THE ART OF GIVING: COOPERATION, RECIPROCITY AND HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC STRATEGIES AMONG SOAPSTONE CARVERS IN QIMMIRUT (LAKE HARBOUR), NWT

by
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Media Report

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Short Title

Cooperation, Reciprocity and [illegible]

Strategies Among [illegible]

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines soapstone carving among Inuit in Lake Harbour, NWT, as a socially adapted form of employment. A time allocation diary, participant observation and informal interviews were implemented. The empirical evidence reveals two important aspects of soapstone carving. First, carving acts as an important source of income for the mostly part-time carvers and their families in Lake Harbour. As such, carving functions as part of a household economic strategy that serves to capitalize the harvest of country food. Second, it notes that Inuit often produce carvings collectively, usually with the help of family members. Also, the returns from the carvings are shared not only among those who participate in the production of the sculpture, but among members of the extended family as a whole, following the patterns of kinship-based food-sharing. Thus, not only is carving an important supplement to other forms of income, it is an integral part of the existing social forms of Inuit society, most notably generalized reciprocity.

RESUME

Cette these examine la sculpture de stéatite parmi les Inuit de Lake Harbour, TNO, en tant que une forme d'emploi adapté à leur mode de vie. Trois methodes de recherche furent déployes (des agenda› d'allocation temporelle, l'observation participatoire, et des entrevues), qui ont réveles deux aspects importants de la sculpture de steatite. Premièrement, les sculptures rapportent un revenu considérable aux tailleurs, pour la plupart engage dans cette activité à temps partielle, et leurs familles. De cette façon, la sculpture forme une partie intégrale des strategies de survie domestique, surtout en tant que source de capital pour les activités de chasse. Deuxiemement, les sculptures sont souvent produit de facon collective par la famille immédiate. Cependant, le revenu est non seulement partage parmi les sculpteurs, mais avec la famille élargie, selon les normes de partage commensal. Donc la sculpture de stéatite représente non seulement un supplement important aux revenu global, mais est aussi intégré aux forme sociaux Inuit existants, notamment la réciprocité généraliseé.

PREFACE

I have written and rewritten this preface in my mind so many time over the last few years and finally I am faced with the most pleasant task of my thesis: expressing my thanks to all those involved in its creation. First, I would like to thank the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for funding my initial field season in Lake Harbour with their Northern Science Training grant program. Second, I would like to thank Dr. Arlene Stairs for making it possible to return to Lake Harbour to follow up on my initial work and for her encouragement, help and advice on my carving research. Her suggestions and theoretical advice have been critical in helping complete this project.

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dmd, Hamilton, Ontario

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

When James Houston went to Cape Dorset in 1951, he no doubt had little idea about the forces he would shortly set into play (Winnipeg Art Gallery 1983, Houston 1980). A young artist interested in arctic landscapes, Houston also bought a few Inuit carvings, which soon found a southern market. Ultimately, what began as little more than a lark has grown into an industry which is extremely important to the northern economy. As a result, his name is now synonymous with modern Canadian Inuit art.

Houston managed not only to popularize Inuit sculpture as a distinct genre of Native art; he also set into motion a debate about the significance and place of carving in Inuit culture and society. Many observers (see, for example, Millard 1987, Swinton 1972) argue that Inuit art, as it is now practised for the market, has lost its original socio-cultural meaning. However, the main premise of this thesis is that carving is not solely of economic importance to Canadian Inuit, but that it also significant to contemporary northern culture. Both of these aspects are examined in depth through field research conducted in Lake Harbour, NWT, between 1989 and 1991.

Problematic

There are two central and closely-linked concerns which this thesis will address in establishing the material and social importance of soapstone carving. First: are Inuit

soapstone carvings genuine? Critics (see for example Swinton 1972, Martijn 1964, Millard 1987, among others), especially during the 1950s and 1960s, have contended that soapstone carving's contemporary incarnation was the direct result of commercial intercession. I will argue, following Geertz (1983:97, see also Fienup-Riordan 1983, Graburn 1987, LeBlond 1987, Ray 1981, Simard 1982), that it is necessary to analyze soapstone carvings "within the other modes of social activity...[and]...to incorporate it into the texture of a particular pattern of life.....". Such placement is accomplished through examining how Inuit carving conforms to a normatively based set of social and economic practices. It is by examining how the production of soapstone art fits into the Inuit patterns of generalized cooperation and reciprocity that we can establish if they represent the genuine Inuit article.

The second point relates to the nature of the modern soapstone carving industry as it affects individuals. Too often, figures and analyses of the industry discuss carving at the level of the region or community without regard to the economic or social relationship between the carver and society. As McGhee (1978: 204) has pointed out there is a dearth of "studies dealing in depth with the Eskimo artist in relation to his [sic] work and to his [sic] society....." This study will do exactly this because it is only by studying the artist, as a producer, that the cooperation and reciprocity among carvers at the household, extended family and community levels can be established.

A corollary aspect of the economics of Inuit carving is the examination of the interconnection between this household activity and the wider subsistence economy. Although there has been some research (see, for example, Graburn 1976 and Quigley and MacBride 1987) linking carving and harvesting (i.e. the returns from carving can be used to

subsidize the harvest), very little attention has been given to how carving is integrated into Inuit subsistence patterns. It is also important to note that much of the literature views both carving and harvesting in a like manner from at least the late 1950s to the present. This similarity illustrates the interconnectedness of hunting and carving within Inuit society. In short, I will argue that carving is a successful culturally adapted economic strategy which is fully integrated into Inuit society.

Geography and the Northern Economy

This thesis contributes to the field of geography in two central ways. First, geographers are currently grappling with the concept of the household economic strategy and the informal economy as a means of supplementing income in single industry towns when manufacturing plants downsize or shutdown (see Hudson and Sadler 1986, Mackenzie 1988). The informal economy is often viewed as a strategy of earning income when there are few other choices (Mackenzie 1987, Ross and Usher 1986). Many geographers have begun to examine native strategies for earning income by combining assistance received by members of the extended family (see Wolfe 1990 and Peters 1984). Peters examines how natives in Winnipeg supply a place to live and financial support for members of their extended families and residents of their rural reservations. In turn, the members of the extended family give child care and emotional support to the urban native. Peters concludes that this is an important strategy among natives: the "ability to take in borders or accommodate family and kin results in an important coping mechanism for urban and rural native people....." (Peters 1984: 36). This thesis examines the household and extended family

strategies among carvers in Lake Harbour, building on the work of Peters, Wolfe and Mackenzie.

Second and, more generally, geographers have typically carried out studies on the economic aspects of Canadian Inuit's traditional sector - the harvest. For example, Müller-Wille (1978) conducted an analysis of the costs associated with hunting - pointing out the large investment Inuit must make in order to carry out their customary activities. Another important example is the work carried out by Usher (1976) on the economic/monetary value of country food in the northern native economy. He measured, in dollar values, the wealth generated by and for Inuit by the harvest of country food. This thesis builds on the earlier work carried out by geographers on the harvesting sector and argues that economic geographical analysis should by carried out on soapstone carving. Hence, this thesis will examine the income generated by Inuit from soapstone carving, and will briefly consider the expenses needed to capitalize it.

Chapter Review

After a brief introduction to Lake Harbour in Chapter Two, the Baffin community chosen for this study, Chapter Three traces the development of carving from the Prehistoric Period (B.C. 2000 to 1700 A.D.), referring to the earliest carving noted in the archaeological record. This chapter also details the introduction of soapstone carving as a widespread practice as well as tracing the development of the commercial aspects of soapstone carving. The aim of this section is to examine the transformation between soapstone carvings produced for domestic use, and artifacts produced for exchange on a market.

Chapter Four introduces the concept of soapstone carving as an income-producing (subsistence) strategy. If soapstone carving is to be understood as a fully integrated part of the subsistence economy it is crucial to understand exactly how this integration occurs. I will argue that this is accomplished through an analysis of carving at the level of the individual carver and his/her family (ilagiit) and/or household (illugiik). Thus, the chapter offers a comparative analysis of the relationship between carving and hunting at the level of the household, and attempts to determine the economic role of carving in the household and the "dialogue" between hunting and carving.

Chapter Five begins with a review of the literature on Inuit art, focusing on the theoretical parallels and concrete interconnections between research done on carving and hunting. Also included is a review of the major critiques of Inuit art that have shaped southern understanding since 1950. As will be shown here, some observers have begun to reject the early assumptions about Inuit art as a form that reflects a culture in decline, and instead describe the art as, for better or worse, a part of Inuit culture. Finally, Chapter Five reiterates my contention that soapstone carving is more than an exogenous economic adjunct to modern Inuit life; but an integrated element of Inuit society.

Chapter Six is comprised of two sections offering supporting evidence of the assertions advanced above. In the first, I present evidence that shows that carving is a cooperative activity: that is, work on many carvings is shared among members of a family. The second part presents an ethnography of soapstone carving which describes the wider interaction between carvers. A discussion of how the money return from the sale of a cooperatively-produced carving is shared among members of a family in a manner similar

to meat produced from the hunt is presented. In both sections, the theme of a parallel between hunting and carving is emphasized inasmuch as cooperation in carving is analogous to cooperation in harvesting. Moreover, kinship-based food-sharing, discussed at a theoretical level as generalized reciprocity, is also analogous to the sharing of the cash return of carving sales to members of the household. Examples of how the return from carving is indirectly shared among members of the extended family will be discussed.

Chapter Seven combines the largely economic analysis of chapters Three and Four and the social analysis of chapters Five and Six into an overall consideration of soapstone carving as a fully integrated, socially adapted form of self-employment. Here I note that commercial aspects of Inuit art are crucial to understanding its importance in Inuit society today. Although commerce in contemporary soapstone art has been present since contact, the impact of commercialisation on carving as a creative activity and its socio-cultural meaning for Inuit has been, and is, a source of contention. I argue that carving has become integrated within the very cultural system that some commentators (e.g. Swinton 1972, Carpenter 1973) argue no longer exists.

Some Definitions

Before moving to Chapter Two, a number of terms - "Inuit art," "Inuit soapstone carving," "Contemporary Western Art," "subsistence," and the "harvest," require elaboration. I am not, in any sense, trying to redefine any of these concepts, especially in terms of their aesthetic relations, but merely explaining their meanings as used in this thesis.

The term "Inuit art" generally refers to some combination of the following products

from Arctic Canada: carvings in stone, ivory, bone, and antler. It also includes, in the most modern sense, weaving, drawings and prints. I do not include so-called "craft" items such as scarves, greeting cards and jewellery. In short, "Inuit art" includes, in this thesis, any artwork produced by Inuit which is sold, regardless of style, aesthetic content or form. I also note that the medium of stone now includes marble as such carvings, have been sold commercially since 1990. Marble is currently being heavily promoted by the Economic Development and Tourism, a branch of the Government of the Northwest Territories, which estimates that it will rival soapstone in two to three years.

Here "Inuit soapstone carving" refers to any commercially produced stone carving by Inuit. First, actual "soapstone" is a white stone which is composed mainly of talc, but also contains other minerals resulting in a stone which is nonetheless so soft is can be scratched by a fingernail (Gibbons 1988: 6-7). The most common form of "soapstone," however, is serpentinite which is related to asbestos, and is potentially dangerous to carver's lungs. Serpentinite comes in several shades from light green to black, is harder and so polishes well (Gibbons 1988: 6). This is the type of stone utilised by Lake Harbour carvers and is the most popular in the commercial art market.

Next, I will describe the Western contemporary perspective of art. "The two principles which are at the foundation of aesthetic value in the modern world" wrote Zolberg, are that the "work is the creation of a single artist and that it is unique....." (Zolberg 1990: 82). Thus, the contemporary Western Art perspective tends to focus upon the creation of a single talented individual, not on art which is cooperatively made. This view serves as a useful counterpoint to the process of production of Inuit soapstone carvings.

Subsistence is usually thought of as the material harvest of animals, generally ignoring the social relations of production and distribution. For this discussion, however, Wenzel's (1991: 137) analysis of subsistence encompasses both its economic and societal aspects: "We can think of subsistence as composed of two parts, resource harvesting and the distribution of these products. Harvesting is the ecological element and sharing the socio-economic part of a single system...." Thus, subsistence is material production for social ends. Moreover, as money plays mainly a resource role in Inuit life, soapstone carving, as a resource capturing activity, is here considered as an element of subsistence.

Methodology

Methodology holds a great deal of fascination for me; we spend so much time considering and organizing our methods, only to have them appear seemingly minor to the outcome of our work. Yet sound method is largely responsible for reliable data.

The data presented in this thesis was gathered during two field seasons: the first was from June 28 to August 14, 1989 and the second was from September 21 to October 12, 1990 using two distinct methods. The first season I utilized time allocation diaries, supplemented by informal interviews and participant observation. During the second, shorter research season, I concentrated on gathering a series of observations using a very structured key. A third trip in the summer of 1991 allowed me to confirm elements of my interpretation through individual and group meetings.

Method I: Time Allocation

In 1989 I combined three separate methods: participant observation, informal interviews and surveys or "diaries." The central thrust of the first field season was to attempt to measure the "productive" hours of the day of the participants - that is the number of hours spent in wage labour, carving, housework, hunting, etc. My objective was to measure the number of hours spent by carvers in the production of carvings each day relative to other work, and then to discern how much they received for each carving, in order to construct a carving wage. As a supplement, I also sought information on the other "productive" activities in order to follow the movement of the income earned from carving, and the overall level of sharing of country food and household labour.

The method most suited to this aim, given the constraints on my time in Lake Harbour, was the time allocation diary. Adapting a format used by Berk and Berk (1977, see also Gross 1984), the diary format is structured so that the participants themselves track how much time is spent doing various activities, most importantly carving and hunting.

The approach which I utilised in 1989 was a combination of two methods of recording behaviour: time allocation and survey techniques. The survey technique provides for interaction and discussion, between the researcher and the participants. Usually carried out once, the typical survey provides, as it were, still photographs or series of generalizations about the behaviour of the "subjects." Time allocation, on the other hand, offers a continuous series of observations on the behaviours of a number of individuals. Discussion is not part of time allocation diary studies but it can parallel it quite easily. In fact, most researchers recommend pairing time allocation with other research protocols.

Table 1.1: Number of Data Days for Five Survey Families, 1989			
Household	Survey Period	Days Missed	Total Days Surveyed
I	15/07 - 10/08	0	27
II	23/07 - 12/08	4	17
III	16/07 - 13/08	5	23
IV	22/07 - 14/08	4	20
V	17/07 - 10/08	9	14
Total	15/07 - 14/08	22	101

Source: Dupuis, Field Notes, 1989.

Each of the five study households (i.e. the sample) was asked (approximately) every day (see Table 1.1) how much time they spent doing various tasks. Household members were also asked how much cash was spent on groceries; whether they consumed country food that day; and what kind it was (see Appendix I for protocol). A selected household member would go over the responses with me on each visit. While it was not always possible to have the same individual review the diary, I tried to regularize this as much as possible. By the end of the study, participants were able to recall their activities accurately, because they knew in advance what questions they would be asked. I supplemented each survey with observations from the household and the informal interviews.

Method II: Structured Observations

The second field season in 1990 employed a detailed observation format which was developed by Pitman and Eisikovits (1989) and adapted for use among Inuit by myself and

Arlene Stairs (see Appendix 2). Pitman's field protocol enables detailed descriptions to be amassed in a categorical and comprehensive manner such that all aspects of the carving scenarios could be recorded.

These structured observations were supplemented with formalized interviews which sought information on how different carvers share work on a carving and how they help each other in specialized tasks. Most of the prominent carvers in town were interviewed using this format, as well as several of the lesser-known carvers, and a few who are just starting to carve. A total of fourteen in-depth interviews were conducted.

My field methodology, then, was based on a combination of three different methods: survey diary, interviews, and participant observation. Based on this combination of techniques, I constructed a full portrait of carving activities among Lake Harbour artisans.

CHAPTER TWO

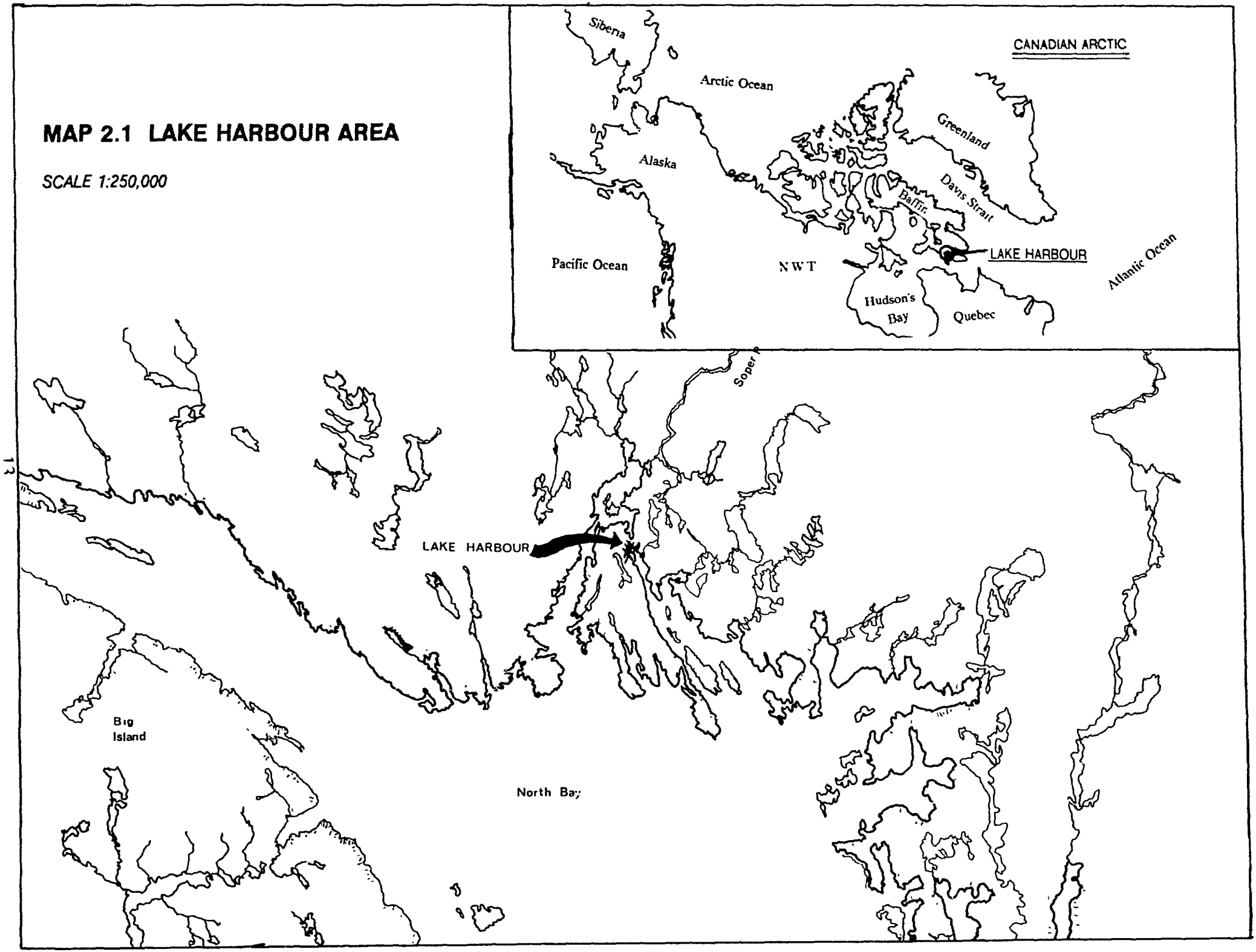
LAKE HARBOUR: ECONOMY, DEMOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

