wisdom of the Canadian Inuit*. Fernwood Pub.
- MONSTER&CRITICS (2009). Troubled Greenland looks inwards toward greater autonomy. http://news.monstersandcritics.com/europe/news/article_1484269.php/PREVIEW_Troubled_Greenland_looks_inward_amid_greater_autonomy
- MONTECINOS, C., SISTO, V. and AHUMADA, L., 2010. The construction of parents and teachers as agents for the improvement of municipal schools in Chile. *Comparative Education*, **46**(4), pp. 487-508.
- MØLLER, H., 2013. "Double culturedness": the "capital" of Inuit nurses. *International journal of circumpolar health*, **72**.
- MØLLER, H., 2011. "You need to be double cultured to function here": Toward an anthropology of Inuit nursing in Greenland and Nunavut. Ph.D. Edmonton, Alberta: Department of Anthropology.
- NABE-NIELSEN, L., 2012. Pædagogik og videnskab. *Videnskabsteori og menneskesyn i uddannelsessystemet - om alternativer til styring og control*. Copenhagen: Authors and SOPHIA, pp. 9.
- NIELSEN, F., 2011. Den ældste grønlandske Bibel - et sprogligt og kulturelt møde. In: O. HØIRIS and O. MARQUARDT, eds, *Fra vild til verdensborger. Grønlandsk identitet fra kolonitiden til nutidens globalitet*. second edn. Århus: Forfatterne og Århus Universitetsforlag, pp. 147.
- NUTTALL, M., 1992. *Arctic homeland: kinship, community and development in northwest Greenland*. University of Toronto Press.
- NUTTALL, M., 1998. States and categories: Indigenous models of personhood in northwest Greenland. *Questions of Competence: Culture, classification and intellectual disability*, pp. 176-193.
- ODGAARD, U., 2009. Tents, tenthouses and two generations. In: B. GRØNNOW, ed, *On the Track of the Thule Culture from Bering Strait to East Greenland. Proceedings from the SILA Conference "The Thule Culture - New Perspectives in Inuit Prehistory"*. Nationalmuseet, pp. 185.
- ODGAARD, U., 2007. Historic and Prehistoric Caribou Hunters in West Greenland. *Les Civilisations Du Renne D'hier et d'aujourd'hui. Appoches ethnohistoriques, archeologiques et Anthropologiques*, XXVII rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes.
- OSBERG, D., BIESTA, G. and CILLIERS, P., 2008. From Representation to Emergence: Complexity's challenge to the epistemology of schooling. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, **40**(1), pp. 213-227.
- PARADISE, R. and ROGOFF, B., 2009. Side by side: Learning by observing and pitching in. *Ethos*, **37**(1), pp. 102-138.

- PASDA, K., 2013. Caribou hunting and utilization in West Greenland: Past and present variants. *Anthropozoologica*, **48**(1), pp. 111-123.
- PASDA, K. and ODGAARD, U., 2011a. Nothing is wasted: The ideal “nothing is wasted” and divergence in past and present among caribou hunters in Greenland. *Quaternary International*, **238**(1–2), pp. 35-43.
- PETERSEN, R., 1995. Colonialism as seen from a former colonized area. *Arctic Anthropology*, pp. 118-126.
- PETERSEN, R., 1963. Family ownership and right of disposition in Sukkertoppen District, West Greenland. *Folk*, **5**, pp. 269-281.
- POLITIKEN, 2013. *Kleist: Undergrund kan frigøre Grønland fra bloktilskud*. 14 January.
- RICHARDSON, L. and ST PIERRE, E., 2008. A method of inquiry. *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*, **3**, pp. 473.
- RIDLER, K., 1996. If not the words: shared practical activity and friendship in fieldwork. *Things as they are: new directions in phenomenological anthropology*, pp. 238-258.
- RODMAN, M.C., 2003. Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality. *The anthropology of space and place: Locating culture*, pp. 204-223.
- ROEPSTORFF, A., 2003. Clashing cosmologies: Contrasting knowledge in the Greenlandic fishery. *Imagining nature. Practices of cosmology and identity*, pp. 117-142.
- ROGOFF, B., 2003. *The Cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- ROSALDO, R., 1989. Putting Culture in Motion. *Culture and Truth: The remaking of Social Analysis*. Beacon Press, pp. 91.
- SARRIS, G., 1993. *Keeping slug woman alive: A holistic approach to American Indian texts*. University of California Press.
- SEJERSEN, F. (1999). At være Grønlander – hvem sætter grænserne. I: *Inuit, kultur og samfund: grundbog i eskimologi*. Lorentzen, E., Jensen, E, og Gulløv, H.G eds). Systime.
- SEJERSEN, F., 2004. Local knowledge in Greenland: Arctic perspectives and contextual differences. *Anderson David G. & Mark Nuttall. Cultivating Arctic Landscapes: Knowing and Managing Animals in the Circumpolar North*. Bergham Books. New York, Oxford, pp. 33-56.
- SERMITSIAQ, 2012, 20 February. *Sermitsiaq*.
- SMITH, L.T., 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed books.

