

<sup>9</sup>Due to its culturally sensitive nature I won't elaborate on it further.

<sup>10</sup>For example, all three women in Ulali play a drum. I have met several Ojibway women who tell me they drum because it is part of the culture (although to be fair, I've also heard from others that it isn't).

<sup>11</sup>Our current promo picture is only slightly more "ethnic-looking" in that we are wearing buckskin vests and moccasins in addition to our jeans, black shirts, and jewelry.

<sup>12</sup>This is not to say that when I do have the money to invest in wardrobe that I won't indulge.

<sup>13</sup>I've lost over 20 pounds since joining the group—just from singing.

<sup>14</sup>By addictions, I mean to drugs and alcohol. Julie's self admitted addiction to chocolate and my self-admitted addiction to caffeine are exempt from this requirement as they do not affect our ability to meet our performance obligations.

<sup>15</sup>This workshop is not a music therapy workshop: none of our members has training in this discipline, but it is an interactive discussion of how music affects us intellectually, emotionally, physically, and spiritually.

<sup>16</sup>When I was working at CBC radio, I made a point of telling the producer of the morning show that I felt the use of drum songs in nonmusical or nonceremonial stories was inappropriate and requesting the discontinuation of its gratuitous use.

<sup>17</sup>I'd be remiss if I didn't include stereotypes of Aboriginal music in an article about deconstructing Aboriginal stereotypes through music.

<sup>18</sup>Ironically, this particular festival organizer also expressed interest in booking our group in the future.

<sup>19</sup>In fact, all acts in a program are encouraged to present a program that showcases the diversity of repertoire.

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## Qallunology: A Pedagogy for the Oppressor

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Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.

In Inuit culture our elders are our source of wisdom. They have a long-term view of things and a deep understanding of the cycles and changes of life.... So it was natural for us to respect the newcomers who seemed to know how to survive and how to make their organizations work. Their power looked like wisdom ... We now know that it [was] a mistake....

Our people did not have any institutional immunity, just as we had no immunity to measles or alcohol. When these institutions came into our lives we had no way to deal with their poisonous side effects, their tendency to undermine wisdom, and our spirits slowly began to die. In our weakened condition we attracted even more services and more rescuers, and the cycle got worse. (Nunavut Educational Task Force [NETF], 1992, pp. 11-13)

Nunavik is home to a long-lived Inuit culture that occupies much of Arctic Quebec. Further North and West is Nunavut, homeland to another established Inuit civilization. Modern Euro-Americans tend to refer to established civilizations like these in social Darwinist terms like *primitive* or *undeveloped* (Kuper, 1988). But if we looked at cultures the way we view ecosystems, we would see that some are like climax forests—ecologically-balanced, long-lived, mature—whereas others, Euro-America for example, are young, immature, reckless, and unbalanced (Snyder, 1980). Today in relations with the Euro-Canadian government, Inuit tend to spend most of their energy negotiating for rights to things that they never had to ask for before and resisting Trojan-Horse-style offerings from government "Rescuers." These Rescuers are almost always drawn from the ranks of the young Euro-American civilization, the affluent 20% of the world's population who consume 80% of the world's resources. Inuit, like most of those being "rescued," belong to "the remaining 4.7 billion people—80% of the population—[those who] survive on less than a quarter of world output" (Wackernagel & Rees, 1996, p. 102).

Kloppenborg (1991) argues that, "Indigenous people have in effect been engaged in a massive program of foreign aid to the urban populations of the industrialized North" for most of the past 400 years (p. 16). One present-day South American Indian leader refers to this as the "Marshalltezuma Plan," and has written to European governments asking that they repay the gold and silver "borrowed" between 1503-1660, a sum that today would amount to trillions of dollars (Cuautemoc, 1998). But these resources that Euro-America gobbles up are to mature cultures the interwoven necessities of land and life. Euro-American culture disembeds "resources" like land, minerals, water, mythology, and wildlife from the interwoven fabric of other cultures so that the pieces can be bought and sold.