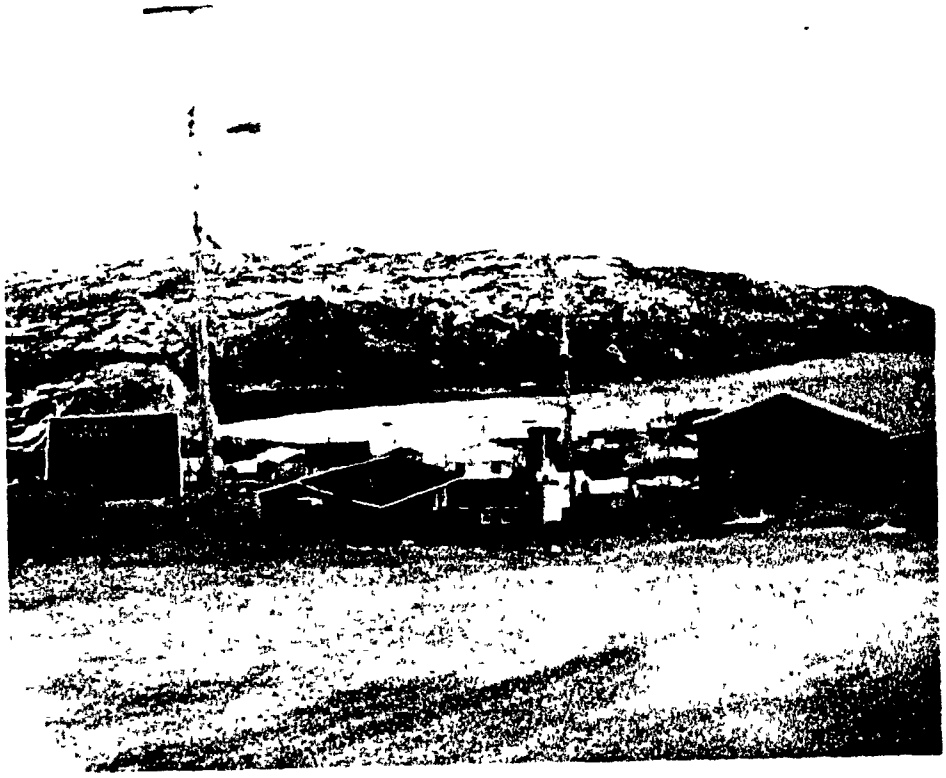
Introduction

The Hamlet of Lake Harbour, N.W.T. is located 130 kilometres southwest of Iqaluit, the regional centre on Baffin Island (see Map 2.1). Lake Harbour is located in Meta Incognita peninsula, noted for its hilly terrain speckled with lakes. The settlement is nestled in a saucer-like bay which contains the harbour and most of the structures (see Photo One). To the immediate north, the hamlet is bordered by Soper Lake, a brackish lake; to the south, the community faces Hudson Strait. Lake Harbour's biogeographical location is unique: the nearby Soper River valley offers the only area of discontinuous permafrost on Baffin, with stands of three metre high willow trees.

Lake Harbour has a long history of human habitation. Maxwell (1973) estimates that the area has been occupied for approximately 4500 years. Archaeological research along North Bay and the coast of Hudson Strait indicates relatively continuous occupation in the area from B.C. 2500 to A.D. 500 including both Pre-Dorset and Dorset sites (Maxwell 1973: 336). The presence of a Thule culture occupation dates back to about 1100 A.D. (Maxwell 1985: 283-285).

Historically, Lake Harbour Inuit are among the first to experience contact with southerners. According to Ross (1975), pre-whaling contact with Inuit in the North Bay/Lake Harbour area began in about 1810 and lasted until 1860, when whaling in the


MAP 2.1 LAKE HARBOUR AREA
SCALE 1:250,000
CANADIAN ARCTIC
Siberia
Arctic Ocean
Alaska
Greenland
Davis Strait
Baffin
Pacific Ocean
NWT
LAKE HARBOUR
Atlantic Ocean
Hudson's Bay
Quebec
LAKE HARBOUR
Big Island
North Bay



Photograph One: Above is the settlement of Lake Harbour, October 1991. The harbour is at the bottom of a saucer-like valley surrounded by a series of low hills. Please note at the left of the photograph, the jutting heel-shaped hill, or qimmiq, which is the inspiration for Lake Harbour's name in Inuktitut: Qimmirut.

area began in earnest (1975: 25). These early contacts resulted in sporadic trade inasmuch as the whalers might arrive at the Middle Savage Islands (then known as Saddleback) at intervals of as long as every four years. The amount of trade was small (1975: 27) and although some trade occurred for pelts and whale oil, Ross argued that "[m]uch of the trade carried out from Company ships and discovery vessels alike was essentially a souvenir trade....." (1975: 27). Kemp (1974: 17) has noted that sustained contact between Lake Harbour-area residents and Euro-Americans only occurred in the late nineteenth century with the establishment of a whaling station on Big Island (see Map 2.1). With this came the exploitation of a local mica quarry (Kemp 1974).

A fluctuating population has been a recurring theme in Lake Harbour's history as a settlement. Indeed, Ross demonstrates that Lake Harbour/North Bay's history is speckled with incidents of large population fluctuations (see Table 2.1). In 1884-1886, Ross indicates that there were approximately 100 Akuliarmiut resident in the North Bay area (Ross 1975: 112, c.f. Boas 1964). By 1888, this number had doubled to 200 and again dropped to 125 by 1904. In 1911, the population had risen to 311, above its current level of 341 Inuit (Dupuis 1990, Ross 1975).

With whalers came missionaries: an Anglican Mission was established in 1909 but only sporadically occupied (Graburn 1963: 2). Nonetheless, as Kemp (1974: 17) has written, this was when the "most important early contact began" inasmuch as it was the most sustained and most consistent to that point in time. In 1912, with the construction of the Hudson's Bay Company (or Bay) post, the first on Baffin, the presence of whites settlement in the Lake Harbour Area became continuous. By 1927, a Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Table 2.1: Population of Lake Harbour/North Bay, 1888-present			
Year	Population	Year	Population
1884-1886	100 (200)	1960	120
1888	200	1961	138
1904	125	1966	144
1911	380	1974	260
1956	237	1981	252
1957	243	1985	285
1958- January	174	1986	325
1959- December	140	1990	341
1959	126		

Sources: Ross (1975), Graburn (1963), Kemp (1974), Statistics Canada (1986).

post was also in place (Graburn 1963: 2, Kemp 1974: 18). As Kemp (1974:18) noted:

> these three establishments [i.e. RCMP, HBC and the mission] made up the triumvirate of agencies that controlled the changing pattern of Inuit adaptation until the early 1950's when the United States Air Force re-established a base at Frobisher Bay.

The development of Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit) as a regional centre (since the 1950s) had a great impact on Lake Harbour. Indeed, as Graburn (1963: 3, 21) documents, between 1956 and 1960 the Lake Harbour population dropped by over 100 inhabitants, largely due to lucrative wage employment in Iqaluit. The post-war period is also characterized by the arrival in Lake Harbour of medical and educational services (a nursing station in 1956, the school in 1963 and a full-time teacher in 1965).

Contemporary Lake Harbour

Population

In 1986 (Statistics Canada 1986) there were 325 people living in Lake Harbour, an increase of 29.4% from 1981. Of these, 305 listed their home language as Inuktitut, and five more were bilingual. In terms of residential structure, the 1986 population can be broken down into what Statistics Canada has dubbed "economic families in private households," 55 households with 310 members. This population is disproportionately young, with approximately 19% of the population below the age of five and 51% of the population below the age of 25 (see Table 2.2). Further, only 1.5% of the population in Lake Harbour were over 65 in 1986.

Table 2.2: Population by Age and Sex, Lake Harbour, 1986

Age	Males	Females	Total
0 - 4	25	35	60
5 - 14	40	35	75
15 - 24	40	25	65
25 - 34	20	25	45
35 - 44	15	15	30
45 - 54	10	10	20
55 - 64	5	5	10
65 - 74	5	0	5
75 and over	0	0	0
Total	160	165	325

Source: Dupuis, Fieldnotes, 1989-1991.

The Local Economy

Cash wages are most often earned by working for either the municipal, federal or territorial governments, although the private sector is an important employer as well. This component consists largely of outfitting, construction and employment at the two retail outlets: the Bay (Northern Stores) and the Cooperative. In general, the number of employers and waged positions is quite low, as is typical of a northern community.

As shown in Table 2.3, the Statistics Canada data reveal a total unemployment rate of nearly 42% (40% for men and 50% for women). Furthermore, of those who held jobs (in conventional terms), over half worked part time (53% for men and 50% of women). These data show a definite trend of underemployment in Lake Harbour. The low employment level is not surprising when the limited number of jobs available in the settlement is considered; in 1990 there were only approximately 80 jobs in Lake Harbour (including part time, casual, and full-time jobs), while there were 125 people in the labour force (those over 15 who are able to work).

Despite the employment figures, the average family income in Lake Harbour in 1986 was $23,772 (Statistics Canada 1986). While this seems high, it should be noted that 17% of census families (or ten households) have an average annual income of under $5,000 per annum and a full quarter (15) of the families (the comparison includes local Euro-Canadian families), had an average annual income in 1986 of less than $10,000 per annum. Another 25 percent earn more than $40,000 per year (Statistics Canada 1986). For many families, the importance of income earned from carving and country food production is critical.

Table 2.3: Employment in Lake Harbour for Males and Females, 15 years and over (1986)			
	Males	Females	Total
Total in the Labour Force	75	50	125
Worked full year/full time	35	15	50
Worked Part year/part time	40	25	65
Unemployment rate	40%	50%	42%
Total Population, 15 years and over	95	90	185

Source: Population and Dwelling Characteristics - Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Northwest Territories: Part 2 (Catalogue # 94-124), September 1988 (20% Sample Size)

The Subsistence Economy

The most extensive work on the local subsistence (i.e. harvest) economy has been done by Kemp (1971, 1974, 1975). As he notes harvesting in the area is extensive and centred around certain resources - ringed seal, some bearded seal, white whale (beluga), caribou, fowl, fish and polar bear (Kemp 1975, Dupuis, 1989, 1990, 1991). Harvesting follows a general seasonal cycle: whaling in the spring and summer close to the settlement and at the floe edge in the late winter; fishing occurs largely in the summer and also through the ice in the spring; finally, sealing occurs in different forms and intensities throughout the year, as does caribou hunting. At present, Lake Harbour's polar bear quota is 13 animals, and the white whale quota is at 35. Also, gathering is practised in the late spring and early summer and the foodstuffs most frequently gathered are eggs, seaweed, clams and berries.

Services

Typical of any modern northern settlement, Lake Harbour has a range of services present. Aqiggiq School teaches grades kindergarten to grade nine, however further high school education requires a move to Iqaluit. Kindergarten through grade three is taught in Inuktitut, while the higher grades are taught in solely in English. There is, of course, a great deal of Inuit cultural content in the curriculum in these later grades.

Passenger flights to Lake Harbour from Iqaluit arrive three times a week; but mail comes only on Wednesday. Retail stores include the Bay and Kimmik Cooperative. The Cooperative also operates an eight room hotel, which currently serves as the focus for a new tourism plan. Another important set of services are communications. Lake Harbour has a local radio station which broadcasts in Inuktitut twice a day every weekday for two hours, and two hours every Saturday and Sunday.

The settlement is establishing the Soper River valley as the Katannilik territorial park, connecting Iqaluit to Lake Harbour by adventure trail. Future plans include making the Soper river a Canadian Heritage River. Many residents view tourism development as an excellent opportunity for the hamlet's carvers.

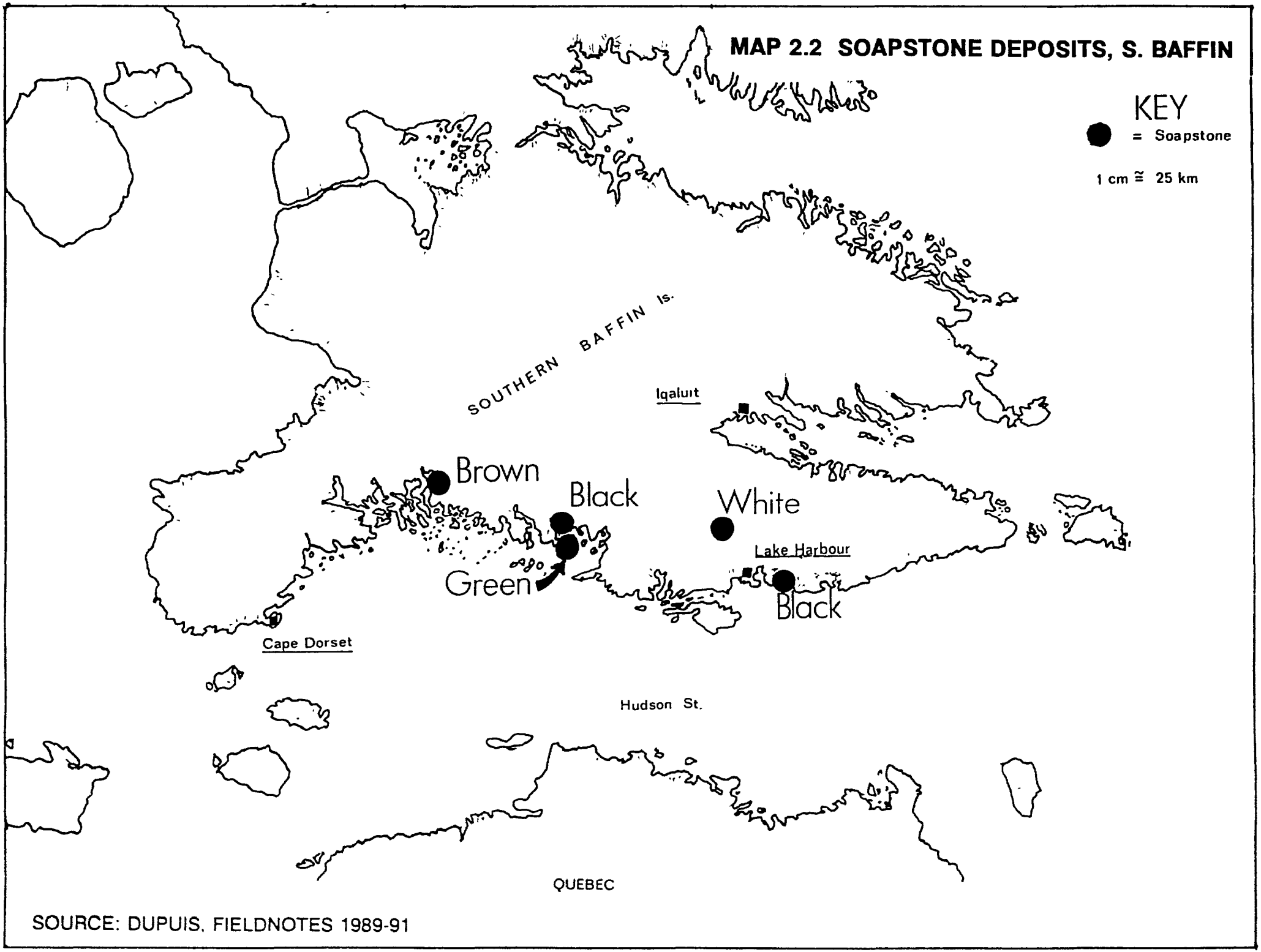
Inuit retain local control over civic administration. The Hamlet is administered by an elected Hamlet council, with ten councillors and the mayor. Each important aspect of the local community is administered through council committees: for example the recreation and Hunter's and Trappers Association committees, and the committee to administer the cooperative store.

Stone Deposits of the Lake Harbour Area

The area's geology is important, inasmuch as the abundance of locally available stone has lead to an important carving industry. The most important deposit in the area is, of course, soapstone. There are three types of soapstone in the vicinity: white, green (both light apple green and a darker brownish green), and black. The white soapstone (qakuqtaq) deposit is located just south of the hamlet's boundary and it is approximately a one hour walk from town. While it is the most easily obtainable stone, it is also the stone of lowest value as carvings made from it lack the gloss of darker stone, hence a lower market price. This is unfortunate for Lake Harbour's carvers because the white soapstone is the softest and the easiest and quickest to carve. Hence, carvers must go further afield to fetch another type of soapstone that is harder, and more time-consuming. It is the black soapstone which is the shiniest and the most valuable. This material, known as qirniqtaq lies just along the inlet toward the Hudson Strait (see Map 2.2), about a forty minute boat ride from Lake Harbour.

Finally, the third and fourth soapstone colours found locally are the well-known Lake Harbour "apple green" soapstone and a lesser-known darker brown-green soapstone. The light green (nunajaq or dry land soapstone) is found at Markham Bay, a two day boat trip from the settlement (see Map 2.2). This stone tends to have faults and cracks which lower the value of carvings. The darker stone (tininnija - low tide soapstone) is found much closer to the settlement, and is valuable because it "takes the shine" and has fewer faults.

Also found in the Markham Bay area are deposits of marble (qakutangua: to be like white). There is also marble in the Soper River valley area. The Markham Bay stone is



SOURCE: DUPUIS, FIELDNOTES 1989-91

very light pink, while the Soper stone is a deep orange. Local carvers are beginning to experiment with both of these stones. A large deposit of semi-precious lapis lazuli is also found in the Soper River valley, just northeast of the northern tip of Soper Lake. A few Inuit stockpile the stone to use as inlays in marble and soapstone carvings. Last are deposits of mica (qillaqiaq) which were mined extensively at the turn of the century by a Scottish whaling company (Ross 1975: 83).

The Carving Industry in Lake Harbour: Background and Overview

As I noted above, trade in Inuit carvings at Lake Harbour has a long history, dating back at least to the time of the whalers. When James Houston visited the village in 1951 as part of a southern Baffin tour to promote carving, he observed that "there was not much walrus ivory and stone was scarcely used except for making seal oil lamps....." (Houston 1980: 9). Houston concluded two things: first that local ivory carving had been influenced by trade with American and Scottish whalers (i.e. carving centred around the production of cribbage boards) and second, that soapstone carving of human and animal figurines had not yet become a trade item in Lake Harbour by the early 1950s.

Nine years later Graburn (1963) studied the incipient sculpture industry and wrote that although "soapstone and some ivory are available," carving was "very limited, and only a few men engage in this occupation to increase their income significantly....." (1963: 10). He estimated that the carving wage in Lake Harbour was a paltry five to fifteen cents per hour except for those carvers who were very skilful (1963: 10). Not surprisingly, Graburn

concluded that: "the great majority of men consider it unprofitable....." (Graburn 1963: 10).

By the mid-1960s, however, the carving industry in Lake Harbour was beginning to expand. Higgins' (1968: 133) Area Economic Survey of southern Baffin estimated that, with some variation, annual carving incomes of households in Lake Harbour had almost doubled between 1962 and 1967, from $7300 to $12,400. He further estimated that carving (there is no distinction between ivory and soapstone carving) represented 17.1 per cent of total income for families, approximately the same level as welfare payments, while hunting represented about 29 per cent and wages 37 per cent (Higgins 1968: 136). Higgins thus concluded that there "is no doubt whatever that arts and crafts could be expanded in the settlement to the Eskimos' advantage....." (1968: 136). Thus, throughout the 1960s a steady increase in carving participation can be seen in Lake Harbour and by 1967 carving came to represent nearly one fifth of the village income.

