

THE CREATION OF A DEPENDENT PEOPLE:
THE INUIT OF CUMBERLAND SOUND, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

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ABSTRACT

The Creation of a Dependent People: The Inuit of Cumberland Sound, Northwest Territories

This thesis deals with change in Cumberland Sound, Northwest Territories, focussing on the period 1953-1973. The study analyses the relationship between government policy, its implementation, and its results as these apply to the study region. The argument is developed that the westernization of the Inuit has been intentional. Although this process was erratic in the whaling and fur trading periods, the federal government formalized westernization as policy after World War II. The implementation of policy in Cumberland Sound was carried out in an inflexible way by relatively unimaginative local administrators. The effect of government action has been to urbanize and to improve the standard of living of the population, but only perhaps to improve their quality of life. The overall result is that the population is partially westernized. The suggestion is put forth that this in-between condition of partial westernization is likely to be enduring.

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RESUME

La création d'un peuple dépendant:
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Cette thèse traite du changement dans Cumberland Sound, Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest, durant la période 1953-1973. L'étude analyse les relations entre les politiques du gouvernement, leurs exécutions, et les résultats tels que ceux-ci s'appliquent à la population de la région en question. L'argument présenté ici est que l'occidentalisation des Inuit fut intentionnelle. Quoique ce processus fut erratique pendant les périodes de la chasse à la baleine et de la traite des pelleteries, le gouvernement fédéral a institutionnalisé l'occidentalisation comme politique après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Cette politique dans Cumberland Sound a été mise à exécution d'une manière inflexible par un groupe d'administrateurs locaux peu imaginatifs. L'effet des actions du gouvernement a été d'urbaniser et d'améliorer le standard de vie de la population, mais en effet elles n'améliorent peut-être que la qualité de vie. Le résultat finale est que la population est partiellement occidentalisée. Cette condition d'occidentalisation partielle sera probablement de longue durée.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE. WESTERNIZATION AND THE INUIT	4
CHAPTER TWO. EVENTS IN THE ARCTIC, c.1000-1953	22
Initial Contact	22
The Whaling Period	24
The Fur Trading Period	32
Traders	32
Missionaries	35
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police	41
Effects of the Fur Trade	42
Interpretation	50
CHAPTER THREE. GOVERNMENT AND WESTERNIZATION	55
Activity to World War II	56
Analysis	60
Change in Pace: World War II-1952	64
Government Policy, 1953-1972	72
Analysis	83
CHAPTER FOUR. POLICY IN PRACTICE: CUMBERLAND SOUND	89
Initial Contact	89
The Whaling Period	91
The Fur Trading Period	101
Traders	101
Missionaries	105
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police	111
Life in the sound, 1921-1961	112
Government Activity in Cumberland Sound	
Before 1956	118
The Bureaucracy Arrives: 1956-1961	119
Transition: 1961-1963	125

The Urban Period: 1962-1973	131
Economy	131
Tourism	141
Direct Economic Impact	147
Indirect Economic Impact	148
Health	156
Direct Health Care	160
Indirect Health Care: Housing	162
Education	168
Local Government	172
Administrators	179
Analysis of Government Administration: 1956-1973	191
CHAPTER FIVE. RESULTS OF POLICY: CUMBERLAND SOUND IN 1972-73	215
Population	215
Numbers	215
Structure	226
Settlement Pattern	231
Economy	237
Economic Status of Individuals and Families	238
Individuals	238
Families	241
Family Income Distribution	268
Settlement Economy	276
Work	295
Society	302
Introduction	302
Health	304
Physical Health	304
Nutrition	316
Health Care	337
Housing	341
Education	346
Schooling	346
Communication	349
Summary	363
CHAPTER SIX. THE ROAD NOT TAKEN	368
APPENDIX. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED WITH WESTERN RESIDENTS, WITH RESPONSES	382
BIBLIOGRAPHY	395

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

4-1. Hamlet of Pangnirtung	180
5-1. Birth Rate	222
5-2. Death Rate	224
5-3. Population Structure, Cumberland Sound, 1966	229
5-4. Population Structure, Cumberland Sound, 1973	230
5-5. Per Capita Personal Incomes	240
5-6. Family Personal Incomes	244
5-7. Patterns of Family Expenditure	267
5-8. Distribution of Family Incomes	273
5-9. Number of People Receiving Economic Assistance	282
5-10. Number of Sealskins Traded at Pangnirtung	285
5-11. Economic Assistance Payments	288
5-12. Labor Participation Rates by Sex	297
5-13. Work and Income	301
5-14. Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1000 Live Births)	306
5-15. Incidence of Tuberculosis	312
5-16. Incidence of Gonorrhoea	315
5-17. Population per Hospital Bed	340
5-18. Housing Density	343
5-19. Grade Level Attainment	348
5-20. Population Attending School	351
5-21. Telephones per 1000 Population	354
5-22. Languages Spoken	358
5-23. Languages Written in Pangnirtung	360

Maps

4-1. Selected Place Names, Cumberland Sound	90
4-2. Auyuittuq National Park	146

4-3.	Pangnirtung, 1973	185
5-1.	Settlement Locations, Cumberland Sound	218
5-2.	Population Distribution, 1883: The Whaling Period	234
5-3.	Population Distribution, 1944: The Fur Trading Period	235
5-4.	Population Distribution, 1973: The Urban Period	236

LIST OF TABLES

1-1. The Westernization of Inuit Culture	15
4-1. Fur Trade Posts in Cumberland Sound	103
4-2. Tourist Accommodation and Spending in Pangnirtung, 1973	151
4-3. Tourist Delays	153
4-4. Origin of Tourists by Place of Residence	155
4-5. Auyittuq National Park as a Tourist Attraction	157
4-6. Age-Sex Distribution of Tourists	158
4-7. School Facilities and Enrolments, Pangnirtung	170
4-8. Pangnirtung Voter Participation Rates	181
4-9. Westerners in Pangnirtung	182
5-1. The Inuit Population of Cumberland Sound	216
5-2. Birth Rate (Per 1000 Population)	221
5-3. Death Rate (Per 1000 Population)	223
5-4. Population Structure, 1966	227
5-5. Population Structure, 1973	228
5-6. Family Size	232
5-7. Per Capita Personal Incomes	239
5-8. Family Personal Incomes	243
5-9. Sources of Family Income	245
5-10. Sources of Family Income (Percentages)	246
5-11. The Survey Families	248
5-12. Families' Reported Incomes and Expenditures	249
5-13. Incomes, by Source (7 Months)	250
5-14. Verified Incomes and Reported Expenditures (7 Months)	251
5-15. Expenditures, by Category (7 Months)	252
5-16. Verified Incomes, Sources as Percentages (7 Months)	254
5-17. Adjusted Expenditures, Categories as Percentages (7 Months)	255
5-18. Incomes, by Source (One Year)	256
5-19. Expenditures, by Category (One Year)	257

5-20. Incomes, Sources as Percentages (One Year)	258
5-21. Expenditures, Categories as Percentages (One Year)	259
5-22. Survey Families' Game Harvests	261
5-23. Incomes	263
5-24. Expenditures, by Category (One Year)	264
5-25. Expenditures, Categories as Percentages (One Year)	265
5-26. Patterns of Family Expenditure	266
5-27. Distribution of Family Incomes by Indicators, 1969	269
5-28. Frequency Distribution of Families and their Incomes by Income Groups, 1969	271
5-29. Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Families and their Incomes by Income Groups, 1969	272
5-30. Distribution of Family Incomes by Indicators, 1964	275
5-31. Community Income	277
5-32. Community Income (Percentages)	278
5-33. Wage Positions in Pangnirtung	280
5-34. Number of People Receiving Economic Assistance	281
5-35. Number of Sealskins Traded at Pangnirtung	284
5-36. Handicraft Purchases, Pangnirtung Co-operative, 1972	286
5-37. Economic Assistance Payments	287
5-38. Agencies Operating in Pangnirtung: Income, 1972-73	290
5-39. Agencies Operating in Pangnirtung: Expenditures to Individuals, 1972-73	291
5-40. Labor Force by Sex, Showing Participation Rates	296
5-41. Potential and Actual Weeks Worked in Pangnirtung, by Category (1969)	300
5-42. Infant Mortality Rate (Per 1000 Live Births)	305
5-43. Incidence of Tuberculosis (Per 100,000 Population)	311
5-44. Incidence of Gonorrhoea (Per 100,000 Population)	314
5-45. Daily Per Capita Consumption of Selected Store Food Items (Grams)	317
5-46. Method of Calculation of Required Calories	320
5-47. Daily Per Capita Calorie Intake	321
5-48. Daily Per Capita Intake of Protein, Fat, and Carbohydrate (Grams)	323
5-49. Percentage Composition of Foods (Grams)	324