The diversity of knowledge held by local people has been devalued, pulverized and supplanted by a handful of disciplines—Western science, economics and management—controlled by outsiders.... Cultural characteristics like family loyalty,

proficiency in traditional medicine, or patron-clientage, meanwhile, become sources of "comparative advantage" to be exploited, until they are finally worn away by the acid of the market. (Lohman, 1993, p. 161)

Lohman (1993) describes colonialism and development as the processes that break down the social universe of partly independent wholes. The Rescuers dismember the local "cultures, languages, practices of livelihood, theories, arts, sciences," and "use the fragments, deprived of their old roles, to build up new wholes of potentially global scope" (pp. 157-158). This is the true face of what was formerly known as colonialism and what we now call *globalization*: "a world of powerless places at the mercy of placeless powers" (Wackernagel & Rees, 1996, p. 143).

But where did these Rescuers come from? (And why won't they go home?) And what does this have to do with education? Rescuers are the rootless, currency-driven individualists of a young, reckless Euro-American civilization (Rasmussen, 2001). And education is their primary tool for winning more converts to their cause: the Property-based Individualism of the Disembedded Economy (Macpherson, 1964).

For the most part Rescuers draw their numbers from the formerly indigenous peoples of Europe. The Inuit word for the Europeans is *Qallunaat*. These Qallunaat are the homeless ones: homeless, or more accurately landless, due to Europe's "Great Transformation" of the 17th century (Polanyi, 1957). Over the past 400 years millions of people indigenous to that continent fled as Europe's social relations were ransacked and replaced by money relations. One of the compensatory mechanisms invented to deal with the collapse of family and community relations and to train converts to the new nonsocial economy was education. One family uprooted by the Great Transformation was the Freire family. Generations later, Paulo Freire would gain renown as the foremost apostle of salvation through education.

### *Salvation through Spelling and Spending*

The print-based, age-separated, isolation-tank form of instruction favored by Euro-America has not necessarily been the universal model for cultivating wisdom throughout human history. In fact *education* is a fairly new and aberrant invention born of the first civilization composed of property-based individualists and designed as a method for transmitting the alphanumeric skills needed by the Disembedded Economy (Illich, 1971, 1992; Postman, 1982).

The word *education* itself did not show up in French until 1498, in English not until 1530, and in Spanish not until 1632 (Illich in Prakesh & Esteva, 1998). Europeans first began to conceptualize the "world as school" in 1759 (Tuveson, 1969). When 33 years later a Cambridge tutor introduced the idea of grading student papers, human thought succumbed to writing and writing had succumbed to numerical evaluation (Postman, 1992). Thus Europe's surrender to the "ideology of literacy": the beginning of the wide-scale belief that knowledge is a "subset of writing" and that "learning can be sliced up into pieces" (Illich, in Cayley, 1992, p. 66). As de Castell (1990) explains,

I do not mean to imply that prior to the development of literacy human beings lacked knowledge, in the sense that they were ignorant. Indeed there is evidence that a wealth of

intelligent accomplishment existed before literacy.... What I mean by suggesting that knowledge is a subset of writing is, rather, that the very idea of knowledge, the concept of knowledge "as such," and hence the idea that human beings could lack, develop, transmit, and possess knowledge, may be entirely a literate construction. (pp. 24-25)

The pervasiveness of the ideology of literacy is marked by belief in knowledge as paper, brain as book, world as school, universe as library (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), thus the making of one of the two main life-preservers that the Rescuers offer the world: education. Education and economy sit side by side in the Rescuer's toolbox: print and price, alphabet and money, bankbooks and schoolbooks. All "developed" peoples must be able to *spell* and *spend*.

The ideology of print means that everything is seen in terms of the written word as the apotheosis of achievement; literacy is the benchmark for intelligence, illiteracy equals incompetence. A flood of expressions has come to equate competence with literacy: spiritual literacy, sexual literacy, visual literacy, political literacy, family literacy, musical literacy, and so forth. A little-known government study recently suggested that 25% of Canadians suffer from "excess literacy," whereas only 6% were classified as illiterate (MacKinnon, 1998).