In 1970 Lake Harbour's cooperative was founded and by 1978 (Graburn 1978: 140) at least 50 per cent of the adult residents were active carvers. The carving industry had expanded from almost nil to including more than half the adult population of the town in the twenty years since Houston's visit. Although current estimates of participation in art production at Lake Harbour are not quite so high, carving is still a major industry. The Northwest Territories Department of Economic Development and Tourism (ED&T, Worrall 1984) estimates that Lake Harbour exported approximately $350,000 worth of arts and crafts for 1983 alone. This figure mainly represents carving, as there is little other craftwork undertaken in Lake Harbour. Moreover, ED&T also estimated that, in the early 1980s, there were 32 carvers in the Hamlet who earned more than $1,500 per year. Of these 32,

ten carvers earned more than $3,000 per year and eleven earned more that $5,000 per year. Presumably, this is an estimate of those who carve on a somewhat regular basis; there is no estimate on those who earned less than $1,500 per year and/or those who were part-time carvers.

Participation in sculpting is pursued by many of Lake Harbour's residents. There are seventy-nine carvers in the settlement and approximately 30 of the carvers are "regular carvers," that is, making on average, one carving per week. The rest are occasional carvers who produce a carving, on average, once per month (Dupuis, field notes, 1989-91).

Age is an important determinant in the level of participation in carving. In Lake Harbour, the average age of women carvers is much higher then men - 53 percent of male carvers are below the age of 35, while 67 percent of female carvers are 35 and over (see Table 2.4). Since the overall age make-up of Lake Harbour is quite young, the youthful subset of male carvers should come as no surprise. Why are the female carvers disproportionately older? I estimate that this phenomenon is a reflection of the employment opportunities in the settlement. Several of the women under the age of 35 speak and write English qualifying them for office and service sector work. Older women tend to speak very little English and carving is one of their few means of cash employment. For younger men, employment tends to revolve around a very few high status jobs (i.e. Hamlet Senior Administrative Officer, GNWT Liaison Officer) or occupations involving manual labour such as construction or truck driving. They see part-time carving as a means of supplementing hunting activities. For example, one carver paid for a hunting trip with the proceeds from a $250 carving sale (Dupuis, field notes, 1990). As we can see, carving is an important

Table 2.4: Age and Sex Breakdown of Carvers in Lake Harbour (1990)			
Age	Male	Female	Total
less than 15	1	0	1
15-24	12	1	13
25-34	16	7	23
35-44	7	7	14
45-54	11	5	16
55-64	5	4	9
65 and over	3	0	3
Total	55	24	79

Source: Dupuis, Field notes, 1990.

means of earning an income for a large percentage of Inuit in Lake Harbour.

There are several important summary points to note about Lake Harbour. The first is that conventional employment levels indicate substantial underemployment in the settlement. Second, carving has supplemented traditional harvest activities and offered an alternative to wage employment (i.e. jobs) for at least three decades.

CHAPTER THREE
CARVINGS AND CASH: THE RISE OF SOAPSTONE CARVING AS A COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE

Production-for-Use: The Prehistory of Inuit Art

Robert McGhee has traced the "roots" of contemporary carving in the Inuit archaeological record. The earliest evidence of Canadian Inuit art is found in the Paleoeskimo Tradition from roughly 2000 B.C. to 500 B.C. (McGhee 1976: 205-206). The record suggested that "[a]lthough all ASTt stone artifacts appear to be functional, an aesthetic element in their manufacture is suggested by the fine-grained and highly coloured materials, decorative serration of edges, [and] extremely fine and detailed workmanship (sic)....." (McGhee 1976: 205).

While the Dorset period (c.B.C.2500 - B.C.800 Martijn 1964) saw a decline in the manufacture of "aesthetic" stone objects, there was the appearance of animal and human effigies (McGhee 1976: 206; Taçon 1983: 44). Several materials were used, including soapstone. Many of these pieces were stained with red ochre and/or covered with skins. Animals were decorated with incised markings in diagonal or criss-cross patterns for possible use in shamanic activities (Taçon 1983: 44-45, Taylor 1967: 42-44).

While art is well known from all phases of the Arctic Small Tool Tradition, the more recent Thule culture (c.1000 - 1600 A.D. Martijn 1964) is "generally characterised as the most utilitarian and pedestrian, technically efficient yet aesthetically dull, of any period of Eskimo history....." (McGhee 1976: 208). This time period saw the manufacture of utilitarian soapstone lamps, and the intricate skeletal patterning on effigies is replaced by a simple "Y"

type design. Instead of the many different forms of figurines found in the ASTt, Thule culture produces only two central types, a simplistic woman form, and a bird or bird-woman form (McGhee 1976: 208). These later artifacts may have been produced either as ornaments or amusements.

Despite arguing that artifacts from this period were pedestrian in scope and design, McGhee (1977) suggested one year later that these artifacts were, in fact, symbolic. McGhee based his assertions on Inuit mythology arguing that certain materials had associations with seasons, the environment and gender. Indeed, McGhee (1977: 142) argued that the "apparent association of ivory in Thule technology with weapons for hunting sea mammals, women's tools, and tools associated with winter life...was expressed in Thule technology to a greater extent than in their historic descendants.....".

Thus, there is considerable evidence in the prehistoric record of an artistic tradition in stone and other media. These artifacts, including day-to-day to objects created for and within the context of shamanistic and other beliefs, were produced for use within the societies that created them.

Production-for-Exchange: Soapstone Carving in the Historic and Contemporary Periods

Blodgett has described the so-called Historic period (1400 - 1700 A.D.) as one being characterised by two central events: the Little Ice Age (1600 - 1850) and contact with Europeans (1860 - present, 1988, c.f. McGhee 1976). With regard to art, McGhee contended that "this period saw a reduction in the variety and complexity of technology and in artistic production...in apparent response to a deteriorating climate....." (1976: 209).

Indeed, McGhee (1976: 209-210) suggests that the Historic Central Eskimo had the second lowest artistic productivity of all Inuit groups in both the pre-historic and historic periods. In any case, despite a dearth of primary evidence, we know that European contact is crucial to Inuit art because it contains the earliest incidents of trade between Inuit and buyers.

George Swinton places the origins of artwork production-for-exchange as beginning early in the last century. Indeed, Swinton contends that "it is possible to pinpoint the beginnings of the "commercial production" of art as occurring in the first two decades of the nineteenth century....." (1972: 119). Martijn (1964: 554) notes that with contact came Inuit art that "exhibited unmistakeable signs of cultural disruption ....." Thus, to Martijn (1964: 554) Inuit art in the Eastern Arctic, was in decline. Martijn cites "explorers, travellers and anthropologists," who visited the coast of Hudson Bay and Baffin Island from the early 19th to the mid-20th century as observing little in the way of artistic productivity, except for some ivory figurines. There were exceptions, notably around what is now Lake Harbour (cf. Ross 1975). In any case, and despite this apparent lull in artistic production, trade in artifacts, tools and fur between Europeans and Inuit had begun.

Martijn also notes that "[t]hroughout the whole 19th century there was a steady demand for Eskimo souvenir carvings in the Eastern Arctic....." (1964: 559). However, trade during this period was sporadic, only occurring when the ships arrived and this could be in intervals of months or years (Martijn 1964: 560). It was only with the purchase of soapstone carvings by the HBC that the trade began to take the shape it has today. "By the 1930's," Martijn recounted, "supplying carvings to outsiders had become a commonplace occupation for Canada's Innuit (sic)....." with the HBC retailing carvings in the south.

The 1930s also saw a new player enter the business of Inuit art: the Canadian Guild of Crafts. The Guild sought "to encourage the native peoples of Canada to produce good traditional crafts..." (Watt 1980: 11). To this end, in 1930 the CGC presented an exhibition of "artifacts and small ivory carvings" at the McCord Museum in Montreal. At the same time, the Hudson's Bay Company had made several attempts to "encourage and develop an Eskimo craft market but none were successful..." (Watt 1980:11). Nine years later, the Guild again tried to encourage the development of a market for Inuit crafts in the south as a policy because "poor hunting years in the north caused acute suffering and deprivation among the people and that this condition might be alleviated by developing a market for Eskimo crafts in the South....." (Watt 1980:11). In accordance with this policy, another exhibit of Inuit walrus ivory carvings and seal skin crafts was sponsored in 1939.

It was only in 1947, however, that "the Guild had been informed that small stone carvings were being made in the Ungava and the Guild was asked to do everything in its power to encourage this work....." (Watt 1980: 12). The CGC responded by sending James Houston to Port Harrison to investigate the artifacts. He returned with three in 1947. These carvings were enough to persuade the Guild to underwrite Houston's second trip in 1949, with the HBC agreeing to "supply food in return for pieces of good craft work....." (Mitchell 1980:12). James Houston brought one thousand pieces of Inuit art to Montreal, selling all at an auction in three days. It was from this trip that the industry expanded and formed the shape it has today.

Canada's Department of Resources and Development saw the growing interest in Inuit art as an opportunity to establish carving as an industry which would provide

temporary economic support for Inuit (c.f. Graburn 1978, Martijn 1964: 561). Martijn argues that the government "envisaged the building up of a carving industry whereby the Eskimos complete dependence on the fox fur industry might be lessened, and his economy supplemented by a new income....." (1964: 561 see also Myers 1984).

In economic terms, the 1960s were a mixture of dire warnings that the carving industry was too unstable to be a continuous source of income (Graburn 1969, Jenness 1964) and admissions that it filled in "an economic gap" left by lack of wage employment (Graburn 1969a: 159, see also Graburn 1969b). Swinton holds the former view and wrote that in

> 1957, several people predicted the end of Eskimo art "within this generation" or perhaps "within ten to fifteen years" I was one of them. We were wrong. We looked into the future and said, "how would it be possible for one's art to survive when one's culture is dying. (1972: 107).

Art as an Economic Strategy

Inuit art has evolved into a "strategy" which not only provides a reliable income but which is uniquely Inuit. The concept of carving as an economic strategy is not new. Jenness (1968) was among the first to discuss carving in this manner; however, he felt that due to the vagaries of the market in the south, the strategy could provide only a supplement to Inuit income which would be neither sustainable nor stable. He wrote that "soapstone carvings are not a safe base on which to build a people's economy; and they can never become such a base....." (1968: 143).

As noted above, Graburn recognized the commercial importance of soapstone carving in 1969. He wrote that "[f]or many Eskimos carving has become the major source of livelihood and the majority of adult Eskimos get at least part of their cash income from

selling carvings....." (1969a: 459). Also in the 1960s, soapstone carving began to be referred to as an industry by Indian and Northern Affairs (Robertson 1960: 3). Early writings still minimized its importance, however, with Robertson arguing that carving was only as "a complement to hunting and fishing," while Graburn said it would only be done by "the old and infirm...."(1969b: 167).

In the 1970s, Inuit art came to be viewed as an increasingly important economic enterprise, and one which was rapidly becoming a necessity. Analyses of the marketing process (Issacs 1972, Robertson 1974) of Inuit art emerged and artwork was seen as not only economically important to Inuit, but as providing a sound investment (Arbuckle 1987, Schrager 1986). To Robertson (1974: 10), artists who "are involved with craft shops in those settlements are not on welfare but are able to walk with dignity and pride."

Graburn, one of the foremost authors of work on Inuit art, agreed with Jenness' earlier interpretation. Graburn (1975) argued that soapstone carving would soon be replaced with oil and gas development and, as such, carving was still at best a short term strategy. By the end of the decade, however, Graburn began discussing the economic importance of the incipient industry. He noted that the sale of handicrafts for all Arctic communities had reached some two million dollars per year and recorded that some Inuit made up to $1000 per month if they were well known carvers, while the average income was on the order of $150 per month (1976: 41). Finally, Graburn saw Inuit utilizing the income earned from handicrafts as a means of purchasing snowmobiles, rifles, outboard motors, essentially capitalizing the hunt.

Along with the analysis of soapstone carving as an industry came the discussion of

it as an occupation. Graburn compared carving with wage labour, hunting and trapping and concluded that carving was as "risky" as hunting when compared with the steady flow of income from wage labour (1976: 47). He constructed annual and monthly carving salaries and argued that in many settlements sculpting is the largest single source of income whereby "most of the Eskimos major possessions such as guns, snowmobiles, out-board motors, and even houses are paid for by the sale of sculptures....." (1976: 41). Graburn argued that the harvest now required a cash income, and the sale of fur and fox pelts "became increasingly unprofitable" (1976: 46) and as such the sale of carvings had become an important formula to supplement the harvest.

Within two years, however, Graburn reiterated his statement that carving could provide only an unstable economic market, except for certain settlements, and suggested that carvers would prefer the security of wage labour or hunting. He warned that when fur pelt prices were high, Inuit would prefer to hunt since it would not only provide cash from the sale of pelts, but also meat which provided "a reaffirmation of their Inuit identity....." (1978). At the same time he paradoxically saw that Inuit art had evolved into a "vehicle for economic development" (1978: 137). To him, the income from carvings not only rescued "an increasingly poverty-stricken ex-tribal society out of a situation of rampant dependency," but also "provided a transition from a land-based to a commercial production economy " (1978: 137). Graburn also felt that the sculpture industry's apparatus of cooperatives could provide a training ground for future Inuit economic and political leaders. So, Graburn held an apparently contradictory stand that Inuit art market was an unstable base for an economy and yet was a suitable route to economic development.

This period was characterised by a series of fluctuations in the carving market. The 1960s and 1970s are generally viewed to be central "growth years" for the Inuit art market. Moreover, it "is now generally agreed that 1981...represents a peak year for Inuit art sales....." (Souchotte 1985: 6). By the mid-1980s Inuit art experienced "a serious downturn" in the market, rebounding in 1987 (Alia with Allerston 1987: 18). Most recently (Up Here 1990/91: 49), the market for carvings has been described as being in a period of slow growth with the high-end (i.e. greater than $2,500 per carving) market relatively untouched, confirming what Lake Harbour Inuit have indicated to me. Despite this weak market, Inuit show few signs of decreasing their dependence on carving as a means of earning income.

In many ways this period is as notable for its contradictions as for its ideas. For example, just as Swinton argued the art had become "an economic necessity" (Swinton 1986: 8) he also commented that "when other economic resources are brought along, art will diminish in its share of the economic structure of the north....." (1986: 8). While observers are advancing the concept of soapstone carving as a major economic factor, indeed a necessity in the north, both Graburn and Swinton continue to discuss its unreliability and, in Swinton's case, predict its decline.

Recent work on soapstone carving has proven the early predictions of the fate of the industry to be false. Gibbons, a DINA official, stated that "[c]ontrary to a widely held belief, carving has been a far more important and reliable source of cash in the north than has fur....." (1988: 4). As of 1988, the annual value of direct payments to Inuit for soapstone carvings was estimated to be worth between five and ten million dollars. There were estimated to be approximately 2000 carvers, 200 of which are estimated to make in excess

of $5000 per year. Approximately one percent of carvers are capable of earning $30,000 - $50,000 per year (Worrall 1984).

CHAPTER FOUR

ART FOR WORK'S SAKE: CARVING AS A REVENUE EARNING STRATEGY AMONG FIVE INUIT HOUSEHOLDS IN LAKE HARBOUR, NWT

> ...and all at once he found himself staring into an art store window. Atuk pressed his nose against the window to have a better look at the Eskimo sculpture on display and the price being asked for it. He was spellbound... `I'm rich,' Atuk shouted. `I'm rich.' (Mordecai Richler 1963, The Incomparable Atuk: 40).

Introduction

This quote touches several points crucial to this discussion of Inuit art. The first is the marked tendency during the 1960s to see Inuit art as totally commercialized. Second, as is clear from The Incomparable Atuk, for Inuit, soapstone carving became an important and welcome source of income. A third point is that the actual income Inuit received rarely equalled southern prices.

This section analyzes the relationship between carving and subsistence at the level of the household. Both carving and hunting are forms of subsistence income but while carving provides much needed cash, hunting provides country food for the household. In an economy where food prices are at least 60% higher than in the south, hunting provides a source of food quality and quantity that is extremely difficult to replace with purchased southern substitutes. Hunting, however, is an expensive pursuit and carving sales offer one means of financing the harvest of country food.

More generally, carving also serves as a useful part-time job. In a setting where employment is scarce, carving provides the individual with a flexible means of accumulating

and distributing income within his/her household (and to members of the extended family in other households). Therefore, it is necessary to understand the actions of the individual carver in order to ascertain the importance of carving in the community economy. The concept of carving for earning a living is not a new one. What is different is that it has been adapted into Inuit subsistence culture and, thus, into the normative pattern of Inuit society.

Economic Strategies of Soapstone Carvers

In contemporary geographic literature, the concept of an economic strategy is often formed in the urban and industrialized context as a means of coping with economic change or upheaval. The most common incident is lay-offs in towns where there is little or no other means of employment (for Canadian examples see Mackenzie 1988 or Critchley 1990, and for a British example see Pahl 1984). As Mackenzie has shown, people who survive economic upheaval due to plant closures in single-industry communities do so mostly by falling back on the so-called "informal" economy. This form of economic activity is unrecorded by typical economic indicators. Some individuals turn to barter; some of the most common examples are the exchange of services including babysitting as well as arts and crafts production. These strategies are typically ones of last resort and often short-term. For Inuit, however, informal economy participation is not a result of any failure in the cash or formal economy. Rather it is the nature of an economic set of activites focused on immediate utilization of resources, not accumulation (Ross and Usher 1986, Wenzel 1991, Langdon 1984).

In essence, my goal here is to examine carving as a strategic contribution to subsistence. This will be done through case studies of five Lake Harbour households. First, however, it is important to operationalize my use of the term "strategy." Jansen (1979) in his work on by Inuit miners in Rankin Inlet defined economic strategy as

> one income-producing activity...among a limited number of others within the same cultural group (the Eskimo). An economic strategy then, is a category of activities which centre around a common theme. Each strategy is made up of different but related activities or tactics. Stated another way, tactics are specific variations within a single economic strategy. (1979: 8).

In short, Jansen described an economic strategy as a coherent collection of tactics for earning income. These tactics, Jansen argued, contribute to an overall theme of four strategies that he has delineated. Jansen's four strategies are: economic specialization, economic generalization, entrepreneurship, and social assistance dependence. Only the first two will be considered here. Economic specialization involved full-time and year-round employment such as full-time work on the production of arts and crafts production, janitorial and retail work. The key is that the individual relies on "a single income producing method....." (Jansen 1979: 59). The individual need not have specialized skills, but merely focus on one particular "tactic." Jansen appears to presume that full-time work precludes part-time arts and crafts production on the side. As the data I collected will show, this is not always the case.

The second strategy considered here is that of the "economic generalist." This individual "combines a number of income-producing tactics to achieve a livelihood in the settlement....." (Jansen 1979: 61). Combinations consist of part-time and/or seasonal employment, arts and crafts production, gambling, and social assistance, and what Jansen

terms as a greater reliance on "informal support networks" than the specialist. These tactics can occur simultaneously and/or in different combinations, or one at a time. Access to these informal support networks, Jansen argued, are available to and used by participants in all the various strategies, however the generalist tends to rely on the network the most. The informal support consists of food and equipment sharing and the "right to demand from other members assistance in times of need....." (1979: 65).