5-50. Daily Per Capita Food Intake	325
5-51. Expenditure for Store Foods	327
5-52. Store Food of Animal Origin	328
5-53. Percentage of the Population, by Age and Sex, with Inadequate or Less-than-Adequate Vitamin A Intake	331
5-54. Percentage of the Population, by Age and Sex, with Inadequate or Less-than-Adequate Vitamin C Intake	332
5-55. Consumption of Sugar and Sugar-Related Products (Grams)	333
5-56. Population per Hospital Bed	339
5-57. Housing Density	342
5-58. Housing, People per Room	345
5-59. Grade Level Attainment, as Percentages, for the Population Fourteen Years of Age and Over	347
5-60. Percentage of the Population Five-Nineteen Years of Age Attending School	350
5-61. Telephones (Per 1000 Population)	353
5-62. Languages Spoken by Inuit Fourteen Years of Age and Over (1969)	357
5-63. Languages Written by Inuit in Pangnirtung Fourteen Years of Age and Over (1969)	359

PREFACE

The Inuit of Canada are perhaps the object of more scholarly study than any people on earth. One might therefore question the appearance of yet another dissertation dealing with the Inuit. Such concern is, however, inappropriate - while most research conducted in the last several years deals with the relationship between the Inuit and massive resource exploitation projects, almost none deals with the more mundane subject of the workings of an ordinary village. This study partially redresses the imbalance; it deals with the genesis and evolution of Pangnirtung, a "typical" Inuit village in Cumberland Sound, Northwest Territories. The original contribution to knowledge made by the dissertation is twofold. First, most of the empirical content of Chapter Four and Chapter Five is new, and in and of itself adds to our understanding of contemporary Inuit society. Also new is the presentation in one monograph of the relationship between government policy toward the Inuit, its implementation, and its measurable effects as exemplified in Pangnirtung.

I am grateful for the assistance given to me by several individuals. The most important of these are the people of Cumberland Sound, most of whom, at one time or another during my visits there in 1973 and 1974, patiently provided answers to my many questions. My research supervisor, Professor W. B. Kemp, has provided direction to and encouragement for my studies for several years. Others at McGill University who have provided assistance are Professors Jim Gilmour, Theo Hills, and Sherry Olson.

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INTRODUCTION

One quarter of a century has passed since the Canadian federal government announced that it would assume direct administrative responsibility for the Arctic region of the country. In that time, almost limitless change has taken place within the area: what was to most Canadians in 1953 an all but totally unknown land inhabited by a picturesque but otherwise inconsequential hunting people is now one of the most active frontiers of expanding industrial society.

Although the incorporation of Arctic resources and population into Canadian society may appear to residents of the southern part of the country to be a very incomplete process, a northern perspective shows it to be far advanced. While recent events, especially pressures resulting from the industrial nations' search for new sources of energy, suggest that outside interest in the area is new, and its effects often accidental and random, historical events clearly demonstrate that contemporary change in the Arctic is neither unintentional in its direction nor in many of its results. Particularly, the federal government is not guilty of a policy of "inaction and reaction" as is often alleged. On the contrary, throughout the period during which it has directly administered the region, government has anticipated and planned for the massive exploitation of non-renewable resources.

This study is an outgrowth of a year's residence, in 1973, in Pangnirtung, N.W.T., where I was engaged in the collection of data about Inuit domestic economies in general, and nutrition in particular. While

engaged in this task, I came increasingly to the belief that the most important question one could ask about the community was, "How did Pangnirtung evolve into its present condition?" While this question is apparently simple, the range of possible answers seemed enormous, and only with trepidation was the decision made to pursue it as a thesis.

The study as it is presented here addresses the issue of geographic change, that is, alterations in man-land relationships, in one part of the Arctic, Cumberland Sound, between 1953 and 1973. The purpose of the thesis is to increase our understanding of how these geographic alterations, such as the urbanization of population and the associated occupational shift from hunting to wage employment, came about. To achieve this the thesis focusses on clarifying the relationship between government policy, its implementation, and its results. The point of view is taken that western society has acted to recreate the Inuit in its own image by a process of westernization, and evidence is presented that this objective has been partially achieved.

The study shows that the events of the post 1953 period represent an intensification and ordering of historical events and processes, from which they cannot be separated. The year 1953 is chosen as the earliest date to receive substantial attention because it marks the time at which the Government of Canada decided to formalize as policy the westernization of the Inuit, and bring the process to its conclusion. The year 1973 represents a practical benchmark at which to standardize recent data and provides a twenty year perspective on change in the Arctic.

The thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter One discusses the point of view taken in the study, that is, that the westernization of the Inuit has been an intentional process. Chapter Two is a brief description and

analysis of historical events in Arctic Canada. The chapter clearly shows that many contemporary events and processes are firmly rooted in the past. Chapter Three is an elaboration of federal government policy toward the Inuit, especially between 1953 and 1973. The argument is developed that in this period the Canadian government's policy remained extremely consistent in both its intent and articulation; its goal has been to complete the lengthy and historically disorganized process of Inuit westernization. Chapter Four first briefly discusses historical events in Cumberland Sound in the context of the panarctic events discussed in Chapter Two, and shows that Cumberland Sound was much like other areas in its exposure and response to whaling, fox trapping, etc. Second, but more importantly, the chapter examines the implementation of post 1953 government policy in the region; the evidence shows that the policy goal of westernization was pursued in Cumberland Sound in an unbending fashion by relatively unimaginative local administrators. Chapter Five assesses the effects of government policy: growth and urbanization of the population; growth in the size and major change in the nature of the economy; and change in the social attributes of Inuit culture, especially as related to health and education. Chapter Six suggests the main failures of western-Inuit relations through 1973, and in the context of post 1973 events indicates the direction that future events might take.

CHAPTER ONE

WESTERNIZATION AND THE INUIT

Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
Little frosty Eskimo,
Little Turk or Japanee,
O! don't you wish that you were me?

You have seen the scarlet trees
And the lions over seas;
You have eaten ostrich eggs,
And turned the turtles off their legs.

Such a life is very fine,
But it's not so nice as mine:
You must often, as you trod,
Have wearied *not* to be abroad.

You have curious things to eat,
I am fed on proper meat;
You must dwell beyond the foam,
But I am safe and live at home.
 Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
 Little frosty Eskimo,
 Little Turk or Japanee,
O! don't you wish that you were me?

Robert Louis Stevenson,
"Foreign Children" (1916, 25)

Westerners have sought to ease the plight of foreign "children" by attempting to make their homelands and ways of life as western as possible. During the last 400 years, in the Canadian Arctic as elsewhere, western society has followed this course of action, which may be called westernization. Consequently, since the beginning of contact massive change has taken place in Inuit society. Most of the change has been initiated consciously, some of it unconsciously; most by westerners, some

by Inuit. Missionaries apart, perhaps, the motivation for almost all actions by both groups has been economic.

The contemporary notion of "development" is inextricably linked to that of "westernization". The term "development", especially as used by economists, is ordinarily construed to mean an increased standard of living, that is, increased material wealth. Westerners, of course, have achieved the greatest material wealth in history. Therefore the association of ideas, one that is in fact so strong that the very term "westernization" has been swept aside by the ethnocentricity of its practitioners. "Development", however, clearly has implications that are not economic, and given the experience of the last thirty years, even economists accept such a view. For instance:

...economic development is not equivalent to the total development of a society.... [It is] the *process* whereby the *real per capita income* of a country increases over a *long period* of time (Meier, 1970, 5, 7).