Writing is about seeing and believing in symbols that are substitutes for sensual reality. The page, decorated with permutations of the alphabet, cannot represent smell, taste, touch, space, the teachings of the six directions, and earth. Most importantly, the alphabet is incapable of representing silence.... Deciding to subject reality to representation in 26 letters reflects a decision that reality can be represented in 26 letters.... This (is the) alphabetization of thought. (Sheridan, 1991, p. 24)

But most nonalphabetized cultures have not seen the need to disembed a process called education from their ongoing pattern of life in order to transfer discrete objectifiable "knowledge" or "information" (see, e.g., Micronesian navigators profiled in Turnbull, 1991). This causes confusion among Euro-American Rescuers: what they view as tools of salvation much of the rest of the world experiences as tools of dissolution: not life-preservers, but life-eroders.

In the words of one Elder, "Every time the white man comes and offers us something, the Aboriginal people lose something ... Now when I see a white man doing something for our good, I worry about what we will lose" (Hookimaw-Witt, 1998, p. 160). Hookimaw-Witt goes on to comment:

The help offered to so-called underdeveloped people never comes without a price ... The price is always that instead of developing our own ways and adjusting them to the new environment, we have to give them up. (p. 60)

The ruling elite says to the people: The land that used to root you we have taken; the human arrangements that used to connect you we have broken; the pattern-language face-to-face myths and stories that once flowed between you and your place we have frozen onto paper. Now we will train you to master alphanumeric symbols in order to make money (from us) in order to get access to the land (we took from you) in order to buy the essentials of life. This is the Euro-American way (Rasmussen, 2000b). Economic atheism is not permitted.

### The Biggest Migration in Human History

Unnatural exchange, aimed at money making pure and simple rather than reproducing a community and sustaining amicable relations, is the root of Polanyi's concept of the disembedded economy. (Stanfield, 1986, p. 10)

Following the enclosure of common land in Europe and the ensuing Great Transformation of European society and economy, displaced and homeless Europeans streamed to the Americas, Southern Africa, and Australia. In a tragic case of geographical musical chairs, local inhabitants were evicted and killed as the homeless Europeans laid claim to the land. The economist Polanyi (1957) documents "four fictions" that supported the Great Transformation of European civilization from a society where economies are nested within and subject to social relations to a society overrun and ruled by "disembedded economies." Polanyi's four fictions are:

1. The illusion that pieces of the earth's surface could be owned by individual members of one species ("land ownership");
2. The fiction that leasing humans was noble, whereas slavery-owning humans was immoral ("labour");
3. The fiction that coloured paper and metal could abstractly represent almost everything of value ("money");
4. And a superstitious faith in "hugely fictitious bodies" as live entities called "corporations." (pp. 68, 71, 130, 178-179)

Driven from their homelands by the disembedded economy that results from these fictions, millions of Europeans embarked on the most astonishing explosion of human migration in the earth's history (Stanfield, 1986; Kolko, 1984). Between the years 1821 and 1932 alone, 34 million Europeans emigrated to the United States. Another 16 million emigrated to Canada, Argentina, and Brazil. "There were many 'promised lands' to which to escape, and the British Isles and Germany—first touched by the traumas of capitalism—provided the bulk of reluctant emigrants until 1885 (Kolko, 1984, p. 68).

It is important to note that in some years almost half of these immigrants were re-immigrants, that is, they were coming to America as wage-laborers for the second or third time, having returned home to an enclosed Europe with cash, desperate to buy a *pied a terre* in their true indigenous homelands (Kolko, 1984).

Thus the enclosure of southern Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and America can only be understood against the earlier enclosure of the British Isles and Europe. Enclosure can only happen where people believe land can be locked up, removed from common use, owned on paper. Once land is locked into paper you can leave it, and you can spend it, because land is capital, land is "congealed money" (Buchan, 1997, p. 91). Ironically, the very immigrants who were pushed from their home countries during the Great Transformation embraced the values and assumptions of this Transformation. The societies they constructed in their new homelands varied little from the new Europe that had evicted them. Thus the enclosure of Europe marked the rise of property-based individualism: probably better known today by its family name, capitalism (Macpherson, 1964; Wood, 1991).