Wolfe has taken Jansen's analysis of economic strategies one step further and links household economy to individual economy (c.f. Wolfe 1990). While Jansen's focus is on the (usually male) economic generalist or specialist, Wolfe discusses the strategies of how the different members of a household contribute economically to that unit. Wolfe's work examines the impact of microenterprises on three native reserves in southern Ontario. She defines microenterprises as "small-scale, labour-intensive, largely cash-based and home-based self-employment activities, run by people with little capital....." (1990: 13). She concludes that "in each of the reserves, both personal and household incomes are derived from multiple sources....." (1990:. 14). Thus, not only are there multiple or mixed strategies among individuals, but Wolfe introduces the notion that mixed income strategies can be initiated by all members of the households - including women, teenagers, and in some cases, children. Also, Wolfe notes that even those with full-time employment were able to operate their microenterprises on the side.

The NWT Advisory Council on the Status of Women (NWTACSW) concurs with Wolfe noting that northern women often use arts and crafts as a supplement to other income. The NWTACSW has concluded that arts and crafts production is employed to a

great extent by northern native women as a means of generating and supplementing income. The report also points out that "Women are the foundation of the arts and crafts industry and the key to its vitality....." (Fogwill and Fennell with Irving 1990: 215). Thus, the arts and crafts industry, as the report argues, is very much a part of this mixed strategy:

> Very few women depend on the sale of crafts as their only source of income, but these sales can be significant and critical to the survival of their families. Typically, they are combined with transfer payments, wages and subsistence activities. (1990: 215).

Arts and crafts production, then, operates as part of a combination of incomes, including those of the subsistence harvest.

The importance of carving to women has also been documented by Quigley and MacBride (1987:205-206), in Sanikiluaq, where almost half of the carvers are women. However, of the carvers who earn over $1000 a year (about two thirds of the total), only one third were women, while of those above $10,000 a year, none were women (1987: 206). Although women are almost equal in numbers in the "carving force," it appears that women carvers either produce fewer carvings per annum than do males or simply are paid less.

As Wolfe pointed out above, children are also involved in arts and crafts production, but their participation, even more than that of women often goes unacknowledged. Children as soapstone carvers was first noted by Swinton (1965:127), who wrote that "No book about Eskimo art would be complete without mentioning children both as subjects and as carvers..." There has, however, been little documentation on the participatory roles of adolescents and children. Quigley and MacBride (1987), supply data on Sanikiluaq carvers under 19 years of age. Approximately 8 per cent of the carvers (18 of 153) were youths but only two earned over $1000.

Based on the information above, the importance of women's and children's contribution to the household income as carvers can be seen. As Wolfe has shown, it is not uncommon for several members of the same household and/or family to be involved in arts and crafts production. By understanding the degrees of involvement of various carvers which make up a household, an overall household economic strategy can be determined. Finally, from this, the economy of the extended family can be understood.

Jansen also described the informal network groups as including support such as shared meat and shared equipment. He neglected, however, to mention the important contribution of the sharing of labour such as in babysitting and cooking in the household economy. Such "helping out" enables many women to work outside the home and/or carve. Women's carving income can then be recycled back into the family, and support hunting and other subsistence activities (c.f. Condon 1987: 142).

Jansen also implied that economic generalists rely much more heavily on this informal network resource than those who work full-time (i.e. specialists). All households in this study, however, relied quite heavily on the informal network but in different ways according to their needs.

Thus, this literature provides a useful framework for the analysis of carving as a "tactic" within a "generalist's" economic strategy that mixes together several forms of income. In Wolfe's terms, carving is part of a "mixed bag" of incomes. This means carving must be examined within the context of household economy and as an income producing activity that one or more members may be participating in at various levels of intensity.

Market Factors and Economic Strategies

When examining the kinds of strategies employed by carvers it is important to note that the "popularity of a carver" is an important influence on the price carvers will receive for their work (c.f. Graburn 1976, Myers 1984: 137). Carvers well-known to southern buyers can expect up to a few hundred dollars more per carving than their lesser known peers, simply based on their reputation. None of the carvers surveyed in my study were well-known carvers so their works were unable to attract very high prices at either the Bay or the Coop. (The co-op manager in Lake Harbour stated that known carvers can expect to see about $200-$400 more per carving).

Size and detail of carvings are also factors in the pricing of carvings. As Myers (1987: 137) notes, when considering a sale price for a carving, factors considered by purchasers are "how difficult it [is] to make a carving, i.e. how hard the stone [is] and how much detail was worked....." The Cooperatives employ a 32-point scale which considers the detail on a sculpture in order to determine the price. Size is also important as it is the larger pieces that tend to find their way into high-rent gallery space. So part of the economic strategy involved, then, is for the "unknown" carver to produce detailed, hard-stone, larger carvings, that in the end lead to a higher return for the carver's investment of time.

The Carving Households: Economic Generalists at Work

Participants in native handicraft production, consciously or not, invoke a strategy of combining sources of income (the "tactics"), thus allowing a conclusion that they are "economic generalists." Data from the study of households of carvers in Lake Harbour bear

this conclusion out. I will analyze this generalist strategy and discuss it in relation to the "non-carving households" who are themselves in some ways economic generalizers also. I will also examine a tactic known as "target-marketing" which is an element strategy invoked by the carvers below.

The data are divided into two sections: carvers and the non-carvers. Non-carvers are an important part of this discussion since, in comparative terms, they employ a differing, if sometimes overlapping range, of income earning tactics. Carvers are generally underemployed and/or members of underemployed households and carving fills the economic gap that is a result of this condition. Both groups rely on country food as well.

As seen in Figure 4.1, Households I-III are related and are part of an extended family unit (see Damas 1971, 1972). Household IV is also related, but is attenuated from the main extended family or core unit (see Balikci 1964). Household V was included in the study because the two women are single parents and their inclusion sheds light on the strategies outside the extended family. They are connected to another ilagiit, but are friends with the woman in Household III.

The Carving Households

Household I

Household I consists of a young couple, a woman (henceforth to be referred to as Carver 1), her husband (Carver 2) and their two children. As shown in Table 4.1, this household is a classic example of the mixed income strategy. Carver 1 works part-time and thus brings home approximately sixteen percent of the total monthly income. Carving by both adults

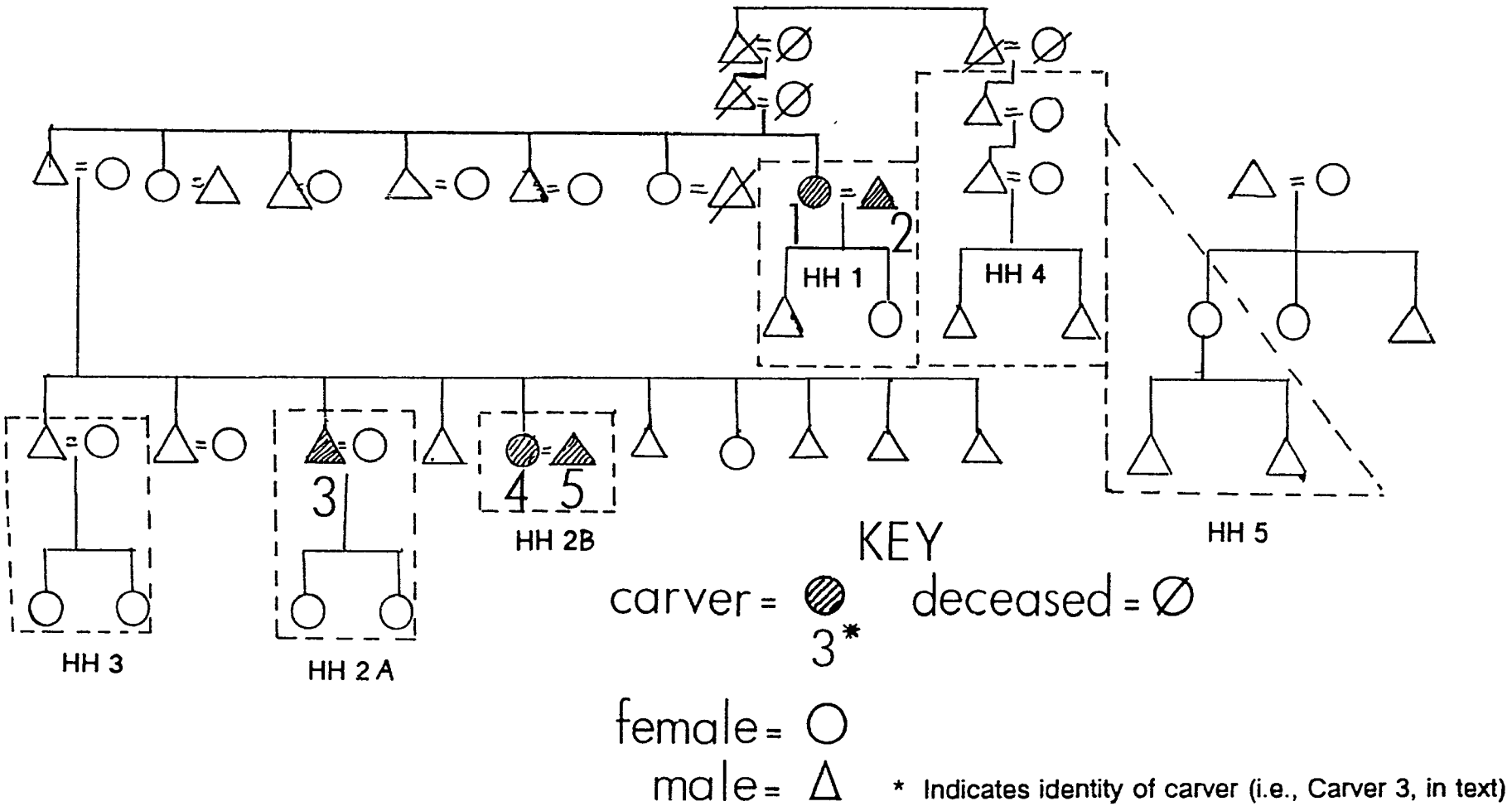


FIG 1 Households & Kinship Relations of Study Sample (Lake Harbour, 1990)

SOURCE: DUPUIS, FIELDNOTES 1989-91

Table 4.1: Sources of Household Income Among the Five Study Households, July 11-August 13, 1989

	Carving Income	Employment Income	Government Transfers	Total
Household I	$380	$240	$911.48	$1531.48
Household IIa	$60	$542.50	$811.48	$1423.98
Household IIb	$805	n/a	n/a	$805
Household III	n/a	$1800	$63.48	$1863.48
Household IV	n/a	$3800	$63.48	$3863.48
Household V	n/a	$2051	$95.22	$2146.22

Source: Dupuis, Field notes, 1989.

adds another twenty-five percent of the monthly income with the remainder of the cash income from government transfer payments.

Household I also receives a great deal of support through what Jansen terms "informal support networks", essentially kinship-based food sharing and cooperative labour groups. For women, this includes sharing housework, cooking and babysitting enabling the women to engage in either wage labour or carving. For example, as shown in Table 4.2, Household I had a low hunting income during the research period, yet they consumed country food on 85 percent of the days surveyed. This food came from other related households, notably from Household II. Moreover, almost eight percent of the housework for this household, not including babysitting, was performed by relatives who live elsewhere within the Hamlet. For example, on one occasion Carver 1 dressed her niece's hair "Carver 3) and in return Carver 3 stayed all night to do a major house-cleaning. Carver 3 has also helped with preparing meals, while other relatives occasionally helped with cooking and

Table 4.2: Production and Consumption Values of Country of Five Study Households, July 13 - August 14			
	Production of Country Food by Dollar Value*	Days on which Country Food was Consumed	Days on which Country Food from other Households was consumed
Household I	$8.72	85%	95%
Household IIa	$1624.80	78%	79%
Household III	$1785.55	68%	23%
Household IV	$4590.32	84%	12%
Household V	n/a	29%	100%

Source: Dupuis, field notes, 1989.

*To obtain the dollar value for household production of country food, I simply tracked the country-food production of each hunter and multiplied the number of usable kilograms by the lowest available commercial meat price in town: hamburger @ 12.45 per kilogram.

cleaning. Thus, kinship-based food and household-labour sharing constitutes an important tactic for this household.

Carver 1 also supplemented her monthly income of $240 at her part-time job (she works six hours per week) with an extra $220 a month from carving. While her part-time job paid $10.00 an hour, carving paid $8.46 per hour (see Table 4.3). Despite the fact that her carving wage is lower than her working wage, carving allows this woman to remain in the home and watch her children while "working." Moreover, the wage is roughly comparable to her salary when it is considered that the carving income is tax free (M. Arsenault 1990, personal communication). Thus, carving allowed this woman to almost double her monthly earned income.

Carver 2 was "officially" unemployed during the study period. Carving allowed him to earn cash to further supplement household earnings. His contribution was $160 during the study period. Despite the fact that Carver 2 had the second lowest carving wage at $5.82 an hour of the sample (see Table 4.3), this hourly payment is still greater than the lowest full-time non-government wage in town, in this case the Bay at $5.65 an hour. Moreover, the carving wage is tax free and the carver can set his/her own hours.

There is one other factor that contributes to this household's generalist strategy. This relates to the employment pattern over time. In other words, the unit practices a mixed-income earning strategy not only at any given time but over time as well. A review of the household's employment practices in 1990 and 1991 indicates that the householders flow in and out of wage employment and carving. In the fall of 1990, Carver 2 was working full-time and only rarely carving, while Carver 1 continued her part-time work/part-time carving strategy. By summer 1991, Carver 2 had been laid off and was primarily carving while Carver 1 continued within both streams.

Household I represents the "classic" example of the economic generalist -i.e. relying on several tactics as a means of earning income. Recall that the family earned income through a mixture of employment, carving, and government transfers, as well as sharing in country food from the other households in the extended family - most notably household II. Moreover, when the hourly wages earned by Carvers 1 and 2 are considered, the relative importance of soapstone carving comes to the fore. The concept of economic generalization is especially clear when the longer term employment strategy of the household is analyzed. This is partly characterized by the flow of its practitioners into and out of the labour force

Table 4.3: Carving Employment and Price Data for Households I and II, July 11-August 13, 1989					
Carver	Number of Carvings	Total Hours spent Carving	Average Number of Hours per Carving	Total Sale Price in Dollars	Carving Wage
1	4	26	6.5	220	$8.46
2	2	27.5	13.75	160	$5.82
Subtotal				380	
3	1	7	7	60	$8.57
4	4	16	4	80	$5.00
5	4	54.5	13.63	725	$13.30
Subtotal				865	

Source: Dupuis, Field notes, 1989

as a means of intensifying both carving and country food production. That is, income from wage labour serves to capitalize carving through the purchase of power tools, as well as for hunting equipment. Although carving is only one element of an overall strategy, it is a component at least as lucrative as wage labour.

Households IIa and IIb

Households IIa and IIb are analyzed together because both young couples inhabit the same dwelling, but they have differing strategies. The diary respondents for Household IIa were a woman (Carver 3), her husband and their two daughters. Household IIb consists of a young woman (Carver 4) and her husband (Carver 5), who provided data on their activities

but who did not respond to the formal surveys. Carver 6 also resides in the same domicile, rented by the parents of Carver 4 and Carver 3's husband. There are eight other residents of this domicile (see Figure 4.1).

During the study, Carver 3 earned only $60 from the sale of one carving. She had low output for two reasons: she had been working on a second carving that was only finished after the research; second, she began working at part-time wage labour during this period. Her husband also began full-time work during this time. As shown in Table 4.1, carving is seemingly not a crucial aspect of this household's strategy as it represents only ten percent of the household employment income and only four percent of total income. Yet carving in this household is significant for several other reasons. First, Carver 3's employment wage was $7.50 an hour and while carving she averaged $8.57. Thus Carver 3 supplemented her employment income at a higher hourly wage. Second, the carving wage is tax free, enhancing its benefit to the carver. Third, Carver 3 found it more convenient to look after her baby while she was carving than while at her job. At work, she was not easily able to take breaks to nurse or attend. For this member of the household, carving provided a strategy for raising extra money at a better hourly wage within a more flexible schedule.

Again, the employment histories of this household distinguish them as economic generalists. By 1990, Carver 3 had apparently recognised the better return available to her from carving and had begun to pursue it on a near full-time basis. Her husband had been a carver, but abandoned it because as an unknown he felt he was unable to compete with well known artists. However, in 1990 he returned to carving as a central means of earning income. By 1991, however, with the poor carving market, both husband and wife returned

to part-time wage labour to maximize their incomes, but both continued carving part-time.

Members of Household IIa represent the typical economic generalists. Although there was little large-scale utilization of carving (carving accounts for less than ten percent), the household nonetheless assembled income from several sources. As shown in Table 4.1, nearly forty per cent of household income during the study was from wage employment, while the rest (fifty seven percent) came largely from Unemployment Insurance benefits and the family allowance cheque. Also, Carver 3 utilized the informal support network provided by her husband's family while she carved and worked. This household harvested and consumed a great deal of country food - three quarters of the study days saw at least some country food consumption (see Table 4.2). Coupled with their employment histories, Household IIa characterizes well the strategy of the economic generalist - combining several small-scale sources of income at different times to produce a viable income.

By 1990, the dwelling housed yet another carver - fourteen year-old Carver 6 [1] (see Figure 4.1). Carver 6 illustrates the important contribution that adolescents make to the household economy. He was able to provide his mother with household expense money earned from the sale of a carving.

This household also contained another young couple (Carvers 4 and 5) for whom carving is the sole means of cash income (see Household IIb in Table 4.1). Carver 5 participated in labour for income-in-kind (he worked on a new house - for a snowmobile in return). Carver 5 (see Table 4.3) earned $725 during the study period from carving while his partner, Carver 4, earned $80. It should be noted that they both produced four carvings

[1] There is no wage data available for Carver 6 - he is merely designated so to simplify references to the carvers.

(see Table 4.3). Carver 5, however, made four large carvings that, on average, earned almost two hundred dollars each. Carver 4, known as a fast carver, sold four very small carvings for approximately twenty dollars each. Despite her speed, size is more important in determining the price of a carving, so this explains why Carver 5's carving income is so much higher than Carver 4's. Even so, at $5.00 an hour, Carver 4's carving wage still compares reasonably well to the lowest full-time wage in town - $5.65 at the Bay. It would appear that Carvers 4 and 5 are economic specialists inasmuch as they seem to rely on carving as their primary strategy.

Household IIb's employment history reveals, however, that they are indeed economic generalists. In 1990, Carver 4 began making large carvings, selling one for $350. In 1991, she entered the workforce because carving became tedious and because the carving market was declining.[2] Carver 5 began a series of temporary/seasonal jobs throughout 1990 and 1991 that enabled him to buy power carving tools for everyone in the family. (This applies largely to residents of Households IIa and IIb, but other members of the extended family may use the equipment). In this household, wage labour was used to capitalize carving - the purchase of expensive carving tools - and as a periodic income alternative when art markets are weak.

Another element in this couple's strategy consists of utilizing informal economic supports. Since they live with their extended family, rent and the expenses that many other householders have are avoided. This is also true for Household IIa. Household IIa both

[2] As one Inuk explained to me, the carving market had indeed experienced a slump when I was in the field in late 1990. It was some time after the slump hit that Carver 4 began working.

produced ($1624 worth) and consumed (on 78% of the days studied) a great deal of country food. They also relied on country food from other members of the extended family - on 79% of study period days, Household IIa consumed country food that came from outside their household.