Or, disregarding the slightly different disciplinary terminology, and the unfortunate but prevalent equation of the recent and the western:

Development...refers to those underlying structural changes--the creation of new institutions and new industries and the application of modern technology and skills to old ones such as agriculture--that cause growth in output per person....

Modernization is a term used...to designate the long term personal, social and political changes that accompany economic development (Dalton, 1974, 199).

One must question, however, whether the distinction between "economic development" and "development" does not seem specious, if not to academics at least to the general public:

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, with increasing affluence, economics has moved into the very centre of public concern, and economic performance, economic growth, economic expansion, and so forth have become the abiding interest, if not the obsession, of all modern societies (Schumacher, 1974, 34).

And:

...economics is then, routinely, made the final test of public policy. The rate of increase in income and output in National Income and Gross National Product, together with the amount of unemployment, remains the all but exclusive measure of social achievement. This is the modern morality. St. Peter is assumed to ask applicants only what they have done to increase the GNP (Galbraith, 1967, 390).

John Livingston, a conservationist, presents another view of western society, one which also recognizes the societal primacy of economics. He argues that western man "...considers himself fundamentally different and distinct from the living world that gives him both substance and sustenance" (Livingston, 1973, 14). Having traced the evolution of this attitude, he suggests that one may imagine the earth and its components to be arranged as

...a great latticework in a shape like that of the Eiffel Tower. Man stands at the top. Below him are all the nonhuman components of the biosphere, in descending order according to their relative value to man, which is the sole measure of their cosmic significance. Thus, man stands on Western technology, and Western technology stands on energy resources. Below energy resources there are non-renewable resources. The next stratum downward consists of those resources such as soils, forests, fish, and wildlife which we used to call "renewable".... Of less importance than renewable resources, and thus of less validity, are "non-economic" animal species. Below the animals which we consider valueless are those plants which have no economic "purpose." Further down is terrestrial wilderness. Of least importance is marine wilderness (Ibid., 211).

Livingston's model is, of course, western, and clarifies the relationship between "westernization" and "development." Throughout the period of their geographic expansion, westerners have been determined to bring the indigenous populations they have encountered to the top of the latticework, that is, into humanity, by "civilizing" them. While one should not overlook the humanitarian motives associated with much assimilation or integration of aboriginal populations, neither should one fail to recognize that the "civilizing" process of bringing indigenes

out of nature and into culture served to improve their most important attribute, the economic.

All of these arguments apply to the Canadian Arctic. In the most substantial and recent work to deal with change in northern Canada, K. J. Rea, a University of Toronto economist, offers that economic development is

...a change in the *structure* of an economy, particularly a change in the direction of less reliance on primary extractive activities such as farming, logging, and mining, and more on secondary manufacturing and processing for employment and income in the area (Rea, 1976, 25).

Having given what is in fact a definition of industrialization, Rea goes on to point out that historically industrialization and economic development have been regarded as synonymous, but that economic growth is different because the requisite structural change has not occurred. The key distinction is that the structural change is thought to lead to greater economic self-determination, whereas growth means only "more", not "different" (Ibid., 26). Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, supports this view. His report states that "...development has been conceived as the transformation of the northern economy from a traditional to an industrial economy" (Berger, 1977, 120).

Continuing with his argument, Rea states:

The term "development" may apply not only to economic, but also to political and social aspects of life in a country or region. Again, the term implies the creation of opportunities for "self-determination", for a country or region's political and socio-cultural experience to be shaped by internal forces (Rea, 1976, 26).

Again, there is support for his view. The Science Council of Canada suggests that development, particularly as it applies to the North, may be defined as

...the entire gamut of changes by which a social system, to remain responsive to the wishes of the individuals and sub-systems, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory toward an alternative condition held to be humanely better. Development is both a cluster of societal goals (relating to optimal life-sustenance, freedom, esteem) and a set of processes (political, cultural, economic and social) by which those goals are pursued. If these changes are to qualify as development, the decision makers must carefully determine the pace at which the changes ought to take place, the tolerability of their costs and the extent to which economic development and social progress are wedded. This definition goes far beyond equating development with the exploitation and processing of natural resources, to encompass the entire economic and social life of a people--its culture, health, education, social outlook and its political institutions (Science Council of Canada, 1974, 3).

And, more recently:

Development may refer to economic, political, or social features of a country or region...change or growth in one or another of these aspects [being] associated with opportunities for greater local self-determination (Canada, 1977b, 32).

The synonymy between development and westernization is as important in the Arctic as elsewhere:

...northern development in Canada...is governed by the interaction between western industrial culture and the particular environment...designated as "the north" (Rea, 1976, 16).

Also important is the perceived place of the Inuit in the process of development, as alluded to by Rea. Since the Inuit clearly are not regarded as part of western industrial culture, they must be, by default, part of "the particular environment...designated as 'the north' ." As Berger (1977, 85) puts it:

Euro-Canadian society has refused to take native culture seriously. European institutions, values and use of land were seen as the basis of culture. Native institutions, values and language were rejected, ignored or misunderstood and--given the native people's use of the land--the Europeans had no difficulty in supposing that native people possessed no real culture at all.

Hugh Brody elaborates, relating the general relationship of man and nature posed by Livingston to the case of the Inuit. Brody argues that the Inuit have been taken to be

...in a state of nature.... The great social and intellectual distance between Whites and Eskimos is emphasized in the minds of Whites by the harshness of the Arctic and the intimate closeness of Eskimo life with the land: the harsher the environment, the closer to nature must be the people who are able to inhabit it.... The people and the land are mythical--the "real Eskimo", a strange and wonderful being...far off in the heart of the land, where he takes nature's rhythms and makes them his own, a figure invested with wild dignity and powers, a force of nature himself, leading a life that could scarcely be more different....(Brody, 1975, 78, 81).

Diamond Jenness believed that the historic view of the Canadian government was similar: the Inuit were "...an inferior people who had always formed part of the region's fauna...." (Jenness, 1968, 23). And of course the "natural" orientation of Inuit culture led to an inferior economic situation:

Probably the Eskimos were part of the system of balance of nature in the same way as were the animals and one can hardly speak of a standard of living in the usual sense of the word. The Eskimos lived at the bare minimum necessary for existence (Canada, 1953, 20).

If one accepts this view of Inuit society, then one would likely accept that it would be bettered by a process of westernization; if nothing else, the economic qualities would be "developed" to the point at which western society could consider the Inuit to be part of humanity. The alternative view is that Inuit society, prior to contact, was economically and socially "developed", and therefore not in need of westernization. Such an alternative view is based on the assumption that prior to contact, the Inuit lived in relative harmony with their environment. Over several thousand years the culture evolved sequentially as it continually progressed toward an equilibrium with the Arctic environment. These cultural sequences

...suited the country, the climate, and the animals of their time and place....

Within the limits set by nature and their tools of stone, bone, or wood the tribes lived as fully as they could. Their dancing,

hunting, fighting, and building left little mark on the land. The effects of tribe on tribe, the movement from region to region, came slowly, and each group or tribe developed a life which suited local conditions (Crowe, 1974, 62).

Over time evolved a seasonally migrant society adjusted to the rhythms of light and dark, warmth and cold, especially as these were reflected in the movement of other species; the object was to maximize the possibilities to obtain food. The technology that evolved was limited, but "...highly ingenious...and sensitively adjusted to the cycles of the local ecosystems" (Williamson, 1972, 54-55) thereby allowing essentially all resources to be utilized. While the Inuit may not have been conservationists, neither did they alter their environment in any important way. This reflects the Inuit world view: pre-contact Inuit probably did not consider themselves different and distinct from their physical environment, as has western man:

...the difference does not exist, for to [the Inuit] the "supernatural" is in every way as normal as the everyday, tangible world in which he moves (Birket-Smith, 1959, 160).

Rituals associated with hunting provide one indication that the Inuit had a considerable awareness of their dependence on the environment.

In the traditional Eskimo society the [worlds of nature and thought] were closely related. All living organisms, for example, were believed to have a soul. In his ritual, the Eskimo recognized the fragility of the Arctic ecosystem and sought to foster friendly relations with the same animals he hunted for food (Kemp, 1971, 114).

Other aspects of the culture showed a similar concern for the relationship between culture and environment. For instance:

The stories of the northern people show the close bond between hunters and nature. In these tales people, animals, and rocks may talk to each other and take each other's shapes (Crowe, 1974, 29).