### Nowhere Men

Today Euro-Americans, or Qallunaat, have evolved into an "entirely new breed of people" says Iyer (1997); he calls them the "airport-transit-lounge culture" (p. 78). Iyer, who proclaims himself with some ambivalence to be a "Nowhere Man," says this breed are "masters of the aerial perspective," but reluctant to "touch down" anywhere. Indeed the average Canadian changes hometowns once every six years; meanwhile, the US has become "a lumpen society of mobile individuals to an extent unparalleled in the history of industrialized nations" (Berlin, 1997, p. 20; Kolko, 1984, p. 96). What does this mean? In 1943 Weil (1972) attempted an answer with her classic text *The Need For Roots*:

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul ... A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active, and natural participation in the life of a community, which preserves in a living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expressions for the future. This participation is a natural one, in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place. (p. 43)

Snyder (1995) once gave the shortest answer ever when asked what people should do to save the environment: he replied with just two words: "Stay Put!" In most cases, when a map of species extinctions is superimposed over a map of human wanderings, one discovers that the areas of greatest human immigration and exodus are also the areas with the highest levels of plant and animal extinctions (Nabhan, 1998). People who connect with a place look after it; those who are rootless do not.

Weil (1972) warned that "the disease of uprootedness" had undermined Europe. Once uprooted, said Weil, one "uproots others"; however, "whoever is rooted in himself doesn't uproot others" (p. 48). Moreover, "the white man carries this disease with him wherever he goes," everywhere "European colonialism" has been felt, it "ostracizes the land" (p. 81; Lopez, 1990, p. 31). Weil denounced two poisons for spreading the disease of uprootedness:

One of them is money. Money destroys human roots wherever it is able to penetrate, by turning desire for gain into the sole motive ... [The] second factor making for uprootedness is education.... [Education] abstracted culture from tradition ... [and the] result has been a culture ... removed from the world, in a stovepipe atmosphere—a culture very strongly influenced by technical science, very strongly tinged with pragmatism, extremely broken up by specialization. (pp. 44-45)

Education is a paper-based invention; it yanks one out of one's place and time. This happens only after a society's faith in the spoken word is replaced by faith in the written word. The alphabet is the most powerful "external memory device" ever invented; and if the Book is external memory, then Money is external value (Donald, 1991).

Buchan (1997) calls money "frozen desire"; Schopenhauer (Loy, 1992) called it happiness in *abstractio*. And just as paper money replaces the desired "thing," becomes the thing in itself, so too paper knowledge replaces wisdom, becomes the desired thing in itself. Print is the frozen word, price is frozen value.

This means that it is almost impossible for a moneyed age to understand a non-moneyed people. "So pervasive is (money's) influence on our lives," says Buchan (1997), "that it makes less moneyed ages incomprehensible, consigning



them to barbarism or folklore" (p. 34). Buchan's remarks echo Innis's (1986) warning back in 1948, that a print-based culture could not possibly hope to understand an oral one. And as if to prove them right, along come the Rescuers, economic developers and the literacy gurus to get the "barbarians" to "awake into the fuller life" (Stuckey, 1991, p. 80). In the words of one of the founders of Canadian schooling, education is "the remedy of a defect, the supply of a deficiency" (Prentice, 1977, p. 180). Well then, who could possibly refuse?

### *Paulo Freire as Rescuer*

Freire's view that there are "powerless" populations, is on anthropological grounds, highly questionable. ... Freirean and other participatory activists have tended to dis-value traditional and vernacular forms of power ... because their understanding of power is largely derived from European Leftist traditions ... In short, the inappropriate imposition of a certain vision of power on people who may not perceive themselves as powerless and, moreover, may not want to be empowered in the way being prescribed, is a problem area that has not been sufficiently addressed by Freireans. Nowhere is this more evident than Freire's failure to address the possibility that educators may be unable (or even unwilling) to strangle the oppressor within them ... The greatest danger of Freire's pedagogy, it would thus appear, is that it can be used as a very subtle Trojan Horse, one which appears to be a gift to the poor, but can all too easily contain a hidden agenda. (Blackburn, 2000, p. 13)