I have described a strategy for the carving households - reflecting the economic generalist's scheme of assembling several different sources of income over time. First, Household I represented the "classic" case of the mixed income strategy derived by combining carving with employment, transfer payments and informal support. Household II relied more on government transfer payments and wage employment, using carving as a means of earning immediate income within a flexible schedule. Household IIb, consisting of two carvers who relied entirely on carving as a means of earning income, demonstrates a problem central to the sculptors, the dependence of carving on markets. Here wage labour and informal support was sought.

The Non-Carving Households: Employment as a Specialist's Tactic

Jansen contended that full-time wage labour tended to be the domain of an "economic specialist" as those who work full-time tend to less involvement in informal support networks and sidelines like carving or hunting. As I will show below, Jansen has underestimated the participation in these latter activities by so-called specialists.

Household III

Household III consists of a young couple and their daughter (see Figure 1). The

income-earning strategy here appears to be based on wage labour as both the respondents have stable employment. The woman works full-time and her husband, along with his part-time job, sells surplus caribou to the Hunter's and Trapper's Association for extra cash (from which he can earn several hundred dollars a season), along with occasional outfitting. Carvers tended to move into and out of the labour force. In this case, however, between 1989 and 1991, both respondents remained in the same jobs and saw employment as their central means of support. The difference between this "specialized" household and other generalist households is the tendency to maintain a steady employment pattern.

For this household, there is a great deal of involvement with the kinship-based food-sharing, they both share meat and eat at his parents almost every day. His parents are the central "repository" (Damas 1971) for the extended family in that almost all of its members eat there everyday. Thus, for this family the integration of wage labour with kinship-based food sharing is the basis of their strategy.

This household may be an economic specialist in Jansen's terms, however, utilization of informal support is not restricted to economic generalists and/or carving households. This couple, then, mixes employment as the central strategy and looks to outfitting and hunting (to sell meat) simply as a means of earning extra cash. However, from year to year, full-time and part-time employment is the central means of earning income for this family as other revenue-earning activities are a sideline as opposed to an important element of the monthly income.

Household IV

Household IV consists of an older couple and their two sons. This household is not directly a part of the extended family unit described above. (The male respondent is only related to Household II because Carver 3's father-in-law and the man's grandfather were brothers).

As shown in Table 4.1, 98 per cent of the cash income comes from wage labour, and the remaining two percent comes from family allowances. This household is fairly typical of economic specialists insofar as their cash income comes almost entirely from one source. The man retained the same job over the three years of the study, again indicating that those who have jobs tend to rely on wage labour as a strategy over time - hence specializing in full-time labour. Also, like Household III, they combine full-time labour with a great deal of hunting - they harvested almost $5000 in country food income in one month. So, even those who work full-time continue to rely heavily on country food income.

Household V

Household V is not related by kinship directly to any other study households. It was included because I was interested in examining the strategies employed by single women with children. The members are two sisters and their children - the younger woman has two and the older woman has one.

The first aspect of note is the prominence of full-time wage labour and absence of carving activity - both women work full-time and have continued at their same jobs throughout the period 1989-1991 (see Table 4.1). Both women leave their children with

their parents while they are working. One expressed the importance of the free child care received from their parents by explaining to me that she did not know how she would manage otherwise.

This woman is a classic economic specialist insofar as her central form of income is from wage labour. However, like Households III and IV, she also relies heavily on informal support, such as babysitting and country food. For example, although this woman did not hunt, she consumed country food on one third of the study days, all of which came from her extended family.

The Household Strategies: Discussion

As we can see, part-time carving households tend to utilise a mixed income/economic generalist's strategy - that is carvers attempt to construct an adequate income from several different sources. We also saw that carvers tend to combine different sources of income not just at a single time but over time as well - combining different sources of income at different times depending on available resources.

The carvers flow between employment and carving, and use this as a strategy over time. Carver 2 (from Household I) worked full-time in 1990 and yet eventually gave up that employment to return to full-time carving and Carver 3 (from Household IIa) found carving to be more lucrative and eventually quit her job to carve full-time. Carver 4 (Household IIb), however, has taken on a part-time job as a means of supplementing her carving activities. Carver 5 (Household IIb) found seasonal work, which paid significantly higher than his carving wage, to be temporarily more lucrative than carving and as such he was able

to purchase carving equipment. Thus, carvers in the study flowed between the work force and the carving market.

Another important point was the prominence of the informal support network. All the carvers, as well as the full-time workers, relied on kin-based food-sharing as well as other help, such as babysitting. What also came to be seen was the level of participation in carving activities of teenagers (Carver 4, 6 - Households IIb and II) and women (Carvers 1 - Household I, 3 and 4).

Non-carving families tend to draw cash income from generally only one wage source, with some reliance on kinship-based food-sharing and other aspects of informal support. They have captured a secure, long-term job, which they supplement with side activities. Thus, I suggest that these households rely on this form of income and mutual support more than Jansen suspected.

What conclusions can we draw based on an in-depth examination of these five households? Before doing so, recall the discussion in Chapter One about the carving industry and Lake Harbour. In Lake Harbour, of approximately seventy carvers only 11 earn more than $1500 per year (Dupuis 1989, 1990, Worrall 1984). Moreover, in Sanikiluaq only nine per cent of carvers earned more than $5000 per year, and only 36 per cent earned above $1000 per year (Quigley and MacBride 1987). Essentially, few carvers earn large incomes from carving alone and, thus, obviously must seek money from other sources.

What the above reveals is that because carving represents only a small percentage of income for most carvers, and because there is so little full-time employment in town, many carvers are required to combine a series of tactics in order to produce an adequate

cash and in-kind income.

An in-depth examination allows up to ask the following: how conscious are these strategies? In one case, some carvers dropped out of a course offered by Arctic College because the money they would receive from attending the course was less than the money they felt they could earn by carving. This indicates that carvers are very well aware of the combinations necessary to maximize their incomes. Carvers are aware of their choices and opportunities. They, however, are generally presented with limited choices, given the employment situation in Lake Harbour and facing the vagaries of the carving market. Hence, the strategy is, I would argue, a conscious one used by Inuit. It reflects a maximization at any given time of the available resources at hand. For instance, when Carver 4 noticed a decline in the carving market, she undertook part-time wage labour. This market depreciation was characterized by an unwillingness, on the part of the Bay and even the Coop, to purchase every carving in town. Hence many carvers invested their time in producing sculptures that would not be purchased until the market improved.

Thus, Carving represents a "tactic" within a wider mixed-income strategy. In the carving households, carving was utilized to fill a gap left behind from unemployment and underemployment in Households I and II. Carving represents, as compared with the non-carving families, a means of earning income when wage income is unavailable (as with Carvers 2 {Household I} and 4 {Household IIb}), under-available through work (see Carvers 1, 2 and 3) or as an alternative to work when the return is lucrative enough (Carver 5 {Household IIb}). This is in contrast to non-carving households where income through employment and a combination of informal support are adequate to provide a stable

income. Thus, although carving is not the economic revelation portrayed in Richler's (1963) novel, it does offer Inuit an opportunity to maximize available resources and achieve a viable income.

Target Marketing: A Tactic for the Unknown Carver

Carvers employ a series of tactics, the best known of which is "target-marketing." Target marketing, as described by Nelson Graburn (1976), is a system whereby carvers produce a sculpture with a specific purpose (for example, when cash is needed to meet a long-term goal. Graburn described this instance of target marketing as occurring "when individuals or families wanted to accumulate enough money to buy particular items, such as a gun, a motor or even a boat....." (Graburn 1976: 46, see also Myers 1984). Brody provided an example of an instance of a specific need also, when he wrote that a "carver who needs something that costs $30 will find a piece of stone of just the right size and carve an object worth just $30....." (Brody 1975: 175). As Myers wrote the

> income derived from carving is important to Inuit who look upon carving as another way to get what they need. There is in fact a direct relation between carving production and consumption as Inuit make carvings, not to get rich, but to satisfy immediate needs. (Myers 1984: 136)

Thus, we can expand on Graburn's original definition of target marketing, the sale of carvings to accumulate cash for a specific purpose, into a more encompassing definition. It can include selling carvings aimed at specific amounts and/or for immediate needs.

Inuit who carve do not have to wait for the typical every-second-Thursday payday that typifies the wage sector of Hamlet life. If money is needed immediately for hunting or food (cf. Quigley and MacBride 1987), carving can provide the equivalent of an afternoon of

wage work in the typical village job. Most "day" carvings were completed in less than 5 hours and are sold to either the Bay or the Coop. For example, Carver 1 went fishing one weekend and before he left, he sold a carving for $80 and bought just over $50.00 worth of general groceries for the family and supplies for the trip. This event occurred between two every-second-Thursday paydays. Carver 4, whose only employment is carving, sold three small carvings she made in one day (labour time - 11 hours) for $60.00 which she used to play Bingo that evening. Carver 1 made and sold carvings between paydays to buy groceries at least twice during a month long period.

Another instance of a carving being sold to finance a hunting trip occurred with Carver 3. She and her husband wanted to go out weekend caribou hunting so she completed and sold two carvings for $165 - $100 for one carving, $65 for the other - an adequate sum for the purchase of food, fuel and ammunition for the trip. This is another clear indication of carving functioning as a means to capitalize the hunt at instances when cash is needed.

This discussion surrounding target-marketing illuminates an important aspect of the relationship between carving and the subsistence economy. That is that the return from carving often directly capitalizes subsistence harvesting. This expands on Graburn's earlier work (1976) on the relationship between carving and harvesting. However, as shown, carving is only one part of an income that not only capitalises hunting but also broadens the support base of the subsistence in general.

According to Graburn (1976) carvers utilize the money from carving to capitalize the hunt. Wenzel (1989, 1991) and Dahl (1989) have both illustrated how wage labour

capitalizes harvesting by providing cash to purchase gasoline, capital equipment, supplies, and others necessities which are needed for harvesting. As my data shows, carving has a direct relationship to subsistence.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GENUINE ARTICLE: CARVING AS GENUINE, ACCULTURATED OR COMMERCIAL ARTFORM?

Introduction

Soapstone carvings have been viewed through many different lenses since their "discovery" by the south: as a "primitive" artform; as an expression of spirituality; finally, as crass commercialism. Initially, soapstone sculpture was seen as an expressly "traditional" activity both "primitive" in character and embodying elements of Inuit spirituality. However, as it grew in economic importance, critics argued that money had become the sole motivation of producing soapstone carvings, therefore it retained little cultural significance.

These opposing views parallel much of the early discussion of Inuit subsistence (see Wenzel 1991, Usher 1981). The 1970s and 1980s saw analysis of Inuit kinship-based food-sharing as part of the larger socio-economic aspect of Inuit society. More recent material discusses Inuit society in ways which allow wildlife harvesting and soapstone carving to be synthesized as elements of a subsistence economy - through an examination of the role of cash in the subsistence economy.

Before elaborating on how southern opinions of Inuit carving have shifted back and forth, it is useful to note two key issues in this discussion. First, the literature on the cultural importance of carving and harvesting have followed parallel courses in the approach taken in their portrayal. Beyond this parallel, however, are the economic interconnections between the two phenomena, as carving has become an increasingly important means of capitalizing the harvest. Second, there is the development of not only the artifact but the

role of the artist in subsistence as well. An examination of the role of the carver is crucial in the conceptualization of how soapstone carving relates to Inuit society as a whole - especially as it relates to subsistence culture.

Soapstone Carving as "Traditional" Artifact

The earliest writings on contemporary Canadian Inuit art, published by its "discoverer," James Houston (1952:99, see also Martijn 1964:547), describes an artform that Houston felt still "genuinely" reflected an Inuit cultural consciousness untouched by southern influence. He wrote that "geographic remoteness protected the Eskimos ... and [that] the link between past and present in their art is as yet unbroken....." Houston was not alone, Evan Turner (1963) also believed that Inuit art was still "untouched" as a traditional artform. Turner, when he and other members of the Eskimo Arts Committee went North in 1962, encountered what he described as "primitive" artists creating "primitive" art. However, even then, he expected such purity to be short-lived, sensing that the encroachment of "civilization" (i.e. market-driven production of carvings) would erode the cultural content of the form, discrediting it as art. He wrote that

> the encroachment of "civilization" will affect the primitive values [of art] and eventually undermine them entirely. With time this will happen in the Arctic... As is so of every artist, an Eskimo artist who does a subject for a reason other than a need to express an idea or, perhaps, since he is "primitive," to rid himself of a fear or compulsion, creates a work of little conviction and thus of no quality. (Turner 1963: 228-229).

This article is important not only because of the fear it expresses about commercialism, but also because it represents an attempt to examine the art market from the point of view of Inuit. The article describes the marketing situation faced by Inuit and

discusses the production of Inuit art by describing one Cape Dorset artist, Kenojuak, at work.

By the late 1960s however, cultural interpretations of Inuit art had for the most part, changed significantly. Martijn (1964:560-561) wrote that "historical Canadian Eskimo carving was never the 'hitherto undiscovered' and 'free from any outside influence' art which certain present-day writers have mistakenly believed it to be....." Since that time, much of the literature on Canadian Inuit art has concerned itself with whether Inuit art is "genuine," or a product of southern aesthetic and/or commercial influence, thus redirecting its form and purpose.

One of the most notable critics of the view that Inuit art was culturally genuine was anthropologist/artist Edmund Carpenter. Carpenter (1961: 362) distinguished art made for consumption and appreciation by Inuit and art for the southern marketplace, calling the latter "souvenir art." Carpenter argued that "traditional" carvings were made for self-expression and religious reasons as part of a "ritual act of discovery." Their importance was in the artistic act of revealing the artwork, not the final product. He wrote:

> Eskimo are interested in the artistic act, not in the product of that activity. A carving, like a song, is not a thing; it is an action...It's senseless to assume that when we collect these silent, stagnant carvings, we have collected Eskimo art....." (Carpenter 1961: 362)

Carpenter (1961: 362) posited that so-called souvenir art was no longer ritualistic, but was "assertive" and "individualistic" - qualities which went against the "traditional, aboriginal techniques." Thus, Carpenter suggested that while there had indeed been a genuine Inuit art, which was ritualistic in nature, this had been supplanted by art made for economic motivations.

Twelve years later, Carpenter (1973) reaffirmed his critiques describing an artform devoid of traditional Inuit cultural significance, an artform that was no longer Inuit in any sense. In essence, the "traditional" artform had disappeared, having lost any ritual significance. He then posed (and answered) one of the most oft repeated questions in the Inuit art world: "Can the word Eskimo legitimately be applied to this modern stone art? I think not....." (Carpenter 1973: 194). The "roots" of the "new" art form lay in the south, the source of its audience and therefore its market. Carpenter, then, constructed a temporal segregation of Inuit art: the pre-contact time period when Inuit art was completely a part of Inuit society and the post-contact period where all authenticity became lost, replaced by commercial motivation.

Carpenter did, however, make a concerted attempt to analyze the new Inuit art within the context of modern Inuit everyday life. He wrote that "the study of Eskimo art must be the study of Eskimo world view...Not what this art means to us, but what this art means for whom it was intended....." (Carpenter 1962 in Martijn 1964). Although Carpenter is perhaps best known for his declaration that Inuit art is not culturally representative, he took an important step in the examination of Inuit art: positing that the meaning of the artifact for the society that created it is at least as important as its meaning to us.

Early criticism of Inuit art focused on "genuineness": was soapstone carving a "pure" artform or had it been influenced by southern market intervention? Analysis was largely based on an either/or formula: the artifacts were either from a pre-contact (i.e. pure) period or from the post-contact or market period. This form of analysis quickly lead to the view that Inuit art was, in fact, the product of acculturation.

Not all views about the alleged authenticity of Inuit art were as extreme or as "all-or-nothing" as Carpenter's. Many (such as Martijn 1967 and Graburn 1969) argued that Inuit art in the post-Houston era was more an art of acculturation, meaning a mixing of traditional and commercial values and/or aesthetics. Essentially, this view posits that the Inuit artform is a product of a culture in transition. It differs from Carpenter's view that he saw the art work as no longer Inuit. Acculturation implies that the work itself is genuine, but that the culture is in a state of flux. Martijn (1964, 1967) was a strong proponent of this view. While commercialism was eroding the artform, he still felt

> that Contemporary Canadian Eskimo carving is an Eskimo art, but one of directed acculturation...Yet, as a valid art form in its own right, and one of considerable merit, it serves at present as a reflection of the individual Eskimo himself in a state of transition....." (Martijn 1964: 583).

He then noted that this state of transition, however, would ultimately lead to assimilation of Inuit art, whereby carving would lose the "unique intimacy with nature on which it has always been based....."(1967:17). Unlike Carpenter, Martijn saw Inuit carving as authentic and still connected to contemporary life, albeit a way of life which appeared to be disintegrating.

Inuit Carving in an Acculturation Framework

The concept of acculturative art represented a belief that Inuit carving had in some way been altered by its market relations. Graburn defined art of acculturation as,

> transitional, commercial or airport art. The arts of acculturation may be defined as art production which differs significantly from traditional expressions in form, content, function and often medium (1969a: 465),

and forcefully asserted that the artform had undergone intrinsic modification through market

influences. The implication was that a new artform has been created.

An example of this view is Graburn noting that the market now dictated the content and size of soapstone carvings. In pre-contact times, Inuit had produced pinguak, which were three or four inch miniatures meant to be handled as opposed to the carvings up to three feet tall and tens or hundreds, of kilograms in weight, which are made today. To Graburn this reflected that "aesthetic impulse is subjugated to the profit motive....." (Graburn 1969a: 465). He concluded that the market had successfully altered a traditional artform into one which yielded a more saleable product. Moreover, Graburn (1969a: 466) saw this as an indication that Inuit culture was on a "march toward assimilation" and that this "new" art was merely symptomatic.

Graburn was joined in his opinion by George Swinton. Swinton felt that southern market pressures had influenced soapstone carving to the extent that it had become - in his own words - a "new art" (1958: 47). Moreover, the new art had become "individualistic" and "non-utilitarian," reflecting how "the Eskimo is consciously tied to a market, subject to the laws of supply and demand, and only vicariously does it [art] relate to his life....." (Swinton 1958: 44). So, like Graburn, Swinton saw the nature of carving changing due to the pressures of the market and that this change was a symptom of a decline in the culture as a whole.

But Graburn and Swinton also interpreted this "new" artform as a positive symbol in Inuit society. First, it functioned as a means of employment for Inuit. Second, apart from any economic contribution, it also provided a means for asserting and/or maintaining Inuit identity. Soapstone carving provided a means whereby the 'whiteman" could respect Inuit

because Inuit could produce something that whites could not. Graburn argued that in

> the Eskimo case the artists' own choices of subject matter as well as the pressures of the market preserve a model of "Eskimo-ness" which is not really traditional but is in fact special enough to be distinctive enough and maintain the Eskimo's self-respect in a situation where much else is changing..... (Graburn 1969a: 467)

Graburn saw Inuit soapstone art as a successful adaptation that provided economic support and some sense of identity during a period of change. Graburn, Swinton and Martijn agreed that, while Inuit art was commercialized, it maintained a great deal of Native content and "magic."

Swinton also felt that the art stood as a symbol or cultural icon for Inuit. Again, carving functions as a means of asserting culture in the face of cultural disintegration. In this way, Swinton argued that the carvings are "the Eskimo's new magic, designed to establish equality, if not superiority, in a field in which the White Man cannot compete....." (Swinton 1958: 47). For Swinton, carvings symbolized Inuit culture. Art also represented a new field of endeavour which could remain uniquely Inuit, despite southern domination in other areas and thus strengthened the society against southern culture.