And:

...to the native people, the land was sacred, the source of life and sustenance....(Berger, 1977, 85).

Most importantly, perhaps, pre-contact Inuit were, to use Rea's phrase, self-determining; the western notion that they were not and that this attribute had to be developed among them was erroneous.

This empirical view of Inuit society leads to the need for an alternative theoretical view of development, that is, one that is not synonymous with westernization. In this regard, one might suggest that a "developed" society is simply one in which culture is in harmony with the physical environment. Such an idea is not new (see for example Spencer, 1960, 38) but does not seem to have found much support in the "development decades", perhaps because it is an abstraction and therefore impossible to measure in the usual quantitative terms such as per capita income. It does, however, escape the common preoccupation with economically oriented, western value based definitions, and thereby allows the possibility that a non-western society not accepting the primacy of material wealth may be a developed society. The idea also allows for the possibility that different cultures may develop in different ways and/or at different rates. Pre-contact Inuit society, as described above, was developed in the sense that culture and physical environment were in harmony. This was not a static situation; all cultures evolve, and the Inuit is no exception. Much as an ecologist might describe the various plant communities that replace one another in some area in an ongoing quest to reach an equilibrium with the overall environment, one might describe the sequences of Inuit culture in the Canadian Arctic: at first the region was uninhabited, then populated by increasingly complex groups, the Denbigh, Dorset, and Thule, each of which achieved a more sophisticated relationship with the environment.

One must be careful to recognize that any balance is, at best, relative: equilibrium between humans and the physical environment is

constantly changing as a reflection of such long term processes as change in climate. Other shorter term events, such as war or natural disaster, whether internally or externally induced, may destroy rather than alter the equilibrium, leading to rapid and substantial modification in man-land relationships, or, in the extreme case, to depopulation of the region in question. One must also acknowledge the short term fluctuations that indicate the balance is not perfect; in the Arctic, for example, starvation could and did occur from time to time.

In the Canadian Arctic, massive social and economic change has been the consequence of externally induced contact between Inuit and westerners. Whatever environmental-societal balance had existed in the Arctic was irrevocably altered after contact, but at least not yet has this change been catastrophic: depopulation of the region has not occurred.¹ The degree to which the Inuit have been westernized by this process of change is an important consideration, but unfortunately impossible of wholly objective measurement. Two attempts are made here to evaluate the extent of westernization. The first is based on Louis-Edmond Hamelin's well known concept of nordicity. The second, a comparison of Inuit cultural attributes before contact with westerners and at the present time, is more exploratory.

Hamelin's work is primarily oriented toward defining the region that constitutes "the North." The basis of his definition is an index number derived from values attributed to each of ten criteria, one of which is locational, five of which deal with the physical environment, and four of

1. At least one knowledgeable observer, Diamond Jenness, believed that the situation of the Inuit was so bad that they should be "encouraged" to live in southern Canada (Jenness, 1964, 89; 1968, 56-59).

which deal with human activity.² For any given location, each criterion is assigned from zero to 100 *valeurs polaires*, and the sum of the values of the ten criteria calculated, this figure giving the nordicity of the place in question. Higher values denote greater nordicity, 1000 points being the theoretical maximum (Hamelin, 1968). Six of the criteria, those describing the location and physical environment, would not be expected to change with time, except as a result of long term climatic fluctuations. The four values describing human activity would be expected to change, as that activity becomes more or less intense. Hamelin explains:

Dans le déroulement historique, les caractères actuels du Nord canadien ne correspondent qu'à ceux d'un moment. Pour comparaison avec le Canada du Sud, rappelons que chaque recensement nous éclaire sur l'évolution différentielle des aires métropolitaines. Dans le Nord, si à l'échelle d'une génération, les frontières du pergélisol, du glaciaire ou de la taiga-toundra ne se modifient guère, celles du peuplement, des abandons d'écoumène, des développements économiques et des mentalités font partie de séries chronologiques courtes qui s'insèrent dans de plus longues; ces mouvements entrent indubitablement dans la connaissance de toute région. Il est indéniable que le Nord d'avant la deuxième Guerre mondiale se présentait et était perçu d'une façon fort différente du Nord des perspectives pétrolières présentes. La nordicité boréale doit donc comprendre un aspect dynamique, une fonction temps (Hamelin, 1975, 104).

Though he admits there are certain methodological problems with comparing temporal data, for instance the non-applicability of air travel in a comparison of places now and 100 years ago, Hamelin nonetheless is able to show that

...les valeurs de nordicité totale pour 1941, 1911, et 1881 sont graduellement moins polaires qu'elles ne devraient l'être. De plus, comme la nordicité globale (physique et humaine) de 1966, constitue une valeur davantage minimale que ne l'était la nordicité plus "naturelle" d'hier, celle-ci apparaît légèrement élevée (Ibid., 104-5).

-
2. The criteria are (a) locational: latitude;
 (b) environmental: summer heat, annual cold, types of ice, total precipitation, vegetation;
 (c) cultural: air service, accessibility by other than air, population, degree of economic activity.

Continuing, Hamelin provides figures that show between 1881 and 1966, the area of northern Canada, as he defines it, decreased by 20% and that the remaining northern area was concurrently displaced toward higher latitudes (Ibid., 109-10). The cause of this change is the northward expansion of southern Canadian population, economic activity, and modes of transportation, that is, of western society.

The second attempt to assess westernization rests on the self-evident observation that pre-contact Inuit society was not western in any regard, but that between the time of contact and the present many cultural attributes have changed, and changed in a way that can be described. Table 1-1 lists several important attributes of traditional and contemporary Inuit society as these are interpreted by one outside observer; while the traditional attributes clearly apply to all individuals and groups, the contemporary characteristics are suggested to apply only to "most of the people most of the time", a natural consequence of describing rapid change at one moment in time. Subjectively, one might suggest the trend constitutes "development" or "modernization" with their connotations of advancement, or alternatively a process more akin to cultural genocide, either of which views rests on the value orientation of the observer. However, without making any attempt to assess how good or bad the trend is, one can readily see that the Inuit culture is becoming more western in its main qualities.

The partial westernization of the Inuit has created a society situated between its aboriginal subsistence hunting condition and "modern" industrial western society. To describe this society by generally accepted terminology is virtually impossible: the social and economic characteristics suggested by the classifications "hunter-gatherer", "peasant", or "lumpen proletariat" only partially apply. "Peasantry",

TABLE 1-1

THE WESTERNIZATION OF INUIT CULTURE

Attribute

1. Fundamental cultural values and orientations
2. Systems of beliefs about man and natural phenomena
3. Nature and use of exact and pragmatic knowledge
4. Language and speech behavior
5. Systems of writing and other memory aids
6. Content, style, and use of literature--oral and otherwise
7. Visual arts, crafts, and ornamentation
8. Drama and ritual--public and private
9. Patterns of recreation and entertainment
10. Clothing and decoration of the body
11. Architectural styles and types of buildings
12. Types and consumption of foods and beverages
13. Tools and technical skills
14. Concepts and customs concerning property
15. The marketing and exchange of commodities and gifts
16. Utilization of land and settlement patterns
17. Demographic characteristics of population
18. Social stratification--by age, sex, economic class, or otherwise
19. Kinds of informal groups and styles of interpersonal relations
20. Nature and functioning of formal organizations
21. Marriage customs and family types
22. Kinship terms, relationships, groups, and systems: real and fictive
23. Kinds and functions of communities and territorial organizations
24. The organization of government and political behavior
25. Ethical beliefs, norms, social control, and law ways
26. Military organization and the nature and conduct of war
27. Techniques of socialization and nature of education
28. Definition and handling of the stages of the individual life career
29. Diagnosis, treatment, and response to disease
30. Religion and the supernatural