Freire (1970) called for intervention, liberation, and transformation; he called for the oppressed to rescue themselves with the help of his liberatory pedagogy. Educators have long believed that conferring literacy on members of an oral culture would make them, in Havelock's (1986) words, "wake up from the dream" (Stuckey, 1991, p. 78). In Freire's (1973) words, they abandon "magical explanations" and "hopelessness"—"they emerge"—"no longer mere spectators, they uncross their arms, renounce expectancy, and demand intervention" (pp. 13, 17). The Freireans argue that "nonliterate must be brought into fuller life," and that only by "reading the word" can you "read the world" (Stuckey, 1991, pp. 80-83; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Kidd & Kumar, 1981). Stuckey calls this the superiority-from-literacy argument. In this view, literacy not only "makes minds," it "makes minds intelligent" (p. 78). The Rescuers' doctrine says that "primitives" evolve as children do, "by acquiring the sort of intellect we expect of a good reader"; most notably,

A vigorous sense of individuality, the capacity to think logically and sequentially, the capacity to distance oneself from symbols, the capacity to manipulate high orders of abstraction, the capacity to defer gratification. (Postman, 1982, p. 46)

Individualized, competitive, argument-oriented literacy, according to Gouldner (1979) the Culture of Critical Discourse (CCD), tends to cosmopolitanize and uproot civilizations; it breaks their multigenerational links and molds the atomized remnants into mobile human rental units.

The culture of critical discourse ... devalues tacit, context-limited meanings ... while it authorizes itself ... as the standard of all "serious" speech ... CCD experiences itself as distant from (and superior to) ordinary languages and conventional cultures ... it is conducive to a cosmopolitanism that distances persons from local cultures, so that they feel alienation from all particularistic, history-bound places and from ordinary, everyday life. (pp. 28-29, 59)

In Canada's north, attempts by the Qallunaat Rescuers' to transform the Inuit way of life have been almost uniformly disastrous (Okpik, 1966). Relocating Inuit to zones that lack animal life in order to assert Canadian sovereignty resulted in starvation and social disintegration (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). Next the Rescuers introduced "welfare colonialism," creating dependencies on Qallunaat institutions like welfare, police, churches, and stores, shattering links of sharing practices, stealing children in order to give them a "proper" education (Paine, 1977). In today's government development-speak these activities would be called "capacity-building" (Jimi Onalik, personal communication, July 2001).

Delivering a proper education meant that not only was Inuktitut not permitted—neither was silence. For pedagogy rooted in alphabetized communication, blank pages typically say nothing to the reader—silence is similarly disdained. For in Euro-American education blank pages and silence are signs of social dysfunction: time to call in the counselors and break down the silence—convert it into confession or journal entries.

Quiet native children were always being told to "speak up," and encouraged to compete with each other. Native habits like the silent facial yes and no of the Inuit were stopped in class.... The old closeness between all ages had been broken. (Crowe, 1974, p. 198)

And yet for civilizations steeped in the oral tradition and fluent in "pattern languages" like music, quiescence is just as important as activity (Rasmussen, 2000a). The oral tradition may be high-context, but to Europeans it is low-status (Bowers, 1997). But Freire's (1970) pedagogy negates the space of silence and declares it inauthentic. Freire asserts that "knowledge emerges only through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world.... apart from inquiry ... men cannot be truly human" (pp. 45-46)

This is completely at odds with the Inuit belief that "when the teacher is the land, patience and wisdom go together ... Things can usually be figured out in time, as long as one is a careful observer" (NETF, 1992, p. 12). Furthermore, Inuit caution that "there are limits to how much can be achieved in a classroom ... Wisdom can only be gained by engaging with life, by honouring one's heritage and by mastering the skills necessary for independence. We used to have this when we lived on the land" (p. 55).