Graburn, Martijn and Swinton each created a most paradoxical paradigm. In the face of assimilation, carving provided a new identity for Inuit - something which they could call their own. This evident contradiction has become an important and enduring aspect of Inuit art criticism. Inuit art is at once symbolic of acculturation and a symbol of cultural continuity, and even renewal.

Notably lacking in the general discussion of Canadian Inuit art is the role that art and the artist play in daily Inuit society and culture (see, however, Turner (1963)). In Alaska,

Ray made a major contribution to this literature by providing a detailed discussion of Alaskan Ivory Carvers, as opposed to analysis of simply the artifacts. Unlike Turner and Carpenter, Ray chronicled the process of producing the artifact and advanced the concept that carvings could be integrated within the Alaskan Eskimo culture and still be produced commercially. She wrote that the carvers "beautiful creations have resulted from a necessary, though enjoyable, occupation, not from an esoteric pursuit....." (1961: 132).

Ray argued that ivory carving was an essential part of Yup'ik society and saw ivory carving as "a natural and inevitable part of living, and ...[o]nly when the Eskimos no longer live permanently on the islands will there be a change....." (1961: 154). Ray outlined a "carving culture" in which she described the process by which children learned how to carve and how carving equipment, materials, and ideas were developed and shared among the carvers. Most importantly, Ray attempted to analyze the carver in terms of his own culture. She differentiated the concept of art and artist in Eskimo society from Euro-American definitions and argued that, "Despite the fact that the non-Eskimo world might asses a carver and his work as artist and art, he will say, not in negation, but as a statement of fact, "I'm no artist....."" (1961: 132).

Ray offered us a crucial perspective of Inuit soapstone carving - that the artifact can be produced commercially and still possess cultural integrity. Moreover, the Eskimos Ray studied saw carving as an occupation, not just as an aesthetic endeavour or exercise. It was a view of art through an entirely different lens.

These points are crucial because they lead in the 1980s to Eskimo/Inuit art being discussed as an act that had to be understood from within the context of the society that

produced it. Ray, and to a degree Carpenter and Turner before her, address the experience of the carver and considers the role of the artist and artifact in his/her society. In counterpoint was the issue of the "genuineness" of Inuit soapstone carving. Graburn and Swinton categorically saw Inuit carving as being formed by southern market forces and that market's dictates. Apart from a small role as a means of tenuously maintaining some identity in the face of assimilation, Inuit soapstone carving was reduced to the state of commodity.

What is most prevalent in the critical discourse on the relationship between Inuit art and Inuit society at this level is a conceptualisation of Inuit soapstone carvings almost solely as a commodity. In other words, the carvings are not Inuit because they are commercial. This form of understanding neglects the role of the carvers within the society, a view that remains absent until the 1980s.

Carving and the Economy: Acculturation and Loss of Local Control

As I noted earlier, the literature on Inuit harvesting and soapstone carving have followed a parallel course. This parallel is by no means accidental. It reflects the "lens" through which Inuit culture was viewed at various times. The central theme of post-war literature was that the "traditionalness" of both hunting and carving was disappearing. This temporal lens, in fact, reflected an overall attitude that the Inuit culture was itself disappearing. To Graburn, there was a "march towards assimilation and homogenization of the peoples of the world....." (1969a: 467).

Swinton has drawn a direct connection between the change in both Inuit art and Inuit

subsistence. His view was that the northern economy was shifting from subsistence-based to commodity-based production. He wrote:

> Changes in Eskimo art show a marked analogy to the changes in economy and, in fact, reflect accurately the changing phases of culture. The decisive shift to a money economy...correlates with the commercial phase of the new Eskimo art. Production of this art today is no longer for the artists own gratification, but for the gratification of others, known or unknown. (Swinton 1965: 229-230)

Commercialism had overtaken Inuit art in much the way that money was now the motivation in Inuit harvesting. To Swinton, this commercial cooptation included the loss of the values once embedded in the production of indigenous art:

> commercialization of the hunt broke the sacred bonds between animal and man, and led to the secularisation not only of the hunt but of Eskimo life itself... At that very same time and for that very same reason (i.e. trade which, compared to hunting, is a vicarious way of providing for one's livelihood), the Inuit discovered the potential for making likenesses...as a means for barter. The contact with the whites engendered the secularisation of art as well as the hunt. (Swinton 1972: 128)

The views expressed by Graburn and others on the loss of cultural values accompanying acculturative art flow directly from contemporaneous work on the economy of the North. Wilmott (1961), in an influential analysis, described an economy split into two spheres (as he termed it, a dual economy). One sphere, the livelihood of the camp, was largely based on harvesting but with some petty commodity production (mainly furs) and that of the settlement, which was largely dependent on wages and the commodification of labour. These two lifeways interacted to some, but only a very small extent. To Wilmott, there was a

> shift from subsistence production to wage labour which ...represents the total entrance into a money economy which was begun when the Eskimos began trapping. The result is profound change in every aspect of culture, including

social organization. (Wilmott 1961: 5).

This argued not only for an economy that was divided into two spheres, but also that multi-focused commodity production would replace the mainly non-cash income earned by Inuit through the harvest. Wilmott described a non-cash resource economy that he felt was inevitably on its way to becoming wage-based. As a result of this change, Wilmott believed that Inuit cultural values would be affected. (See also Jenness 1964, Graburn 1969 and Nelson 1969.)

Acculturative Art Revisited: The Recent Debate

> One aspect of modern Inuit art that does not seem to have been addressed is what place it plays or will play in the consciousness of the Inuit themselves...Recently I was privileged to carry out...a series of interviews with people prominent in the collecting, criticism and marketing of Inuit art. To each one I put the question: What place do you think modern Inuit art has in the consciousness of native people themselves; does it have a spiritual or communal part to play? In just about every case, the answer was that it seemed to mean very little to the Inuit artist except economically..... (Millard 1987: 27).

In this interpretation, it would appear that little progress had been made since 1950s and 1960s on understanding Inuit art in relation to Inuit society. As before, the economics of carving are highlighted, while cultural aspects are seen as, at best, problematic. Debate on the nature of Inuit art has received recent expression in the American Review of Canadian Studies (henceforth ARCS) (Lipke 1987). This issue, titled: "Is it Eskimo? Is it Art?" contains articles by Graburn, Millard and Swinton illustrating quite well that questions as to the nature of Inuit/Eskimo art have yet to be satisfactorily answered.

In their ARCS discussion, these specialists appear to have reformulated the nature

of an acculturation art, with acculturation viewed in a different way when compared with their earlier interpretations. Inuit art remains a cultural symbol embedded within Inuit/Eskimo society. Essentially, this literature reveals Inuit/Eskimo art to be an artform that is part of Inuit culture, rather than as something driven by non-Inuit forces.

Swinton (1987) has remained a proponent of Inuit art as a product of acculturation and continues to argue that carving is largely a commercial venture. He posits that the Inuit art industry is "an essentially commercial expression of the acculturating Inuit population....." (1987: 18). But he goes on to maintain, however, that this commercial nature does not negate its ability to express contemporary Inuit culture - one which has acculturated. This "acculturation is largely a matter of more opportune survival...and even `materialprogress.' Their cultural traditions survive - albeit in new and altered ways - despite the "threats"....." (Swinton 1987: 16). Thus, Swinton redefines acculturation as a route to material gain and not necessarily destructive of Inuit culture. Inuit art may be commercially motivated, yet is can simultaneously express Inuit society.

However, despite this new view of acculturation, Swinton's vision of the overall position of art within Inuit society has not significantly changed. Swinton asserts that Inuit art does have cultural significance, despite the fact that some of it is "banal" and created usually for commercial export. Swinton even sees these inferior examples of Inuit art as being as much a part of Inuit cultural heritage as pink flamingos are to North American culture. He wrote that "these inferior art objects are still "art" in a cultural sense....." Moreover, all "contemporary 'Inuit art' production <u>is</u> symptomatic of the changing Inuit lifestyle with all its objects, even the most banal, which have become revealing symbols of

the state of contemporary Inuit society....." (Swinton 1987: 16, 19).

Nelson Graburn, from the mid-1970s on, began to examine the role of carving within Inuit society. He contended that carving had in some ways replaced hunting as a means of defining male/female roles in Inuit society and that "the aesthetic values expressed in Eskimo sculpture and their appreciation of it are in direct concordance with the main male role, that of the hunter, having been transferred to the lucrative occupation of the sculptor....." (Graburn 1975: 68). To Graburn, carving not only replaced hunting in the Inuit economic relationship with the south, but that the same occurred within Inuit social relationships.

Moreover, Graburn sees parallels between the language of hunting, carving, and even sex roles. He writes that "the Eskimo language expresses explicit parallels between the processes of hunting, male sociosexual behaviour, and making good sculpture....." and that "the values in carving are directly related to maleness" (Graburn 1976: 49). For him, carvings which are "large and difficult" and especially made of hard stone are the most highly valued. Women's carvings, on the other hand, are "not as admired or as competitive in this activity as men....." (Graburn 1976: 49). Soft stone is only suitable for women, the disabled, the elderly and children. Further, the act of carving involves attacking the stone with a weapon such as an axe, again paralleling hunting.

Graburn's writings from the 1970s approach two important aspects of Inuit soapstone carvings. First, he attempts to contextualize carvings within Inuit society. Second, Graburn considers the roles of the carvers within Inuit society - not merely focusing the artifacts but on the producers.

By the late 1980s, Graburn had extended his analysis of Inuit art to include Inuit ideas about what their art means to their society. Graburn saw the Western concept of art as "recently constructed" and not able to account for what Inuit themselves perceive their art to be. He wrote that "the word "art" is our Western category, for which there is no isomorphous equivalent in Inuktitut, and Inuit art exists only as we designate it thus....." (Graburn 1987: 62). Graburn, moreover, began to consider Inuit art not just as something which had only commercial value, but also as something intrinsic to Inuit culture. He contended that art "exists within a huge social network involving personal and social institutions, tied together by values and expectations....." (Graburn 1987: 63).

Graburn thus argued that Inuit art must be analyzed in terms of its social context, to be seen in terms of its place and role within that society. However, he maintained the notion that the art was the product of an acculturated society. To him, Inuit art is ruled by the market, noting that the

> story of Inuit art is one in which the Canadian art world has successively incorporated Inuit sanasimajangit as a minor segment of its complex and troubled self, calling this segment "Eskimo (now Inuit) art," in roughly the same way that the Canadian (world) economy has incorporated and modified the Inuit ways of making a livelihood...during this century. (Graburn 1987: 63)

Essentially, Graburn asserts that southern market forces have "incorporated" Inuit art just as the world economy has incorporated the harvest. So, Graburn maintains his earlier stance that portrays both carving and the harvest as entirely commercially-motivated activites (see Graburn 1969a, 1971, 1987).

Research on Alaskan mask and ivory carving resembles Graburn's in that it also came to consider art as part of local social institutions. When Ray released her Artists of

the Tundra and the Sea in its second edition (1980) she added further comments about Eskimo ivory carving. She portrays essentializes ivory carving to the patterns of Eskimo life and establishes that it is the Eskimos who control the destiny of carving. She wrote that,

> I wish I could be here a hundred years hence to see what changes the Eskimo artist will have made. Perhaps the most noticeable changes will be in the greater use of non-native materials, subjects and styles. Yet, as long as there are walrus, there will be ivory; and as long as there are walrus hunters there will be carvers....." (Ray 1980: xii).

The connection between hunting and carving is clearly made here, and is integral to contextualizing Yup'ik art.

Like Ray, Fienup-Riordan represents a different direction (from critics such as Swinton and Carpenter) in the analysis of Alaskan Eskimo (or Inuit) art. While interested in the artist, she is deeply concerned with how art fits within the patterns of Yup'ik culture. Riordan chronicled "the development of a rich and complex ceremonial tradition, central to which were the construction and use of large elaborate hooped masks....." (Riordan 1987: 40) and then describes the ritual surrounding the mask in ways often absent from the Inuit art debate. She integrates an understanding of the artifact and artist to the ceremony within the Yup'ik way of life. Ultimately, Riordan concludes, that the mask serves as a metaphor for an understanding of the Yup'ik world view - "continuity in the use of the hooped mask today provides a key material metaphor for the system of cosmological reproduction by which and through which the Yup'ik people viewed and continue to view the universe....." (1987:51).

Analysis of Inuit soapstone carving in Nunavik has taken significant steps in connecting Inuit society and art. In a study of cooperative stores Simard (1982) concluded

that culture influenced the production of soapstone carvings. He wrote "L'aspect sans doute le plus frappant de ces activites reside dans le poids extraordinare qu'y assument les factures lies a l'environnement social elargi....." (Simard 1982: 89). Thus, Simard points out an important aspect of studying Inuit soapstone carving - that the "social environment," or social and cultural factors of Inuit life, are crucial to an understanding of the market for Inuit soapstone. Simard then attempted to describe the cooperative movement and the soapstone market from the Inuit point of view, essentially to present how Inuit view the sale of soapstone carving. This is almost the same task that Turner attempted twenty years before, but this time it was more successful.

Simard states that Inuit neither create art for art's sake nor make a distinction between arts and crafts or between the aesthetic and economic value of their carvings. They carve to earn a living and to support the hunt. Simard elaborates,

> D'une certaine façon, ce type de travail est bien adapté aux modes de travail tradionnels. Le chasseur sculpte selon ses besoins monetaires, passant du fusil à la lime au gré de ses stratèges de subsistance. (Simard 1982: 69).

In this way, Simard contextualizes the manner in which carving capitalises the hunt. Also, Graburn (1976) discussed how carving was a means of purchasing the tools of the hunt; to Simard, carving is integrated into subsistence.

One of the most articulate discussions of Inuit art, is offered by Leblond (1989) who argues that it is necessary to:

> changer de point de vue, à adopter celui des autres, afin de conprendre un peu mieux la place d'une certaine production d'artefacts (ou d'oeuvres d'art) dans une certaine société. Dès lors, nos critères esthétiques ne peuvent opérer de la mème façon.....(Leblond 1989: 23).

Like Simard, LeBlond found that southern aesthetic values cannot be invoked when

examining Inuit art and that the path to understanding Inuit art is bi-directional: first, the outside cultures must realize that Inuit art possesses its own cultural context; and, second, to understand Inuit art we must understand the differences between the two cultures.

LeBlond's perspective on Inuit art closely follows the work of Clifford Geertz. According to Geertz,

> the definition of art in any society is never wholly intra-aesthetic, and indeed but rarely more than marginally so. The chief problem presented by the sheer phenomenon of aesthetic force, in whatever form and in result of whatever skill it may come, is how to place it within the other modes of social activity, how to incorporate it into the texture of a particular pattern of life. And such placing, the giving of art objects a cultural significance, is always a local matter. (Geertz 1983: 97).

Geertz diminishes the aesthetic aspects of art and concentrates on the cultural and/or societal. Instead, he argues that it is not the artifacts which should be of concern, but what makes them significant within the creator society (1983: 119). Art, then, is part of a society's world-view ("the way of being-in-the-world" 1983:97).

The literature on Inuit art has moved gradually toward an integration of artifacts with the culture that produced them. Indeed, as Riordan work best represents, it is necessary to construct a "full understanding" of the role of the artifacts and artist in a culture. This is best done, not through "analysis," or the taking apart of the relationship between artifact and society, but through a synthesis in which artifacts are examined within the cultural traditions from which they spring.

CHAPTER SIX

YOUR CARVING OR MINE?: COOPERATION AND RECIPROCITY IN THE PRODUCTION OF SOAPSTONE CARVING

Introduction

Geertz has argued that the true challenge of any analysis of art is to "place it within the other modes of social activity....." (Geertz 1983: 97). As I suggested in Chapter Five, much of the literature on Inuit art (and Native art generally) has begun to adopt this direction in recent years. My intent here is to explore exactly how Inuit soapstone art fits into the pattern of Inuit society and culture.

Soapstone carving for sale is a new activity in terms of the history of Inuit sculpture. This new economic activity has been incorporated into Inuit society and culture via the cooperative manufacture of Inuit soapstone carvings, a process which notably involves the extended family in the creation of a single carving and shared remuneration. Cooperation and reciprocity are integral parts of Inuit culture and the extension of these behaviours to commercial carving indicates the integration of art into Inuit culture as a whole.

The Cooperative Production of Soapstone Carvings

One key aspect of art as a social adaptation at Lake Harbour is the cooperative manner in which soapstone carvings are produced. Cooperation in both harvesting and the production of carvings are specific instances of a larger cultural pattern of "sharing" in Inuit society. Following Geertz, this chapter will place art within the patterns of Inuit society and

the collaborative production of soapstone carving is typical of the overall pattern of cooperation in Inuit life in Lake Harbour.

As noted above, the concept of cooperative effort among Inuit is by no means a new one. Cooperative effort in hunting has been documented since Boas (1888/1964: 89-94) and more current discussions can be found in Damas (1971), Nelson (1968: 378-79) and Wenzel (1981, 1983). As Nelson wrote:

> Cooperativeness in hunting and travelling is an aspect of Eskimo life which has been discussed time and again. It has long been necessary for these people to work together and share the proceeds of their efforts, large and small. (Nelson 1969: 378)

Nelson further discusses the importance of cooperation in all aspects of Inuit life. Damas (1971) and Wenzel (1983) link cooperation in the hunt with kinship. Damas concluded that the

> hunting groups which were typical local groupings were held together...by primarily kinship ties, focusing as they did on the extended family...Probably the most important factors were the need for group cooperation in hunting and the custom of communal eating. (Damas 1971: 51)

He goes on to argue that "group participation in cooperative enterprises, other food distribution methods...and the various socializing events provided the chief means of internal unity....." (Damas 1971: 51). Kinship, then, is the central organizing factor in terms of cooperative hunting groups. This link between kinship, cooperation and economic production is crucial to the present discussion as it is integral to soapstone carving.

Among native groups in general, the concept of cooperative or collective work among artisans is relatively commonplace. In her work on the native people of the southwest United States, Schneider (1983) documented a process of production of native artisans and

craftspeople which was intrinsically different from the contemporary western perception of the work processes of artists. She notes that anthropologists "have failed to recognize that art objects may be started by one person and finished by another...or that several people working together may make an item" (Schneider 1983: 103) and outlines an important aspect of the production process - that it is neither a discrete event nor isolationist. Artists, for example, can work collectively, either in order to seek help or just for company. Thus, the process of artistic production is conceived in an entirely different manner from the Western contemporary perception of the process of artistic production.

Ray has documented several types of cooperation among Alaskan ivory carvers covering the many stages of the production of an object, from the sharing of tools and ideas to the sharing of the ivory as well. Ray noticed that "...[u]nlimited cooperation and help are given within the group not only in carving but in all areas of life. As in prewhite days, food is shared, clothing distributed, and labor given to all who are worthy of it....." (1981: 114). Like Damas, Ray notes that cooperation is not unique to carving; rather it flows through all aspects of Inuit life and as my data show, carvers in Lake Harbour do all these things as well.

According to Ray, the Alaskan carvers also shared ivory. In her discussion of this form of allocation, Ray introduces a link between walrus hunting and carving. For instance, at the end of every walrus season the ivory is divided among the hunters who participated. However, even non-participation did not mean exclusion. According to Ray, "a carver who has a surplus of ivory will "loan" a tusk to another, expecting to be repaid at a later date, preferably when he, himself, is running low on ivory....." (Ray 1981: 32). Another example

is the trading of ivory for services. This practice, however, was comparatively rare and mainly a device to provide ivory for a well-liked carver who is "too proud to ask....." (Ray 1981: 33).