Traditional Status

1. Survival
2. Man in tenuous balance with the unpredictable natural and supernatural worlds
3. Provide for material well being, usually in a way that will gain some measure of prestige
4. Inuktitut
5. No writing; poetry, songs, especially relating significant events
6. Oral, especially related to history and environment
7. Carving, drawings, engraving of implements
8. Mostly related to the supernatural, especially feasting and "performances" of shaman
9. Gambling, games, stories, songs; visiting
10. Animal skins; tattooing (females)
11. Snow houses; tents
12. Products of hunting and gathering
13. Sophisticated use of limited resources
14. Sharing
15. Sharing
16. Seasonal migrations related to location of resources; no "rights" to the land or its resources
17. Few in number; youthful
18. Very little; egalitarian
19. Partnerships (wife-exchange, joking, economic)
20. None
21. Arranged; households based on nuclear to extended families
22. Real and fictive (by naming); distinguishes siblings, cousins, parents, aunts and uncles, etc.
23. Coming together and separating of households; related to location of usual habitation
24. Consensus; isumataq and/or shaman "de facto" leaders
25. Dishonesty unacceptable; weak social control; age and/or ability related to authority/respect; ostracism
26. None
27. Role playing
28. Child - productive adult - elder; no special "rites of passage"
29. Determination of broken "taboos"
30. Natural and supernatural closely related; animistic

Contemporary Status

1. Sense of identity related to life on the land
2. Man may be superior to nature, but nature must be respected
3. Provide for material well being, usually in a way that will gain some measure of prestige; recent interest in need to use acquired knowledge to retain cultural identity
4. Inuktitut and (usually) English
5. Syllabics, various western technologies (i.e., tape recorders, pencil and paper, etc.)
6. Written and oral; used for entertainment and information
7. Carvings, drawings; western personal and household adornments
8. Most relate to church services
9. Gambling, bingo; movies; television, radio; dances
10. Store-bought; some skins
11. Prefabricated wooden bungalow
12. Store-bought; products of hunting and gathering
13. Adaptation of western goods to traditional methods
14. Increasingly individualized "private property"
15. Monetized trade; some sharing
16. Hunting increasingly for recreation rather than survival; population urbanizing; use of land therefore decreasing
17. "Minority group", few in number, youthful
18. Tendency to economic stratification
19. Tendency away from partnerships to western style "friendships" based on concepts of "liking" rather than on economic need
20. Numerous, along western lines (co-operative, local council, housing authority, women's auxiliary); democratic
21. "Love"; nuclear family based household dominant
22. Real becoming more important than fictive, especially as related to western record keeping of births, marriages, deaths, etc.
23. "Urban" settlements; regional and national Inuit political groups
24. Democratic, at least nominally
25. Increasing social pathologies; increasing use of western legal concepts as means of social control
26. Some adolescents in military cadets
27. Compulsory formal schooling
28. Preschool child - school child - working adult - elder
29. Preventative and curative western health services
30. Christianity

SOURCE: List of attributes derived from Clifton (1968, 6).

however, seems to be the idea that most accurately describes the "in-between" situation of contemporary Inuit society even though the term is conventionally reserved for agriculturalists. A peasant society may be defined as one in which

...most people have come to depend on production for sale as their primary source of livelihood. Market exchange has become the dominant mode of transaction; commercial production has become more important than subsistence production. In peasant economies appreciable quantities of labour and...produce are bought and sold; money prices and money incomes are familiar. However, with regard to technology, social organization and cultural practice, peasant economies more nearly resemble the primitive than the modern (Dalton, 1967, 156).

Clarke (1972, 27) expands on this definition by emphasizing that in a peasantry the household constitutes the basic economic unit.

The creation of a peasantry by the incursion of colonial enterprise is not unusual (Ibid., 25), in contrast to the conventional belief that peasantries represent an internally generated progression from the subsistence stage. Dalton (1967, 161) suggests that change must occur in three societal sectors before one can say that "successful development" has taken place: economic, technological, and cultural. In the transition from subsistence to peasant society, especially as it is a reaction to colonial penetration, only the economic sphere is altered: a commercial element is introduced, but other change either does not occur or is very limited. Clarke (1972, 26) feels this is the consequence of the primary goal of a peasant, that is, to maintain his household in the context of the larger community; one might also suggest it is the consequence of the overwhelming western interest in economic matters and an associated inattention to the other spheres. In any case, occupational pluralism, a combination of activity in both the subsistence and market sectors of the economy, is the strategy commonly used to adapt to the change. Both

Clarke and Dalton feel that the only means by which to initiate further progress toward an industrial society is for the people involved to overcome the social malaise that is characteristic of most peasantries.

The conditions outlined above accurately describe the situation of the Inuit peasantry. Its genesis is found in colonial commerce, which was first present in the Arctic as whaling, second and more visibly as fur trapping. These activities drastically altered the Inuit economy, but changed Inuit technology and culture only in relative detail. The household, however, was reinforced as the main economic unit.

Occupational pluralism is now a way of life, at both the village and the household level. This is reflected in sources of income and especially in the enduring importance of income in kind. Cash income is now derived from a variety of specific activities, which for discussion may be grouped into four broad categories: wages, handicrafts, furs, and transfer payments. For example, these recently collected data show the following distributions:

	Old Crow, 1973	Pangnirtung, 1973
wages	67%	53%
handicrafts	6	13
furs	16	14
transfers	11	21

(Sources: Canada, 1974e, 96; page 278).

With respect to income in kind, data are scarce, and there are problems with imputing value to wealth not exchanged in a market, but the following figures indicate the continuing, though likely declining, importance of the subsistence sector of the village economy:

	Income in Kind as a percentage of Total Income	Country Food as a percentage of Total Food
Pangnirtung, 1973	30	26
Old Crow, 1973	n.a.	55 (human) 36 (dogs)
Sachs Harbour, annual average, 1963-67	23	n.a.
Lake Harbour, 1968	n.a.	63
Cumberland Sound, 1966	62	n.a.
Broughton Island, 1966	53	n.a.
Clyde River, 1966	68	n.a.

(Sources: Canada, 1974e, 79, 81; Canada, 1970a, vol. 2, 117; Canada, 1967, 181, 194, based on a replacement rate of \$.50/lb. (\$1.10/kg); pages 260, 321).

The social malaise present in Inuit society is well documented. The best recent summary of conditions is presented by Graham Rowley, a longtime official of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, who has concluded that Inuit society has been in a "state of continuing crisis" since the end of World War II (Rowley, 1972, 202). The 1972 seminar on scientific activities in the North also commented on the "adverse" social trends in the region (Canada, 1973c, 36), as has the Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger, 1977, chapter ten).

Continued industrialization, and especially overcoming social malaise as suggested by Dalton and Clarke, may not be enough to permit further westernization. Howlett (1973, 273) makes the point that for some peasantries "...the constraints of the environment, indigenous socio-economic characteristics and development policies do not permit the achievement of a modern society." Such would appear to be the case with the Inuit, as a direct result of the wholesale transfer of western values and activity to the Arctic. Traditionally, the Inuit utilized all resources

accessible to them. After contact with Europeans they were encouraged to, and for a variety of reasons did, become increasingly oriented to one resource, first whales, then the white fox. This sort of specialization is the hunting economy's equivalent of monocultural production in an agricultural society, and the hazard is the same: if the crop is lost, or in this case when world demand for the produce ceased to exist, there is no alternative to fall back upon. Twice, therefore, the Inuit were brought to an artificial, externally induced, economic "balance" with their environment, each of them further removed from the traditional, stable adaptation; a third cycle, based on mineral and petroleum exploitation appears to be in its infancy. The consequence is that, rather than becoming upstanding contributors to western society and economy, the Inuit have progressively become a dependent people. Socially the Inuit constitute one of Canada's lowest ethnic echelons; economically they are part of the nation's poorest income group.

In hindsight, one cannot express surprise at this state of affairs for two reasons, both suggested by Howlett. First, though successful westernization obviously requires the transfer of western economic activity to the Arctic, the physical environment poses what are probably insurmountable obstacles to the establishment of many industrial activities. Rea (1968, chapter six) indicates that the geographical remoteness of the North from the places where most consumption and production occur leads to higher production costs (in labor, process materials, electricity and fuels, and capital investment), resulting in one environmental limit to economic activity. As well, there is evidence that the natural environment may not have the ability to sustain projected economic activity since it appears to be highly susceptible to human influence. Particularly, these

problems relate to the effects of freeze-thaw, the slow rate of ecosystem repair, and the poor ability of the Arctic ecosystem to disperse pollutants (Canada, 1973c, 72). Large scale agriculture has never been a possibility in the Arctic: there is virtually no soil, frosts are likely at any time, and summer precipitation is very light.