- SMITH, T., EDWARDS-GROVES, C. and BRENNAN KEMMIS, R., 2010. Pedagogy, education and praxis. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, **18**(1), pp. 1-8.
- STAIRS, A., 1992. Self-Image, World-Image: Speculations on Identity from Experiences with Inuit. *Ethos*, **20**(1), pp. 116-126.
- STECKLEY, J., 2008. *White lies about the Inuit*. University of Toronto Press.
- STEFANSSON, V., 1943. *The Friendly Arctic*. New York: McMillan.
- STERN, P., 2003. Upside-Down and Backwards: Time Discipline in a Canadian Inuit Town. *Anthropologica*, **45**(1), pp. 147-161.
- STRATHERN, M. and INGOLD, T., 1996. Key debates in anthropology. *Key debates in anthropology*. Routledge.
- STUCKENBERGER, A.N., 2006. Sociality, temporality and locality in a contemporary Inuit community. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, **30**(2), pp. 95-111.
- SØRENSEN, A.K., 2007. *Denmark-Greenland in the twentieth century 2007, 202 s., e-publikation*.
- SØRENSEN, E., 2009. *The materiality of learning: Technology and knowledge in educational practice*. Cambridge University Press.
- THISTED, K. (2002) *The power to represent: intertextuality and discourse in Miss Smilla's Sense of Snow*. Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications.
- THISTED, K. (2006). Over deres egen races lig: Om Knud Rasmussens syn på kulturmødet og slægtskabet mellem grønlandere og danskere. *Tidsskriftet Antropologi*, (50), 131-147.
- THOMAS, N., 1994. *Colonialism's culture: Anthropology, travel and government*. Polity Press Cambridge.
- THUESEN, S.T., 2007. *Fremmed blandt landsmænd: Grønlandske kateketer i kolonitiden*. Forlaget Atuagkat/Ilisimatusarfik.
- TSING, A.L., 2005. *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton University Press.
- VITEBSKY, P., 2005. *The reindeer people: living with animals and spirits in Siberia*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- WENZEL, G., 2008. Clyde Inuit settlement and community: From before Boas to centralization. *Arctic Anthropology*, **45**(1), pp. 1-21.
- WENZEL, G.W., 1991. *Animal rights, human rights: Ecology, economy, and ideology in the Canadian Arctic*. University of Toronto Press.
- WILHJELM, H., 1997. *De store opdragere: Grønlands seminarier i det 19. århundrede*. Det grønlandske Selskab.

WILLERSLEV, R., 2007. *Soul hunters: hunting, animism, and personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*. University of California Press.

WILLIS, P.E., 1977. *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. Columbia University Press.

WORSLEY, P., 1994. The nation state, colonial expansion and the contemporary world order. *Ingold, Tim. Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

WYATT, T.R. and LYBERTH, N., 2011. Addressing Systemic Oppression in Greenland's Preschools: The Adaptation of a Coaching Model. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, **44**(2), pp. 221-232.

YDESEN, C., 2011. *The Rise of High-Stakes Educational Testing in Denmark (1920-1970)*. Aalborg University, Aalborg University. Department of Learning and Philosophy.