Although this particular form of cooperation is not completely analogous to Lake Harbour Inuit activities, it does establish that a "tradition" of cooperation in art is consistent across Inuit society. Stone, tools, ideas, information and work are shared among the carvers of Lake Harbour. Notably, so is the money earned from carving.

How Carvings are Made: An Ethnography

A description of how soapstone carvings are produced is crucial to understanding how work is shared and the importance of sharing profits. I have divided the production process into discrete stages. Thus, this description will proceed in the step-by-step manner that Lake Harbour artisans work (although reality is never as neat as the observer might wish).

Before the discussion of the production of sculptures can begin in earnest, it is necessary to outline the social setting of the production process. Part of the intrinsic difference between Inuit and southern art production relates not only to the way each is created but also with whom they are produced. For Inuit, there is a necessary aspect of collaboration. In fact, many carvers work together in small kin-based groups - especially teenagers, children and young couples.

Teenagers, such as Carver 4 and her friends tend to work together in the family's carving shack along with her friends and/or cousins. Up to ten adolescents and young adults might be in the shack on any given evening, with perhaps four people carving while

others are listening to the radio, chatting and snacking on store bought treats. When the weather was colder, Carvers 4 and 5 often did their polishing in the house while listening to and singing along with taped Inuktitut songs. On one occasion, they polished two carvings, one by Carver 5 and one by Carver 4's younger sister. Carver 4 was merely there to socialize.

Most men carve alone. Carver 2, for instance, never carved with his wife or other relatives. Such male behaviour was not uncommon in Lake Harbour; often several of the most prominent carvers in town can be seen outside, or just inside, their carving shacks working alone. In one case, I watched two well- known carvers working only ten feet from each other and they never stopped to speak or carve "together". This is not to say that male carvers do not socialize while they are carving. One of Lake Harbour's best-known carvers works at the confluence of two roads and stops several times a day to chit-chat with passers-by.

Women often carve or finish works in progress in their homes where they can watch their children. Carver 1, for example, carved in her kitchen where she could be near her children, although, she would occasionally work at the family carving site behind Household II, at times when she needed to use a power tool. Carver 3 also found carving more convenient than wage labour because it was easier to nurse her young child. She would occasionally carve in the porch of her house to be near her child in case it cried. When finishing or polishing carvings, most women work in their living rooms in the presence of their children. This is an important aspect of women's carving: while men carve alone, the women almost always work near their children. One woman even gave up her full-time job

to take up carving because the hours were flexible enough to allow her to care for, and be close to, her young child. Women also tend to mix carving with their household chores.

Young couples also carve together. During my second visit to Lake Harbour, Carver 3's husband had just begun carve and the couple worked closely together. Likewise, Carvers 4 and 5, another young couple, often do the same. By carving in groups, such as the young couples and teenagers do, information about carving is often shared between them. However, for the older carvers, while they do socialize, carving is not a social activity.

One: Stone and Tools [3]

As I noted in Chapter One, Lake Harbour residents are fortunate in that soapstone quarries are very close by: three major sites are all within a two-day boat ride along the coast. Trips to quarries usually take about a week and are interspersed with hunting and camping activities. The carvers generally return with several pieces of one to two foot sized portions. Family members will usually go out to soapstone sites in the summer and fall to generate a cache. For example, Carver 5 often made trips with family and friends to local quarries so that he and Carver 4, his wife, had a new cache of stone to work with.

Members of Households I, II and IIa all use this carving area located behind Household II. At times they have utilized a shack belonging to this household as a carving location. The power tools belong to Carver 5; however the entire extended family was permitted to use them at the communal carving area. The rest of the tools: files, chisels, hammers and sandpaper are bought or made along the way by the different carvers and

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[3] I should note that Saladin D'Anglure (1978) also constructed a step-by-step description of the carving process.

stored together and any family member is allowed to use them. Thus, tools appear to be pooled (a form of generalized reciprocity discussed by Damas 1972) in one location allowing for different carvers to use the tools. This corresponds to the sharing of tools by the ivory carvers in Alaska described by Ray above.

Two: The Design

The next step, after the procurement of the stone, is to decide what the carving will be. Carvers usually examine a piece of stone to get an idea about what sort of figure best corresponds to the shape of the stone. In some cases, an artist knows in advance what s/he would like to make and selects the stone accordingly. A carver, however, often changes his or her mind several times while roughing out a stone with an axe or hammer and chisel. At this stage, breakage is common and the carver must revise the design to fit the newfound size.

The carving production process begins as follows,

> Carver 5 began work on a large block of brown-green stone. He initiated a discussion in Inuktitut and English (for my benefit) with his wife (Carver 4) about what it should be - a seal, a polar bear or an Inuk. The woman's response was "I don't know - it's up to you." He examined the stone and began to act out positions to determine which position a person would be in that would best match the existing shape of the stone. He eventually decided to carve an Inuk. (Dupuis, field notes, 1990)

It should be noted that in this example the wife is the more experienced carver. This excerpt illustrates an important point: that discussion, the seeking of advice or, as I term it, consultation occurs at almost every stage of the production process. Consultation is essentially the verbal exchange of advice or information on a carving and includes

unsolicited information. Although the final decision of the subject is ultimately that of the initiator of the carving, it is clear that the opinions of others is often sought.

Consultation is important because it is a means of lateral and vertical instruction between carvers (Stairs 1990, cf. Lave 1984). For example, through this method of informal "advice," children can learn how to carve from each other and from older carvers. It is, in most cases, a way that less experienced carvers, though not necessarily the youngest, can gain guidance from those artists with more skill. In one case, an accomplished sculptor seized the work of a less experienced carver who was obviously stumped and drew in pencil on the piece a pattern. Thus, part of the production process of carvings often involves the carver learning from others how better to complete a carving.

This aspect of consultation is an important part of the production process and clearly indicates an aspect of cooperative manufacture of soapstone carvings. As both Schneider (1983) and Zolberg (1990) have pointed out, this manner of the creation of art is very different from Euro-American popular understanding of art production. Inuit carvings are clearly produced by artists who work together, exchanging advice on what to make and how best to make it.

Three: Working the Stone

Once the decision is made on the subject of the carving, the carvers' next step is to mould and then to file down the stone to its final form. The carvers mould the stone by chipping off fragments of stone with an axe and/or a hammer and chisel. This step usually takes one to two hours of hard, manual labour. Carvers often saw off portions of the stone to reduce

the hard work of chipping.

The next step is to improve the rough shape with steel files and rasps, a l the while adding detail to the figure. This is by far the most time-consuming, and most difficult stage of carving and this task can have a duration of several hours. For example, the folds of a woman's parka (amautiq) would be shaped at this juncture, as would the musculature on an animal.

Power tools, however, are indeed an innovation in the filed in that the remove much of the tedious and difficult labour in the creation of a carving. So these tools have replaced much of the work in both the chopping and the filing stages. As a result, the two stages are largely united such that after being worked on with a power saw and/or a grinder, a carving is almost ready for polishing when the form is finished.

Both chopping and filing often occur outside next to the carver's home or a family member's home, in a porch or in tool shack (his/hers or a family member's shack), although there are some exceptions. The following is a description of an outdoor chopping, filing and power-sawing session involving Carvers 4 and 5.

> Carver 4 and I are sitting behind the house on cushions from an old sofa and the woman is doing some filing with a 12 inch file on my carving - roughing the carving out so I will have a better idea how to approach the carving. The eleven year old boy, the woman's younger brother, is working on a seal next to us with a file. Carver 5 is below us at the bottom of a slight incline behind the house working using a grinder on a bird with outstretched wings. He has fashioned the carving so that one of the outstretched wings will be the stand for the carving. The woman looked at the carving and told her husband that it was not going to work and she was not going to help him. The husband replied that it would work, and that he had done this before. The woman repeated her earlier statement again twice. The husband then worked on the carving with an electric power tool for another half hour and returned to show it to us with it almost completely shaped except for the smoothing out of the carving. He then brought the carving up for his wife to examine and she

> glanced at the carving and commented "Fifty Dollars." The woman then took a file and made a comparative measure of the wings and then she began to file the carving in a few strategic locations which indicated where the best places to round certain portions of the carving. (Dupuis, field notes, 1990)

The three important types of help between carvers are illustrated in this account. In the first, consultative stage, Carver 5 sought verbal advice on what kind of carving to make from Carver 4, the more experienced carver. The second important exchange between these two carvers concerns economic information of importance to Carver 5. The exchange of economic information is an important part of the carving process. Anytime a carving is sold, the information on the sale price is spread throughout the family. In this way, Inuit are aware of current market variations in the price of carvings in the settlement.

The final form is actual physical help by one carver to another, which can be subdivided into two types. The first is serial or sequential work, the second is simultaneous work. Simultaneous help often occurs when a carver becomes "stuck". When there is such a problem, another carver may chip, saw or drill the unfinished piece, or, using a pencil or a pen, sketch lines on the stone. We saw this above when Carver 4 made strategic markings with a rasp on the sculpture for Carver 5 to follow-up. Another example of this occurred when one young carver was working on a polar bear and temporarily lost his "vision" of what to do next. His girlfriend then picked up the bear and made a few chips along the body and head of the bear to give the young carver an idea as to the next step. In this manner and in this setting, younger carvers can learn from each other the best techniques, tools and materials to use.

These forms of collaboration typify the qualitative differences between Euro-Canadian and Inuit approaches to art. Among Inuit, the production process involves carvers

Photograph Two. This photograph shows a carver filing her carving behind a house. This reveals how carvers typically work outside the home in extreme weather conditions. The tools she is using are typically shared among several family members.

Photograph Three. This photograph shows the same carver filing a carving in her kitchen, allowing her to keep an eye on her children.

working together in groups exchanging information and help throughout the many stages of the work. The give and take of advice and help is embedded within the process of production. There is much halting for discussion, consultation and physical help during the process of creation. Clearly, the production of a carving is not always a discrete act, one artist's product, nor does it involve producing one carving at a time. For instance, Carver 5 at one point worked on several sculptures simultaneously. Ultimately, the ideas, information, materials, and tools of the carvers are shared among the members of the extended family in the collaborative effort that goes into many soapstone carvings. Hence, although a carving is sold under one artist's name, often the advice and help of several individuals have gone into its creation.

Five: Polishing the Carving

Serial or sequential help occurs when a carving is begun by one individual and finished by another. The most common example of sequential carving occurs during the polishing of carvings by either the wife or child(ren) of male carvers.

Polishing is the final step in completing any carving and it generally involves three stages. The polisher fills a tub with water, submerges the carving, and sandpapers the scratches that remain from the filing stage, with three to four different grades of sandpaper, ending with the finest. The effect of sanding in the water produces suds. Then, the stone is often rubbed with lard or occasionally shoe polish is used. The exception to this stage is when a carver seeks a "rough" finish. This work is tedious, taking at least two to three hours to sandpaper a carving while one's hands are submerged in water. Next, finishing touches

are etched into the carving - that is the forming in of the eyes and mouth of an animal or person. There may also be a roughing out or scratching of the smoothed surface to add texture, for example, to simulate the plumage of a bird's wings.

The filing and finishing touches usually occur inside the home - usually in the "living" room of the house. Female carvers generally polish their own carvings and often those of their husbands. Carver 3 explained that she does most of the polishing for her husband, who noted that he polishes "only when I have to." Most married carvers in fact admitted that their wives have done some polishing of their carvings at some point in their careers. Many women "retire" and children then polish the carvings of their father.

Thus, we have seen the different form of cooperative labour, serial or sequential, that occurs in the production of soapstone carvings. Often, different stages are completed by different people - usually in a gender or generational division of labour - or in simultaneous labour which generally involves peer sharing. For example, help with carvings is generally between peers - usually between spouses or among adolescents - although on occasion an elder carver is approached for information by less experienced sculptors. Information, then, especially economic, cuts across all boundaries and is available to anyone: advice is given freely to less experienced carvers who may seek it or receive it unsolicited.

Generalized Reciprocity and Soapstone Carving

The cooperative production of carvings is only one way in which Inuit have adapted soapstone carving to their "particular pattern of life" (Geertz 1983: 97). Another means is through the distribution of the cash income earned from carving. This, as with harvesting,

involves kinship. While the first form of cooperation directly entails production, the second is concerned with allocation.

This reciprocity occurs among those who work on a carving together. It corresponds to the distribution of country food along kinship lines, generally described as generalized reciprocity. In this case, even those who are not involved directly in the production of a carving are able to share in its returns. This strongly suggests that Inuit soapstone carving has been incorporated into the already existing pattern of kinship-based food-sharing. Although it may be the case that members of a carver's extended family would share the return in any case, it is nonetheless important to see this activity as integrated into this essential practice of Inuit society. It is useful, therefore, to examine the literature on kinship-based food-sharing as it may relate to sharing in carving.

Kinship-based food-sharing (ningiq) has long been recognized as an important activity among Inuit (Rasmussen 1929, Birket-Smith 1950). While this and more recent discussions (Balikci 1968) have shed some light on the nature of these practices, it was only in the 1970s that writings on Inuit sharing concerned itself with the societal and economic context of reciprocity, thus creating a cogent theory on the subject. Based on work by Birket-Smith and Boas, Sahlins argued that some Inuit transactions were based on "generalized reciprocity," (1972: 193-236). This form of reciprocity "refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary returned...[thus the] ...material side of the transaction is repressed by the social....." (1972: 193-194). When something is shared then, the expectation is that the person will reciprocate when it is socially required, or failing that when they are able, or indeed not at all. Though

there are economic implications to sharing, Sahlins established that social factors were the central motivation and the result is an economic system driven at least to some degree by social considerations.

Following up on Sahlins (1972) and on his own work on kinship, Damas (1972) identified the extended family as the main economic unit in Central Eskimo society, or in his words: the "ultimate repository of food" (1972: 232). Significantly, the ilagiit was the focus of food redistribution. Kin relationships are the basis of most social behaviour in Inuit society including the redistribution of country food. Just as country food is shared among the members of the extended family so too are the cash returns of a sold soapstone carving, and there is generally a reciprocal relationship surrounding both actions. Critical, however, is that the return from a carving, like hunting, is shared among kin, but not necessarily in direct relation to how much time they contributed to the effort.

Wenzel (1983) provided an important empirical example of how the sharing of non-"traditional" resources, such as money generated from wage labour, has been integrated economically and culturally into subsistence. Instances of intra-ilagiit sharing can be seen as analogous to sharing that occurs for food. Thus, "elements of this kind of sharing are structurally similar to traditional modes of biological resource distribution within and between families....." (Wenzel 1983: 89). Wage labour, then, is not only necessary to the maintenance of the subsistence economy, but that it can become integrated into same, allowing the widest disposition of the resulting income. Wenzel argued that wage labour itself and/or the returns from wage labour could be shared following the same pattern of food-sharing, that is, along kinship lines. The Clyde River mine workers, upon their return

from work at the Nanisivik mine site, distributed their earnings among members of their extended families through the sharing of goods bought with earnings from the mine. For example, an older man worked at the mine to earn money to put towards a snowmobile for his son.

Sharing in the Return of Carving

It is after the polishing stage of carving that most of the money is shared from the sale of sculptures. For example, in the case of Household IIa, Carver 5 polished 4's carving, in approximately 1.5 to 2 hours of work. In return Carver 5 asked for a tube of superglue worth approximately five dollars. When Carver 5 sold a carving worth $175, he gave Carver 4 $80.00 for the 1.5 to 2 hours of work Carver 4 spent polishing his carving.

One very well-known carver from Lake Harbour explained the interactions surrounding the sharing of money among carvers. He explained that his wife polishes most of his carvings and that occasionally he helps her with the polishing. He said that it was very important to him that she helped him by polishing his carvings and that he usually gives her "about 50 percent of the money, sometimes all of it because she does not have a job and she needs the money for the children" and he described her as a "housewife and polisher" (Dupuis, field notes, 1990).

These two examples indicate some very important points. First, that the sharing from carving replicates the pattern of generalized reciprocity. The point is that spouses and others may collaborate and the money earned from a carving is shared with the wife and other members of his family. Also, while sharing may, in part, be compensatory, the carver

also realises that his wife's contribution to the manufacture of the carving allows more time to produce highly priced carvings. Cooperation also optimizes opportunity.

It is also common to ask one's wife to do the etching in of the facial features on the carving. Carver 1 had trouble working the details on the bird's face and so he asked his wife, a more experienced carver, to adjust the face for him. After the carving was sold for $80.00 he gave her $20.00. He explained "She takes what she needs." Again, the cash return is shared not in proportion to the work done on the carving, but in appreciation of the contributor's role.

As one informant explained to me, the sharing of money from a carving occurs in the context of "a family helping each other out... The money usually goes to something for the house....." Often someone in a household will simply ask another person to apply the coat of lard to a carving. There may not be monetary remuneration for such a service. However, the money does enter the larger realm of the kin group.

Another typical occurrence of sharing involved in serial work is when a carver breaks a carving and gives it to another carver out of frustration. Carver 1 broke a carving and out of frustration he gave it to his wife, Carver 2. Although Carver 1 had done a great deal of work roughing out the carving, the carving became "her carving" and as such she kept the money when it was sold. Another instance saw Carver 1's sister leave an unfinished carving for the family when she returned home from a visit. Carver 1 explained that "she left it for us." This form of sharing is emblematic of larger patterns of sharing in the extended family.

Furthermore, money is often shared with members of the extended family not

involved directly in the production of a carving. The most outstanding example of this form of sharing is through annual trips in search of stone. The trip not only provides stone, but hunting and gathering opportunities as well as the chance for visiting for participant members of the extended family. Carver 1's brother finances a trip to quarry stone each year and all the members of the extended family are invited. Each member provides what they can afford for the trip which utilizes the infrastructure (i.e. boat) from Carver 1's brother whose sole source of income is carving. Thus, in this very indirect way the resources of carving are shared among all members of the extended family.

Hence, it is clear that the concept of generalized reciprocity is the best means for understanding the distribution of the cash income from soapstone carving sales. Recall that generalized reciprocity exists when "the time and worth of reciprocation are not alone conditional on what was given by the donor, but also upon what he will need and when, and likewise what the recipient can afford and when....." (Sahlins 1972: 194). When something is given, i.e. work on a carving, the expectation is that the return, i.e. the sharing of the money, is based on need. This would explain the varying levels of return for work on a carving that lasts from two to four hours. The important aspect of the sharing of carving money is, as one carver explained, that the money goes to cover the financial needs of the family. In so doing, the producer is fulfilling normative kinship responsibilities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER: CARVING AS AN INTEGRATED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Introduction

The central focus of this thesis has been to analyze Inuit soapstone carving as a form of employment and local household economy. It is, however, an occupation that has become integrated, indeed been adapted, into the deeper pattern of Inuit society. Moreover, it is a form of employment that is an essential part of an overall income-producing strategy for men, women and children/adolescents. While investigating carving as an occupation, (i.e. indicating hours worked and wages earned), a more complex set of tactics initiated by relatively unknown carvers was uncovered. These tactics consisted of the blending of carving with other forms of employment over time (including harvesting and other subsistence activities, most notably sharing) to produce a relatively viable economic strategy in a settlement where typical employment strategies (i.e. full-time employment, full-time harvesting) are not often an option.

Carving and the Subsistence Economy

In an important empirical example, Wenzel (1983) discusses how wage labour integrates into the Inuit subsistence economy in several ways. First, the money from wage labour is crucial as a means of directly financing the harvest. Essentially, access to money has become crucial to participating in the harvest aspect of the subsistence economy.