The second reason one cannot express surprise is intrinsic in the degree of westernization already achieved. One interpretation of recent government policy, which one should recall is simply an extension of historical process, is that it has sought to bring to the Inuit the equivalent of the general rural Canadian standard of living (Damas, 1969, 61).³ Regrettably, a side effect of the creation of such a standard of living is the creation of a rural Canadian quality of life, that is, one of high unemployment, marginally adequate social services and amenities, etc. Phrased another way, the Arctic now exhibits all of the problems endemic to any hinterland of urban industrial society.

The basic cause of the present situation is found in the western interpretation of Inuit society, first made hundreds of years ago, and still evident today: Inuit society is "undeveloped" and should therefore be made western. In fact, the society was "developed" and should have been respected. Difference was construed to be inferiority.

The next four chapters of this study document the process of westernization as it has taken place in Cumberland Sound. Particularly it focusses on events that have taken place since 1953 when the federal government formalized the process as policy, a decision which has entrenched Inuit society in an economic and social dependency. To properly assess recent

3. That this has been partially achieved is shown in Chapter Five.

events, however, requires an understanding of historical events in the Arctic. This is the subject of Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

EVENTS IN THE ARCTIC, c.1000-1953

...far northern lands are not the dread icy deserts of the popular belief but are possessed of a variety of resources and are available for occupation by civilized man.

Edward William Nelson in his introduction to The Northward Course of Empire (Stefansson, 1922, xvii)

Western interest in the Arctic is not new: Europeans were in the eastern part of the region 1000 years ago. This chapter examines how western interest in the resources of the region grew, the conduct of western whaling and fox fur trading, and especially how the Inuit figured in the laissez faire system of resource exploitation.

Initial Contact

Europeans first may have contacted the Inuit of North America in about the year 1005, when a Greenland Norse exploration voyage to Vinland contacted aborigines referred to by the Norse as Skraelings. However, whether these people were Indian or Inuit is an open question (Morison, 1971, 53; Ingstad, 1972, 78). The sagas indicate that relations with the Skraelings were not friendly: the first contact was marked by homicides (Ibid.), and the Norse abandoned their Vinland colony after a few years due to the hostility of the aboriginals (Morison, 1971, 57; The Vinland Sagas, 1973, 28). No evidence exists that Norse-Skraeling contact produced

any lasting effect, even though the Norse may have continued to travel to North America for timber and game for centuries afterwards (Morison, 1971, 59; Ingstad, 1972, 222; The Vinland Sagas, 1973, 28). Morison, at least, takes delight in this:

[The Skraelings] did well to run the white men out of their territory, for by so doing they enjoyed American isolation for almost five hundred years (Morison, 1971, 57-58).

The hostile Norse-Skraeling relations were repeated when the first definite European-Inuit contact occurred, in 1576. At that time, Martin Frobisher, searching for the Northwest Passage to the Orient, sailed into Frobisher Bay, sighted "the savages", and had five of his men kidnapped. He managed to capture one Inuk. There is some reason to believe that the hostile behavior evidenced by the Inuit was logical. Morison, quoting Stefansson, feels that the Inuit

...had experience dealing with Europeans. In all probability, some vessels of the Newfoundland fishing fleet had sailed this far north... and from them the Eskimo had learned to keep out of their clutches and to move inland if the Europeans became too obnoxious (Ibid., 508).

Even though the Inuit had indigenous acrobatic games (Crowe, 1974, 32), Morison also believes they

...showed that they were no strangers to European ships by doing gymnastic exercises in *Gabriel's* rigging (Morison, 1971, 507).

Also, Kirwan (1959, 23) indicates the Inuit were in possession of several objects that might have been obtained from "...recent contact with whalers or fishermen whose voyages had never been recorded."

Certainly, the unhappy pattern of fighting and kidnapping became the hallmark of early European-Inuit relations (Crowe, 1974, 65, 67; Morison, 1971, chapters fifteen through eighteen). One must remember, though, that the major interest of the explorers was exploring: the aboriginals were entertaining, if perhaps sometimes a nuisance, but not of any real

importance to what were essentially self-sufficient parties who "...lived in, or from, their ships, and...remained in every way an extension of the Old World" (Phillips, 1967, 115). Therefore, contact between the two groups was limited. Explorers, however,

...traded a little, and no doubt brought diseases with them. The many ships abandoned in the ice or wrecked on reefs provided valuable iron and timber for the Inuit (Crowe, 1974, 130).

But because trade was not necessary to the Europeans' survival, and because the voyages were both spatially and temporally scattered, they had little impact on the Inuit:

Throughout this period, traditional social practices and cultural patterns persisted. The customary sorts of groupings, beliefs, tools, and economic practices continued much as they had from the later stages of the archeological era.... (Damas, 1968, 142).

The Whaling Period

Europeans have fished the waters of the North Atlantic at least since the fifteenth century. Though whales were sought as part of this enterprise, whaling became common in eastern Canadian Arctic waters only in the early nineteenth century (Crowe, 1974, 105; Phillips, 1967, 117), and only after mid-century in the western Arctic (Crowe, 1974, 109; Phillips, 1967, 118). Whalers were the first Europeans to have a substantial impact on the Inuit. The most important of their effects were related to employment, the infusion of trade goods, especially guns and whaleboats, and the centralization of population around winter harbors.

Many Inuit gained employment with whalers, in two ways. First, men were employed as boat crews during the whaling season. Second, in winter, men were employed to provide fresh food for the Europeans, and women to sew clothing (Phillips, 1967, 117; Crowe, 1974, 106; Jenness, 1964, 11). In the western Arctic, the role of women was expanded to include sexual

service (Jenness, 1964, 13; Crowe, 1974, 107), and that of men to gather driftwood for fuel (Jenness, 1964, 13; Phillips, 1967, 118). In some cases "large numbers" of men were employed at shore stations at the height of the whaling season (Phillips, 1967, 117). Ross (1975, 77) states that the Inuit could be classed into three groups, distinguished on the intensity of contact with whalers: ships' natives, who had extended employment; squatter natives, who provided a kind of reserve labor pool; and outside natives, who had little contact.

Jenness (1964, 11) notes that the whalers insisted the employed Inuit continue to hunt seal and narwhal, and that as a consequence diet and economy were not totally disrupted. Phillips (1967, 117) and Ross (1975, 85, 87) agree, the latter characterizing the work done by ships' natives as an extension of traditional pursuits, and emphasizing that the Inuit were employed as skilled hunters, not unskilled laborers. Ross further believes that the traditional seasonal cycle of activity was maintained (Ibid., 81), though Damas (1968, 157) believes it was "somewhat disrupted" as a result of population relocation at winter harbors.

Hunting fresh food for the crews was one of the main reasons that Europeans employed Inuit, but in the later stages of the period, trapping with steel traps was "encouraged" (Zaslow, 1971, 258; Crowe, 1974, 110; Jenness, 1964, 11). A negative effect both of hunting game with which to feed Europeans as well as Inuit, and of the quest for fur-bearing animals with more efficient weapons and implements, was the depletion of wildlife, especially caribou. Crowe (1974, 108) states that caribou, muskoxen, and walrus were "hunted out of existence" where the fleets were based. Jenness (1964, 13-14) also directly attributes game depletion to the whalers. But Zaslow (1971, 258) implies that whalers simply "accelerated" the depletion

of wildlife populations. Ross (1975, 109-10, 148), referring to Hudson Bay and quoting a reference to the western Arctic, believes there is "no clear evidence" of widespread caribou depletion by whalers, but that they may have diminished the number of muskoxen substantially.

The acquisition of western material goods was the object of the Inuit in their dealings with the whalers. Damas (1968, 157) states that the consequent injection of goods into Inuit society was the "most striking effect" of the period. Initially, goods were acquired as payment in kind for employment. Only later in the period, when skins were exchanged for European goods on a commercial basis, did implements become true "trade goods" (Ross, 1975, 74; Crowe, 1974, 106). By the early 1900s, this trade was sufficiently advanced that the selection of goods carried for trade by whalers was similar to that offered a few years later at the Hudson's Bay Company posts (Ross, 1975, 136).