The individual thinker, surveying, naming, and arguing with his world, could be called the classic Freirean success story. But in "Inuit heritage, learning and living were the same thing," and

knowledge, judgment and skill could never be separated. In institutional life these things are frequently pulled apart and never reassembled. For example, schools spend much of their energy teaching and testing knowledge, yet knowledge by itself does not lead to wisdom, independence, or power. (NETF, 1992, p. 15)

Freire's message that a comrade should "think for oneself" obscures what Gouldner (1979) and Fox (1989) call the "complex authorship of ideas" and what Gee (1988) calls the "social nature of interpretation" (Fox, 1989, p. 72).

Types of texts and the various ways of reading them do not flow full blown from the individual soul (or biology); they are the social and historical inventions of various groups of people ... One doesn't think for oneself rather, one always thinks for (really with and



through) a group—the group which socialized one into the practice of thinking. And of course, one “thinks for” different groups in different contexts. (Gee, 1988, pp. 209-210)

Freire strove to give the individual peasant and worker control over the means of knowledge: production, as he saw it. Freire’s liberatory pedagogy in essence focused on knowledge as a print-based product, and it aimed to give the individual worker or peasant the ability to interpret and control this product for himself or herself. Freire had little quarrel with the Euro-American civilization that spread the ideology of possessive individualism, the civilization that spread the notion of language as nonsilent, the notion of knowledge as print-based product, the notion of education as having a monopoly on knowledge-production. Freire constructed his pedagogy as a life-preserver for the oppressed, but he treated the oppression as a fait accompli; he never seemed to take aim at the poisons that dissolve rooted societies in the first place.

### *Pedagogy for the Oppressor: First Cease to Do Evil, then Learn to Do Good*

Economic development of an underdeveloped people by themselves is not compatible with the maintenance of their traditional customs and mores ... What is needed is a revolution in the totality of social, cultural and religious institutions and habits, and thus in their psychological attitude, their philosophy and way of life. What is therefore required amounts in reality to social disorganization. Unhappiness and discontent in the sense of wanting more than is obtainable at any moment is to be generated. The suffering and dislocation that may be caused in the process may be objectionable, but it appears to be the price that has to be paid for economic development; the condition for economic progress. (Sadie, 1960, in Griffin, 1995, p. 133)

I am a Euro-Canadian and a beneficiary of the social disorganization Sadie prescribes. I am one of the politically and economically affluent 20% of the world that consumes 80% of the world’s resources. For centuries my people have rushed around the world on Rescue missions, proselytizing our alphanumeric fetishism, supposedly raising “primitive” civilizations out of economic and religious “barbarism,” and dissolving richly integrated physical-oral-mental cultures into lonely consumers and dazed human “lessees.” Meanwhile, we pat ourselves on the back because we, the Rescuers, are out in the igloo or under the banyan tree teaching liberatory pedagogy to the suffering locals so that they can hang onto that 20% of the world’s resources that we haven’t yet taken. But wait a sec—if we’d cleaned up our own backyard, maybe they wouldn’t need our salvation, and maybe our pedagogy isn’t actually helping them maintain or regenerate their cultures anyway (Apffel-Marglin, 1998).

Take the backyards in Ames, Iowa, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for example: belching out of their municipal incinerators are dioxins destined for the bodies of the Inuit women of Qikiqtarjuaq. Commoner’s (2000) recent “source-to-receptor” research tracked 70% of dioxins spewing from specific factories in the US’s industrial heartland into tiny communities in Nunavut. In Qikiqtarjuaq (population 499), just east of where I live, over 60% of the Inuit children under the age of 15 and almost 40% of Inuit women of childbearing age were found to have PCB body burdens exceeding “tolerable” guidelines (Government of Canada, 1999). Mothers in Nunavut have twice the allowable levels of dioxins in their breast milk.