Wenzel argued that "money is the intermediate resource which opens paths into the wider environment. Indeed, research...suggests not only that participation in wage labour is compatible with subsistence activities, but also that subsistence without wage labour involvement may be impossible for many Inuit under contemporary conditions....." (Wenzel 1983: 82). So, we see the connection between wage labour (be it miners, as at Clyde, or carvers) and the harvest: money is necessary to sustain the modern hunt. Money can be funnelled directly to support the harvest, as Graburn (1976) suggested, as a means of direct capitalization. Or, in an example from Lake Harbour, the money from the sale of a carving purchases supplies, such as food and tackle, for a fishing trip.

Second, at a larger scale, Wenzel argues that Inuit have integrated wages, when necessary, into the subsistence economy. He sees that "money must be viewed as a part of the local subsistence economy and as a resource amenable to traditional controls and arrangements, not unlike recognised traditional resource items....." (Wenzel 1983: 91). In this manner, carving, too, is integrated into the subsistence economy as a whole, in the same way that wage labour is integrated. However, both carving and wage labour function as more than just a means of capitalizing the harvest directly, but also providing necessary cash as an input into the subsistence system. By providing cash, carving has become an important element of the subsistence economy which supports not only the harvest per se, but the other important aspect of the subsistence system - reciprocal sharing. Thus, what we see, at least at Lake Harbour, is a system that allows carvers to practice economic generalization through the combination of cash income with income-in-kind, much the way wage earners and harvesters do. In Lake Harbour, some carvers move freely between

sculpting and employment and are a part of an extended family unit. This gives them access to country food. Ultimately, carving does not merely parallel developments in other parts of the subsistence system, it is integrated within it.

Carving and the Household Economy

> Art for art's sake makes no more sense than gin for gin's sake. (Maugham 1977: 26).

In this passage, Somerset Maugham makes the important point that art is often created for other than intrinsic reasons. In the case of Inuit soapstone carving, one motivation is to secure an income, an income that is a segment of a larger revenue earning strategy for carvers in Lake Harbour. This thesis has attempted to understand these strategies invoked by "invisible" carvers by discerning their activities at the individual level and through their interactions with other subsistence contributors at the household and extended family levels.

As I noted in my introduction, typical studies of Inuit artisans tend to examine the carving or print only as an aesthetic object, usually outside of the context of the larger society that produced it. When an attempt to understand the carver is made - usually the approach is to study one usually famous carver - often through the device of a biography (e.g. Blodgett's Kenojuak 1985). While this can be extremely useful (see Fienup-Riordan 1987, Saladin D'Anglure 1978) the format is not conducive to an understanding of an important aspect of Inuit society - the relationship between carver and the larger social universe within which other activites are considered.

I portray the unknown carver not only in the context of that particular carver's

household and his/her extended family but in comparison with other "unknown" carvers in his or her family. I attempt to reveal the relationship between a carver and the extended family, in order to highlight the importance of analyzing the carving process at the household and/or extended family level. Ultimately, I seek to understand the underlying relationships between carving and other facets of contemporary Inuit life.

It is important to note that using households as an analytical category is that they represent an incomplete socio-economic grouping unit, like the individual biography. It is the extended family which is, as Damas (1972) noted, the "minimal" economic (and analytical) unit. What is useful about studying the relations at the level of the household is that it allows for an emic view of the interactions between members of the extended family. In this case, it has allowed me to construct the social relationships of carvers to the ilagiit (extended family).

Studying at the level of the household also allows for more than the strategies of the individual carvers to be understood, since it encompasses both economic and social levels of interaction. At the economic level, it suggests that there may indeed be tactics employed by a nuclear family to gain the best possible access to all sources of income over time. As demonstrated earlier, the use of the household as a unit of analysis allows for a detailed study of not only the individual carver, as discussed in Chapter Four, but also of his/her articulation to the extended family. The broadest illustration of a carver's articulation to the extended family (i.e. the social level) was when Carver 1's brother (the head of Household VI), subsidized a quarrying trip for the entire extended family, supplying his boat and many supplies.

Ultimately, the designation of the "household" has little independent socioeconomic meaning when studying Inuit; the important economic unit is the extended family. The household, however, does provide a physical focus which lends itself to an analytical understanding of the social and economic relationships between carvers, their extended family, and the community as a whole.

Men, Women and Children: Carving Profiles

This work has focused on carvers at two levels of abstraction to date: the household and the extended family. While this has revealed the interconnections between carvers, it has neglected the very different strategies, tactics and goals of the individual male, female and adolescent\child.

Female Carvers

One important factor relevant to female carvers in Lake Harbour is that there are none well-known as artists. This is not to say renown is impossible - there was one "name" (by southern standards) female carver in Lake Harbour but she moved to another settlement (Arseneault, personal communication), and while Eva Itulu is well known and often noted in art publications, she has not reached the stature of many male carvers who have southern exhibitions of their work.

Another important point about Lake Harbour female carvers is that the average age of women carvers is much higher then men - 53 percent of male carvers are below the age of 35, while 67 percent of female carvers are 35 and over (see Table 4.2). Since the overall

age make-up of Lake Harbour is quite young (see Table 2.1), the youthful subset of male carvers should come as no surprise. But why are the female carvers disproportionately older? Part of the answer lies in the flexibility of a carver's schedule is attractive to women. As one woman noted in an interview, she actually began carving and quit a lucrative full-time job because of the flexible schedule that carving offers. Also, both Carver 2 and Carver 3 carve in their homes (especially Carver 2) so that they can watch their children. Furthermore, the ability to care for their children while working is an important reason why women enter carving at a later age. Also, many of the younger women speak and write English and so they pursue office and retail work.

Women participate in an "invisible" manner in carving - but their contribution is only invisible to those who purchase the carvings in the south. Males may have "big names", but it is commonplace for women to contribute to even these carvings. Thus, when the carving is sold, only the man's name appears on the carving and the woman's contribution is not noted. While women's efforts may be unseen by us, male carvers understand the importance of the contribution made by women to the art. As one carver explained it: his wife is a "housewife and a polisher" and that her help was important to him. Moreover, when he sells the carving he gives her some or all of the money to run the household.

Hence, the wife's role as a polisher is not a minor role in the production process nor is it perceived in that manner by men. The female carver is contributing to the cooperative production of soapstone art, and shares directly in its benefits. Thus, when the Northwest Territories Advisory Council on the Status of Women's report declared that women's contribution to arts and crafts production was "invisible" and seen merely as "an extension

of their role in the household" (Fogwill and Fennell 1990: 215) it was only partially correct. Moreover, that women's contributions are "underestimated, unrecognized, and undervalued" (Fogwill and Fennell 1990: 215) is not the case among Inuit.

Children and Adolescent Carvers

Children and adolescents participate in the production of carvings in two main ways: they produce sculptures in their own right and, like the women, they participate as a component of a cooperative process by polishing the carvings made by others. As one carver explained, his wife no longer polishes his carvings hence he has asked some of his grandchildren to polish his carvings. This is what Stairs describes as "backwards chaining" where the

> final steps of essential adult tasks are progressively left undone for children to complete, thus giving them an immediate and important role in community work. A young girl may first complete the final trim on her father's new pair of kamiks (skin boots), then the next year sew together several of the cut pieces as well as trimming. (Stairs 1988:3)

Thus, children learn how to polish and slowly they master the earlier steps in the carving process. In 1989, I observed Carver 4's ten year old sister polishing her father's carvings. By 1991, this girl, now twelve, was an active carver (selling her own carvings) and participated in Carver 4's group carving sessions, described in Chapter Four. From beginnings as a polisher, she, in two years had become a carver in her own right.

Children learn several aspects of the entire carving process as they participate. Indeed, Eisemon et al (1988) argue that it is through carving with their parents that Inuit children in Nouveau-Quebec acquire their carving skills (Eisemon et al 1988: 18-20). They suggest

that:

> [s]kills in these domains are acquired spontaneously during childhood through play, practice and participation in various stages of the production process. This often occurs during casual observation of adult carvers while children are carving with adults. (Eisemon et al 1988: 19)

Inuit children, therefore, appear to learn how to carve while actually participating in the production of the soapstone carvings. Furthermore, children enlist the help of more experienced carvers when they are "stuck." Eisemon et al noted that the children "often asked questions when they encountered problems with their carving....." (1988: 20). This correlates with my description (Chapter 4) that adolescents from the carving circles often offered advice and physical assistance with a carving when they are "stuck." Thus, children appear to be integrated within the production process and their contribution, like women's above, is often concealed (c.f. Stairs 1990).

A final issue is the designation of carving as a "social activity" for children and teenagers (Eisemon et al 1988: 20). In this case, the "children did not want to carve without each other and they both wanted their father to be there carving with them....." (Eisemon et al 1988: 20). As I illustrated in Chapter Four, teenagers and, in some cases, adults carve together in small often kin-based groups. I would argue that carving is in fact a "socializing" activity. As Stairs (1988) and Wenzel (1986) have both noted, part and parcel of any Inuit activity is the inculcation of adult cultural values to children.

Male Carvers

A profile of the male carvers is perhaps the simplest and the most difficult task as this group represents the majority of carvers and encompasses the most diverse set of traits.

As was noted in Chapter Six, most men tend to carve alone especially if they are older, while younger males often work with their spouses if they too are carvers.

The profile of the typical male carver is of a youth (under 25 years of age). This is explained by the patterns of employment ir a northern settlement. For men, employment tends to revolve around very high status jobs, of which there are only a few (i.e. Senior Administrative Officer, Government Liaison Officer) with the only other option being manual labour such as construction or truck driving. Construction is quite seasonal, so younger males are often drawn to carving in the winter as a means of earning a cash income. Men also see part-time carving as a means of supplementing and financing their hunting activities. For example, Carver 5 paid for one particular hunting trip with the proceeds from the sale of a $250 carving at a time when very little construction work was available. Older men, however, tend to be either well-known carvers who work at their art full-time, or they have found a relatively stable job by which they support hunting activities. Thus, it is generally younger men, economic generalists, who turn to carving as a means of securing a viable income.

Ingenuity: Carving within the Subsistence Culture

> Dissension in the meaning of Plains artifacts has often revolved around issues of authenticity and age. Non-Indians are prone to ask whether an object is "really traditional, is "really Indian." (Pakes 1987: 27).

Pakes describes well the perceived lack of authenticity or genuineness surrounding "commercial" Native art and dance. His maintains that the concept of a genuinely traditional ceremony or artifact is an interpretation attributed by outside observers, often wanting to

see "old ways" preserved, and any perceived deficiency is interpreted as counterfeit. Pakes' response is, "To the question "Is it Indian?" one can only answer that in the performance of the powwow we are witnessing a reconciliation of what being "Indian" ought to mean now....." (Pakes 1987:45). Thus, when contemplating the authenticity of a Native artifact, one must ultimately consider what meaning that artifact holds culturally for the society that produced it.

Clearly, Pakes' argument concerning the powwow parallels the controversy over Inuit art's genuineness. As set forth in Chapter Five, a similar argument with regard to Inuit art is whether the influence of southern market forces on Inuit art has transformed the traditional artform. However, just as Pakes notes that the powwow must be seen in the present context of its meaning to Plains' Indian society, others contend that Inuit art must be viewed in the same manner (Fienup-Riordan 1987, LeBlond 1989, Graburn 1987).

To this end, and as I have asserted elsewhere (Dupuis 1990), I have investigated Inuit soapstone carving within its sociocultural and socioeconomic contexts. Ultimately, soapstone carving is linked to the core relationships of Inuit society: generalized reciprocity, cooperative endeavour and the mutual support system of the extended family.

Carving, then, is genuinely Inuit, despite many earlier "literary" descriptions to the contrary. The carvings are genuinely Inuit because, when examined within the context of Inuit society, we see that they fit into the established patterns of Inuit life. Thus, not only is carving successfully integrated within the subsistence economy, it is also a socially adapted activity that coordinated with the Inuit values embedded within Inuit subsistence culture.

Inuit soapstone carvings are perceived from many realms throughout the

contemporary period. As I highlighted in Chapter 5, sculptures are viewed as both a socio-economic artifact and as an artform - are they genuine in both spheres? The answer is yes because the artifact itself is not the issue. What is crucial is that, for the artist and Inuit society in general, the carving represents a means of reaffirming the cultural patterns and customs of cooperation and generalized reciprocity.

These conclusions on soapstone carving contribute to earlier geographic work on cultural elements of the northern economy. In the vein of earlier work of Müller-Wille (1978), Usher (1976), and Wenzel (1981), this thesis has examined the income generating capacity of soapstone carving among Inuit in Lake Harbour. It concludes that, based on an analysis of the contribution of soapstone carving to one extended family (three households), soapstone carving represents an important economic strategy for many "unknown" soapstone carvers.

Inuit soapstone carvings are perceived from many realms throughout the contemporary period. As I highlighted in Chapter 5, sculptures are viewed as both a socio-economic artifact and as an artform - are they genuine in both spheres? The answer is yes because the artifact itself is not the issue. What is crucial is that, for the artist and Inuit society in general, the carving represents a means of reaffirming the cultural patterns and customs of cooperation and generalized reciprocity.

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Field Season I: Appendix I

Calendar 1 - Daily Activities

[illegible]

Name ______________ Date ____________ Recorder's Name ____________

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ____________

* Please remember to retain cash slips from Hudson's Bay Store

* [illegible]

1) Which activities did you do today and did anyone help you?

[illegible]

Household maintenance [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
Food preparation (cooking) [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
Sewing [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
Skin preparation [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
	______________________	
Shopping [illegible]	______ (______)	hours [illegible]
hunting (see questionnaire #1) [illegible]	______ (______)	hours ᐃᑲᕐᕋᐃᑦ

butchering meat ____
ᐱᓕᕆᓂᖅ ᑯᑎᓂᒃᑯᑦ

repairing equipment ____
ᖃᓄᓂᖅ ᓄᑲᑎᒪᓂᖅ

wage labour ____
ᐃᖅᑲᓇᐃᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᑭᓐᓂᒃᑯᑎᒍᓐᓇᓂ

gathering food locally ____
(see questionnaire #2)
ᓄᓇᕗᓂᖅ ᓂᕆᓂᖅ ᓄᓇᕗᑦᓂ
(Cdᓂᐊᑭᒃ ᐊᐱᖅᑯᑦ ᓇᒃᒪ 2)

berries (cloudberries, beerberries) ____
ᓄᓂᕐᓂᖅ (ᑲᑦᓇᓂᒃ, ᑭᒡᒐᕆᓇᖅᑎᑦ)

eggs ____
ᒪᓕᒐᓂᖅ

1) Who else in the household has a full-time or part-time job?
ᑭᓇᓗ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂ ᑲᒪᓂ ᐃᖅᑲᓇᐃᕐᓂᖅᑐᑦ [illegible]
ᐃᓇᐃᓕᓂᒃ

_____

2) How much do you make a week at your job? _____
ᖃᐅᔨᓴᓕᖅᑐᓂᒃᑯᓐᓂ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᕆᔨᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᓕᕆᔨᓂᖅ

_____

3) How much do the others, if any, make at their job(s) a week?
ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᑐᖃᓕᓂᒃ, ᐱᒋᖅᑲᒃ (ᓴ, ᖃᐅᔨᓴᓕᖅᑐᓂᒃᑯᓐᓂ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᕆᔨᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᐃᖅᑲᓇᐃᕐᓂᖅᓯᒪᓂᖅ

_____

4) Did you serve country food for any meals today? If so what was it?
ᐅᓪᓗ ᐃᓄᐃᑦᑎᓂᖅ ᓂᕆᓂᒃ [illegible] ᐱᓇᓂᑦᑐᖅᑲᓂᓪ

_____

Calendar II - Hunting information
ᐅᓪᓗᖅᓯᐅᓪ II - ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓂᔭᐅᔪᖅᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᖅ

Name: _____ Date ___ ___ ___ Person's name _____
ᐊᑎᖅ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᑎᖅ

1) Did you purchase gas for this hunt? If so, how much?
ᑎᓴᒪᑉᐳ ᓂᐱᐅᓪᓚᕆᔨᖏᓪᓗ ᐱᓕᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ?

If yes, _____ gallons
ᓂᐅᐃᖅᓯᐅᑉᐳᓪᓗ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ

2) Did you purchase oil for this hunt? If so, how much?
ᑎᖃᓕᖅᑎᑐᑎᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᓂᐱᐅᓪᓚᕆᔨᖏᓪᓗ ᐱᓕᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ?

If yes, _____ gallons
ᓂᐅᐃᖅᓯᐅᑉᐳᓪᓗ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ

3) For this hunt please record
ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᖅᑕᐅᓪᓗᑎᒃ

Date you left _____ and approximate time? _____
ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᒥᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ

Date you returned _____ and approximate time? _____
ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᖅ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ

4) How long did you spend travelling to and from the hunting area? Please **record time** periods in fractions of hours, eg. 1 1/2, 2 1/3 etc.
ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ
ᐃᑲᔪᕐᓇᐅᑉ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ [ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ, 1 1/2, 2 1/3

to _____ (hours) from _____ (hours)
ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ (ᐃᓄᐃᑦ) ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ (ᐃᓄᐃᑦ)

5) How much time was spent repairing the motors or other equipment? (Again, please record time periods in fractions of hours, e.g. 1 1/2, 2 1/3 etc.)
ᖃᓄᐃᓕᐅᕈᑎᑦ ᓴᓇᔨᓴᕐᓂᖅ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ
ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᖅᑐᑎᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓪᓗᑎᒃ [ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔨᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓇᖅᑐᖅ, 1 1/2, 2 1/3

ᑎᑎᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᒪᔨᑕᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖏᑦ ᐅᑦᓗᓂᐅᑎᒥ ᑕᑯᐅᕿᑕᒪᑦ

ᓂᑦᓂᖅ RINGED SEAL	ᑐᖅᑐ CARIBOU
ᐅᒍᓚᖅ BEARDED SEAL	ᐅᒥᒪᖅ MUSKOX
ᖁᐃᑭᓕᖅ HARP SEAL	ᐅᖁᓕᖅ ARCTIC HARE
ᐊᕐᓂ HOODED SEAL	ᐊᒪᑭᖅ WOLF
ᐊᐃᐃᒃᖅ WALRUS	ᑎᑎᕆᓂᐊᖅ FOX
ᑭᓪᓗᒍ ᑭᓄᑐ NARWHAL	
ᑭᓪᓗᒍ ᖁᐅᓴᖅᑐᖅ BELUGA	
ᓴᓴᖅ POLAR BEAR	

	EGGS / ᓚᓂᑦᓂ
ᐊᑭᒥᖅ PTARMIGAN	
ᖁᒍᖅ SNOW GOOSE	
ᓄᕐᓕᖅ BRANT	
ᒥᑎᖅ EIDER	

ᐃᖁᓗᖅ CHAR

Figure 2 Reporting format for harvest statistics

Field Season II: Appendix II

Section II Data Gathering Sheet [4]
Date: Time (beg.& end):
Special Event/Setting?:

1) Learner (age, sex)

2) Others (how many) in Setting (age(s), sex(es), their (kin) relationship to the learner, and interaction with learner

3) Setting (Informal or Institutional)

4) Activities (who is doing what)

5) Interpersonal relations occurring (record dialogue and subtext)

6) Atmosphere

7) Objects/Tools etc.

8) Values (learner derives from incident)

9) Comments

[4] This form is adapted from Pitman and Eisikovits (1989).