Europeans introduced a variety of goods to Inuit society. Though some trade items extended the scope of Inuit culture, Ross (Ibid., 87) suggests that the general process was one in which more efficient, durable, and easily obtainable implements replaced Inuit articles that performed the same function; guns and whaleboats are the most important examples. Ross (Ibid., 94-95, 97, 110) enumerates the major effects of each on Inuit society. Guns (1) committed Inuit to continuing trade in order to obtain ammunition, flints, etc., thereby increasing their dependence on Europeans; (2) furthered the depletion of wildlife, and thereby weakened the ecological foundation of Inuit society; (3) made winter land travel more secure, thus allowing fur trapping to be undertaken; (4) led to the individualization of caribou hunting. Whaleboats (1) greatly eased the hunting of sea mammals; (2) eased coastal travel, thereby increasing the

size of hunting territories. Damas (1968, 157-59), in the only other serious consideration of the effects of guns and whaleboats, concurs with most of these points, but feels that most of the changes brought about by the gun were more strongly felt in the fur trading period when rifles became more plentiful. Ross (1975, 136) offers that the overall effect of the trade was an improved economic efficiency at the cost of the loss of some traditional implements and increased dependence on the outer world.

Before contact with Europeans, winter settlements generally had been sedentary, and located on a coastline or sometimes on sea ice, the location being determined by the presence of sea mammals, especially seals. In summer, when more species were accessible, the population was more dispersed, and tended to move inland. During the whaling period, population distribution changed as the Inuit relocated their winter encampments to be near the winter harbors, and as the period progressed, to coasts near the whaling grounds during the summer (Ibid., 128-29). Because the location of harbors and fisheries could change from year to year, as determined by the Europeans, Ross (Ibid.) characterizes this centralization as "shifting." There were two reasons to live near the whalers. First, they were the source of employment, and by extension of trade goods. Second, in time of hardship, the whalers ordinarily assumed some responsibility for the well-being of the Inuit (Ibid.).

A final effect of much importance, initiated by explorers, was the introduction of diseases against which the Inuit had little, if any, resistance. These diseases, some such as measles and smallpox, quite common among Europeans, especially in the western Arctic where they were combined with a general social decadence, led to considerable sickness and death (Crowe, 1974, 110; Zaslow, 1971, 258; Jenness, 1964, 14; Phillips, 1967, 118-19; Ross, 1975, 118). McGhee (1974, 5) believes the population

of the Mackenzie region plummeted from about 2,500 in 1850 to less than 150 by 1910.

Most observers feel that the events of the whaling period were harmful to the Inuit. Notwithstanding his statement that the economy was not totally disrupted (see page 25), Jenness (1964, 11-12) contends that whaling caused the Inuit culture in the eastern Arctic to "buckle" due to the changes in implements, clothing, and hunting equipment and methods. He further believes that the Inuit of both the eastern and western Arctic were "unconcernedly decimated" and had their aboriginal economy "shattered" (Ibid., 14). Phillips (1967, 118) states that the Inuit manner of life changed "irrevocably" due to the introduction of disease, implements, and trapping with steel traps, and that in the West, whaling was an "almost unrelieved disaster." Outsiders created changes that could not be reversed; Crowe (1974, 109-10) describes these changes as "overwhelming", and believes that life was "changed beyond recall." Crowe also asserts that change was economically one-sided: \$30 million of whale products left the Mackenzie Delta area alone, "...at the cost of almost all the native Inuit and much of the animal life of sea and land" (Ibid.).

Other observers interpret the evidence of death and destruction more positively. Williamson (1972, 56) feels that the goods the Inuit acquired had the overall effect of making life "slightly easier." Ross (1975, 138) is somewhat equivocal, but seems to feel that if whaling was not of positive benefit, at least it was not as detrimental as is generally assumed. He further states that there is no evidence rifles and whaleboats induced indolence among the Inuit, as is often suggested; on the contrary, "...the Eskimos appear to have possessed a vigorous and dynamic economy" (Ibid., 110). Low (Canada, 1906, 10) states that "On the whole, the

whalers may be taken as beneficial to the Eskimos...." Cantley (Canada, 1950, 19) feels the Inuit were "well satisfied" in the whaling period: they gave up part of their culture, but emerged better equipped to survive in their country. Most importantly, the Inuit did not give up their close ties to the land, even if game was depleted and technologies changed. "Hunting continued to be the centre of their existence...." (Ross, 1975, 85).

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, whalers increasingly engaged in a commercial trade for animal skins and minerals with which to supplement decreasing income for whale products (Ibid., 40; Crowe, 1974, 108). In 1908 a marked drop in the price of whalebone made this marginal situation untenable, and the whalers withdrew from the region, so that the effects of the whalers on the Inuit became of immediate practical importance.

At least as early as 1859, the deleterious effect of Inuit dependence on the whalers had been noted by a Moravian missionary visiting Cumberland Sound:

I am always sorry to see the Esquimaux wearing European clothes, and, in short, imitating the Europeans in all respects. They were undoubtedly better off in their original state, and more likely to be gained for the kingdom of God. But when they begin to copy our mode of life, they are neither properly Europeans nor Esquimaux, and will speedily die out, in consequence of the change (Warmow, quoted in Holland, 1970, 40).

William Wakeham (Canada, 1898, 75), a government official, later agreed, noting the result this might produce:

...there can be little doubt that those [Inuit] who have been brought up about the [whaling] stations would be badly off were these closed and abandoned.

A. P. Low, another government official, offered another opinion, referring to whaling stations in Cumberland Sound, Cape Haven, Pond Inlet, and Repulse Bay:

Only one or two white men are employed at each, and the whaling is altogether in the hands of the natives.

None of these stations are making great profits, and some of them are being maintained at a loss. They are of great assistance to the natives, and it is to be hoped that nothing will be done to discourage the owners, who according to present returns should be helped rather than hindered in their work.

The natives have for years looked for assistance to the whalers both on Baffin island and Hudson bay. They have quite given up the use of their primitive weapons, and there is no doubt that a withdrawal of the whalers would lead to great hardship and many deaths among these people if the Government did not in some manner take their place and supply the Eskimos with the necessary guns and ammunition.

The influence of the whalers upon the natives does not appear to have been as bad as in the western part of the Arctics. The excessive use of alcohol has never been practised, and has now been totally stopped. Disease due to sexual intercourse has been introduced and has, no doubt, led to many deaths. Other diseases introduced have carried away numbers of these people. It is doubtful if the morals of the Eskimo, which are of a different standard from those of Europeans, have deteriorated through sexual intercourse with the sailors.

The future of the whaling industry appears to be very gloomy. The annual catch is decreasing regularly, and only the high price of whalebone makes it at all profitable. No certainty of a single whale can be had, and the enterprise is reduced to almost a gambling chance (Canada, 1906, 271-72).

The essence of the problem was this: the Inuit had modified or lost many traditional skills and implements, grown dependent on many western goods, and inhabited an environment in which many animal species had been depleted. While the society continued to focus on the land, it was able to pursue that lifestyle only with western assistance. Rephrased, the whalers had effectively changed Inuit economy, if not most non-economic sectors of Inuit society, from a condition of self-sufficient subsistence to a condition of partial dependence on the outside world. In Dalton's terms (see page 16) the Inuit had enlarged the range of their economic activities but had not changed further: they had become a peasantry in response to colonial commerce. The only obvious response to the departure of the whalers was a return to subsistence production. But given the genesis during the period of a "revolution of rising expectations", no

return was possible: pressures to acquire western goods were too great. Had trapping not emerged essentially through historical accident as a new source of such goods, prospects for survival would have been bleak.

To blame the whalers for this state of affairs would be unfair. The whalers' behavior "...can be explained by orthodox price theory--they were individual profit maximizers operating on a common property resource" (Rea, 1976, 36). They simply operated the first resource extraction industry in one periphery of the European-United States metropolis, a metropolis whose economic demands initiated, sustained, and terminated the industry. The Inuit had no control over these demands and were therefore in the position of being able, but not compelled, to participate as skilled workers in the industry's "field operation" in order to obtain desirable goods. The Inuit were clearly interested in contact with the whalers, even in those areas where the relationship was obviously detrimental to them (Zaslow, 1971, 270). With time the desirable goods became necessary goods, and a partial dependency relationship with westerners evolved.