Nunavut’s and the US’s communities are tied together by the US’s invisible exhalation of death. The US breathes out, Inuit die. This is what Qallunology, a “pedagogy for the oppressor,” needs to teach. Stay home. Go on a field trip to Alpena, Michigan, or Hartford, Illinois. Figure out how to clean it up, slow it down, stop it. It’s the Euro-American way of life that needs to be put under the microscope, not intriguing tribes in faraway lands. Instead of exotic slide shows on the Arctic, how about US schools take exotic field trips to the municipal incinerators in Bethlehem Steel and US Steel’s iron-smelting plants in Chesterton and Gary, Indiana? The dioxin plumes rise with warm air and moisture and fall with cold temperatures, “grasshoppering” their way toward northern latitudes where it is too cold for them to evaporate and instead they settle: absorbed into lichen, eaten by caribou, which in turn are consumed by Inuit. For the 800 residents of Coral Harbour in the middle of Hudson Bay, over half the annual dioxin burden for 1997 came from Ash Grove’s cement kiln in Louisville, Nebraska, from Lafarge’s cement kiln in Alpena, Michigan, and from Chemetco’s copper smelter in Hartford, Illinois (Commoner, 2000).

“First, do no harm,” states the 2,400-year-old Hippocratic Oath. A century before that the Buddha had said, “First, cease to do evil; then learn to do good.” This is the essence of a pedagogy for the oppressor. But the order is important: first, cease to do evil. As long as Euro-America needs 80% of the rest of the world’s resources, we’re going to have to go next door and bully people to get it. It seems to me that if our way of life is causing most of the problems that the rest of the world has to deal with, the best thing we can do is deal with our own way of life. In his book *The White Arctic*, sociologist Paine (1977) said that his one message to whites was to drop the illusion that they were “in the Arctic to teach the Inuit,” and instead focus on “learning about white behaviour” (p. xii).

Nunavik Inuk journalist Zebedee Nungak (1999) refers to this sort of perspective reversal as *Qallunology*—the study of white folks. Although Nungak has argued that because only Europeans get to be Eskimologists, theoretically only Inuit should be allowed to be Qallunologists. Qallunology becomes increasingly important every day in the “White Arctic,” as more and more print-obsessed, currency-driven, asocial human atoms flood the North proselytizing the superiority of their homeless, rootless civilization. But getting this message across is not easy. For at this very moment someone working for the federal government is in Nunavut wearing a name tag that says “Director of Inuit Training and Development.” These Rescuers stubbornly recite their mantra that “their own culture already contains everything worthwhile in others’, and that everyone else is just a junior version of themselves” (Lohman, 1993, p. 60). Perhaps for Inuit organizations to counteract this type of thinking, they will have to appoint their own “Directors of White Development.”

The primary purpose of Qallunology is to get white folks to examine and change their own destructive behavior. Qallunology punctures the compassionate myth of the Rescuers and says, “First, cease to do evil.” But Euro-America loves the doing-good part—this is because “doing good” means getting to play the hero, getting to go to exotic places and “help” exotic peoples. Whereas the “ceasing” part means staying home in the well-off quarter and going to affluent addresses in

Toronto, or Seattle, or New York, to confront the men in suits behind iron fences who make the decisions that lead to bombs being dropped, forests being razed, rivers being drained, or peoples being monetized and "literated" thousands of miles away.

The West will have to abandon ... its "proselytizing fury" ... the activities of all the distributors of modern "civilization" and those of practically all the "educators" who feel they have more to give than to learn from what are often called the "backward" or "unprogressive" peoples; to whom it does not occur that one may not wish or need to "progress" if one has reached a state of equilibrium that already provides for the realization of what one regards as the greatest purposes in life ... To many this "fury" can only suggest the fable of the fox that lost its tail, and persuaded the other foxes to cut off theirs. (Coomaraswamy, 1967, p. 60)

If Euro-Americans are to coexist harmoniously with their fellow human inhabitants on this planet, then we must develop a deep awareness of what has formed our culture. We must give up the blind belief of our cultural superiority and cease to force our Euro-American values, institutions, technologies, and lifestyles on other civilizations in the name of "progress." Out of greed we lay claim to the land, water, and resources of the planet. Out of aversion we try to eradicate ways of life, religions, and languages that are not the same as ours. And out of delusion and ignorance we worship affluence and celebrate individualism. Where we once offered blankets laden with devastating viruses, now we offer institutions that create dependencies and dissolve the bonds of richly integrated cultures. We must cease to do evil. Only then, with full awareness of the assumptions and values that we carry with us as Euro-Americans, can we have the clarity, wisdom, and insight to learn to do good.

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