Abstract

This thesis is about the line of education. Greenlandic society is striving for enhanced or full independence from Denmark. Reaching this aim is a challenge in part due to the low number of formally educated Greenlanders that are available to replace Danes in the Greenlandic administration. There is, therefore, intense political focus on achievement among children in school. Educational reforms focusing on the regional and cultural-historical Inuit background of Greenlanders and Greenlandic language have so far had surprisingly advanced results for Danish speaking or double language children. Greenlandic-only speaking children, however, fall further behind. This problematic spurred the initial interest into pursuing school problems in Greenland from a cultural perspective. The challenge lay in engaging with cultural encounter without reducing cultural difference either to the socio-cultural package of the children or pedagogical methods of the teachers. After all, an approach predicated on matching these had not proved successful.

Fieldwork in Greenlandic pre-schools, followed by further fieldwork among West Greenlandic caribou hunters, provided a comparative baseline for studying the culture of education in Euro-Western schooling as a social practice that organizes human-world relations. Fieldwork at a hunting site at the same time provided an alternative conceptualization of education relative to hunter-gatherer perceptions of a world shared among human and non-human beings. The differences between educational practices in pre-schools and among caribou hunters were conceptualized as a difference between ‘straight’ and ‘wayfaring’ lines.

I chose ‘the line’ as my central analytical concept, and use it to mark my field of research, because ‘the line’ embodies the relational constitution of movement. An anthropology of ‘the line’ was developed by

Tim Ingold in 2007, who advocates for a focus on movements, i.e., how different movements come into being and how they intersect and entwine to form yet other movements. Studying educational practices as movements means taking a performative, non-dualist approach that focuses on how the world comes into being through continuous enactment. From this perspective, lines of life are produced and reproduced by humans as well as non-humans. I have retraced the history of schooling in Greenland as part of a history of Danish colonization, and explored cultural and historical relations between everyday practices in Greenlandic pre-schools today and the work of missionaries, politicians and educational planners. I have worked with a broad notion of ‘education’ that encompasses the re-structuring of Greenlandic society as part of, first, colonization and, later, de-colonization and industrialization. These historical movements proved constitutional to the dominance of the straight line as a guiding principle in organization of society as well as organization of education as schooling. The research identified a gap between life as a citizen in Greenlandic society and life as part of a socio-cultural history as semi-nomadic hunters, along with attendant differences in the perception of life, knowledge and place, which is central to educational practices.

Education is purported to be the objective result of standardized schooling programs during which learners acquire representative knowledge of the world. This is the Euro-Western understanding of education, which pre-supposes the world to be already there, and assumes children to be dependent on education for inclusion in this world. This produces a movement, which is actually not a movement, along *a straight line of connection* which knows its destination ahead of any human or non-human interaction. Contrary to this, hunters presume that the child is already *in* the world, as a line of life narratively related to both physical surroundings and ancestral practices. From this enmeshed point of departure, children do not need teachers or knowledge to come from the outside. If we can speak of education in this context, I suggest speaking of it as a process of wayfaring in a world in which children and the world are not connected but related. Education as wayfaring is an education of attention to the world as it is experienced.

The analytical perspective extends the relevance of the argument beyond the local Greenlandic context. It provides a comparative view on education as a social phenomenon produced by and reproducing a particular kind of social attention, which is formative of the life world. Studying education as productive of lines, and lines as productive of education, de-centers analysis and re-invigorates old questions about the relation between education and life.

Resumé

Uddannelseslinjer: Levet liv, viden og sted

Afhandlingen handler om uddannelse som linjer. Det grønlandske samfund er optaget af yderligere eller fuld uafhængighed fra Danmark. At komme frem til det er en udfordring, ikke mindst på grund af at en stor del af den grønlandske befolkning ikke har den uddannelse, der skal til, for at erstatte danske medarbejdere i den grønlandske administration. I den sammenhæng er der stort politisk fokus på børns resultater i skolen. Uddannelsesreformer med fokus på Grønland som geografisk region og grønlænderes historisk-kulturelle Inuit baggrund har indtil nu ikke haft effekt i forhold til de grønlandsk talende skolebørn. Denne problematik rejste en forskningsmæssig interesse i at forfølge problemer omkring grønlandsk talende børns resultater i skolen i et kulturelt perspektiv. Udfordringen lå i at finde en vej til at spørge ind til kulturmøde uden at reducere kultur til et spørgsmål om grønlandsktalende børns socio-kulturelle bagage eller lærernes pædagogiske metoder, da tidligere reformtiltag netop havde taget udgangspunkt i et ønske om at matche disse, og uden resultat.

Feltarbejde i grønlandske børnehaver, efterfulgt af feltarbejde blandt grønlandske rensdyrjægere gav et komparativt udgangspunkt for at studere europæisk-vestlig skolekultur som social praksis, der organiserer mennersker relationer til omverdenen. Feltarbejde på en boplads for rensdyrjægere gav på samme tid mulighed for en ny kontekstualisering af uddannelse med udgangspunkt i jæger-samlers erfaring af verden som en delt verden mellem menneskelige og ikke-menneskelige levende væsener. Jeg har analyseret forskellene mellem uddannelsespraksisser i børnehaver og blandt rensdyrjægere som forskelle mellem 'lige' (straight) og 'vandrede' (wayfaring) bevægelser.

Jeg valgte 'linjen' som centralt analytisk begreb og som markering af mit forskningsfelt fordi 'linjer' rummer den relationelle konstituering af bevægelse. En antropologi om 'linjen' blev udviklet af Tim Ingold i 2007. Ingold sætter med begrebet fokus på bevægelsen, det vil sige hvordan forskellige bevægelser bliver til, interagerer og fletter sammen og former nye bevægelser.

At studere uddannelsespraksis som bevægelser er en performativ, ikke-dualistisk tilgang som fokuserer på hvordan verden bliver til gennem fortsatte handlinger. Fra dette perspektiv produceres og reproduceres linjer af levet liv af alle levende væsener. Jeg har optrevet grønlandsk skolehistorie som del af dansk-grønlandsk kolonihistorie, og udforsket kulturelle og historiske relationer mellem eksempler på hverdagspraksis i grønlandske børnehaver i dag og missionærers, politikeres og uddannelsesplanlæggeres arbejde og indflydelse på uddannelse i praksis. Jeg har arbejdet med en bred forståelse af uddannelse som omfatter omstruktureringen af grønlandsk som del af først kolonisering og senere afkolonisering og industrialisering. Disse historiske bevægelser etablerede den 'lige' linje som dominerende princip i organisering af samfund og i organisering af uddannelse som skole. Forskningsarbejdet viste et skel mellem liv som borger i grønlandsk bureaukratisk samfund og liv som del af en socio-kulturel historie som seminomadiske jægere, og i forlængelse heraf former for opmærksomhed i opfattelsen af liv, viden og sted, som er centrale begreber i forestillinger om uddannelse.

Typisk anses uddannelse for at være et resultat af at have fulgt et standardiseret skoleprogram, som gør at elever opnår et repræsentativt billede af verden. Dette er den europæisk-vestlige forståelse af uddannelse. Den forudsætter en verden, som allerede er der, og at børn er afhængige af uddannelse for at blive inkluderet i verden. Denne sammenhæng producerer en bevægelse, som faktisk ikke er en bevægelse, langs en lige linje af forbindelser. Det er ikke en bevægelse, fordi den 'lige' linje kender sin destination før nogle former for levende interaktion. I modsætning til dette, tager jægere udgangspunkt i at børn allerede bebor verden, som et sammenrend af levede linjer narrativt forbundet til både fysiske omgivelser og forfædres tilværelse. Fra dette udgangspunkt i allerede etablerede tilknytninger har børn ikke brug for lærere

eller viden udefra for at blive del af verden. Hvis vi kan tale om uddannelse med jagt som kontekst, foreslår jeg at tale om uddannelse som en vandring i en verden, hvor børn og verden ikke blot er forbundet, men viklet ind i hinanden, praktisk og kropsligt. Uddannelse som vandring er uddannelse af opmærksomhed til en verden som den leves og erfares.

Det analytiske perspektiv anvendt i denne afhandling, udvider argumentet til at gælde uden for en grønlandsk sammenhæng. Det giver et komparativt perspektiv på uddannelse som et socialt fænomen skabt og medskabende af en særlig social opmærksomhed som former den levede verden. At studere uddannelse som et fænomen, der etablerer linjer, og linjer som bevægelser, der etablerer uddannelse, decenterer analysen og stiller fra et nyt perspektiv gamle spørgsmål om forholdet mellem uddannelse og liv.