If any blame for the situation thus created can be attributed, it must be to government. No regulation of the industry existed (for reasons explained on page 62) until 1903 when the Royal Northwest Mounted Police established posts at Fullerton Harbour and Herschel Island. Even then, regulation was mild; the police posts were established more for reasons of sovereignty than for concern about Inuit welfare (Phillips, 1967, 119; Zaslow, 1971, 259-69). One might suggest that government abdicated its responsibility by allowing the well-being of a group of its citizens to be put in jeopardy, but the suggestion would not be accurate: government, and society in general, believed that Inuit "on the job" participation in whaling was a perfectly correct approach to "development" and "civilization."

Sadly, blameless though the situation may be, evidence that the views which created it still exist almost one century later is apparent in the comments of an expert observer of the period:

[Employment with whalers] encouraged and rewarded qualities of dependability, honesty and hard work, trained Eskimos in techniques of whaling, handling sailing vessels, and other operations, introduced a second language to some extent, and offered some economic security (Ross, 1975, 137).

That such skills were useless after the industry collapsed is overlooked.

The Fur Trading Period

Jenness (1964, 14) states that the year 1900 may be taken as the close of one era in the Canadian Arctic and the opening of another. During the period 1900-1945, the Hudson's Bay Company established a number of trading posts in Arctic locations that were accessible by sea, had safe anchorages, and were well enough populated by humans and foxes to yield an acceptable return of furs (Ibid., 9). As a general rule, missions were established in the same locations as, but later than, the trading posts. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police usually arrived last. As each of these groups arrived in a settlement, their roles as businessman, clergyman, and keeper of the peace were more closely defined. At the same time, however, the three groups functioned as a unit that greatly strengthened the economic and social ties of the Inuit with the outside world.

Traders

Because white fox fur became increasingly fashionable during and after World War I (Cooke, 1973, 209), fur prices rose substantially (Canada, 1971, 26), but because there were few fur farms and fewer synthetic substitutes for fox furs, the Hudson's Bay Company established a series of "isolated posts catering to small, semi-nomadic bands" of

Inuit (Ibid., 31), who were induced to trap the foxes. The first of these posts was opened in Wolstenholme, Quebec, in 1909; by the late 1920s, there were 87 Hudson's Bay Company posts, and 130 others, in the Northwest Territories alone (Ibid., 36). The locations of these posts essentially set the pattern of subsequent Arctic settlement.

As Crowe (1974, 109) points out, after the departure of the whalers the Inuit

...who had built their lives around whaling now had to turn to fox trapping, which was an uncertain business, or to hunting, in a land where animals had become scarce.

Jenness (1964, 14-15), Williamson (1972, 56), and Phillips (1967, 119) all emphasize that the Inuit had no real choice: hunting was not an alternative that would produce the western goods necessary for survival. The transition from participation in whaling to trapping was fairly straightforward for the Inuit. Ross (1975, 21) contends that whaling had "...created a milieu that facilitated the later entry of traders and missionaries", and

The establishment of arctic posts by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1908...was in certain localities superimposing the demands of a commercial structure, not upon primitive, untouched savages, but upon native people already conditioned by half a century of contact with whalers (Ibid., 135).

Or, as Zaslow (1971, 271) puts it, the Inuit were "proper clients for the fur trade".

The workings of a post are best described by Christensen (Canada, 1953, 18-27). Each post consisted of a residential house, a shop, a warehouse, and perhaps some small sheds; all goods were placed on view in the store and could be examined before purchase. The Inuit would come from their camps to the store once or a few times in a year and exchange their accumulated catch of furs for supplies. At the store, tin tokens

having various denominations were given to the Inuk, either to the amount that was owed him for the furs or to the amount of credit that was being extended; the tokens then were exchanged for the goods. Most posts had a manager, apprentice, and an Inuk who acted as interpreter, guide, and handyman. The goods stocked were of the "best qualities" (Ibid., 19), though the variety was no better than that carried by many whalers in the early 1900s (Ross, 1975, 136).

Excluding the few surviving residents of the Mackenzie Delta, most of whom after the whaling period integrated with Alaskans, in the early years of the fur trade period

...the general pattern...was one where a few hundred Inuit, living in roughly their old tribal region, followed the seasonal rhythm of char fishing, caribou hunting, and seal or walrus hunting. Most of them trapped enough fox or other fur animals to pay for boats, ammunition, canvas, and other necessities, but despite the urgings of the traders, very few Inuit specialized in trapping.

Most of the Inuit lived in groups of several families, and visited the trading post a few times a year (Crowe, 1974, 117-18).

Life was "...half a return to the very old hunting way of life, and half a new life-style centred around the trading posts" (Ibid.).

The Hudson's Bay Company's motive for opening posts in the Arctic was "purely commercial" (Rea, 1976, 36). However, although "...the welfare of the people may have been a secondary objective, it was none the less important, for the human resources of the North were vital to commercial prosperity" (Phillips, 1967, 124):

Self-interest, if no other motive, demanded that [the traders] keep their trappers healthy, contented, and industrious. In the case of the Hudson's Bay Company, indeed, the senior officers never failed to impress on their arctic post-managers that the welfare of the Eskimos was inseparable from the welfare of the company, and also of themselves (Jenness, 1964, 42).

Although Jenness points out that at the beginning of the period "...the trapping of the white fox...profited from a rising market that gave

no hint of fickleness or decline" (Ibid., 15), the fur trade was not a stable industry. Demand for furs could vary substantially from year to year as fashions changed, and the foxes themselves were more or less available for harvest depending on the stage of their approximately four year life cycle. Accordingly, the Hudson's Bay Company found itself in the position of providing for its Inuit suppliers in the bad years to ensure their presence in the good. To this end the company devised a system of credit:

Everywhere...the post-managers of the Hudson's Bay Company gave the Eskimos credit to the limit that sound business warranted, and often beyond that limit (Ibid., 41).

Missionaries

While the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its economic activity into the Arctic, the Moravian (in Labrador), Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches also expanded their proselytizing activity in the region. The missionaries' objective was twofold: to Christianize and to civilize the Inuit, just as was necessary for other heathen throughout the world.

Quoting an 1899 statement, Berkhofer (1972, 8) presents the nineteenth century missionary view:

...the office of the gospel is to bring the heathen nations to be... such as Christian nations are; to put every people under heaven on the highest platform of civilization and religion, of art and science, of learning, prosperity, and usefulness, of happiness and social advancement.... We cannot too highly prize the influence of Christianity in promoting true civilization. We contend that a true Civilization cannot exist apart from Christianity.

Therefore, the obvious way forward was to westernize the heathen; the tactics to use were equally plain:

Fieldwork was to be a simple matter of instruction to be accomplished quickly--if all men were rational. Not thinking in terms of culture as is done today, but in terms of "human nature", the missionaries and their patrons assumed the same system of basic values was held by

savage and civilized alike. If a savage merely lacked knowledge of the more advanced condition to which human society had evolved, then a missionary had but to point out the way and the savage would adopt it. Any right-thinking savage should be able to recognize the superiority of Christian civilization when shown him (Ibid., 13-14).

With respect to the Inuit, the feelings of the first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic are instructive:

When I first knew [the Inuit] in the early decades of this century they were indeed children of nature--crude and cruel and cunning as well as simple and lovable....

I loved them because I soon discovered that they were real people, men and women and children just like the rest of mankind....

Above all I was conscious of the fact that they were living in the darkness of primitive pagan fear and therefore added to all else I loved them because of their need.... I soon recognized that the things which I so much disliked were largely due to the conditions under which they were forced to live in that black wilderness of rock and ice and snow.

Time and again they went out of their way to help me...and so I changed from holding the typical superiority attitude of the white man towards the native and I came to see him truly as an equal (Fleming, 1956, 374-75).

A younger equal, perhaps:

The day will come when the native...will become articulate. At present he is our brother but our younger brother. He is lovable, patient, and capable of the highest development but still a juvenile and not an adult (Ibid., 386).

That these feelings were typical of the society that missionaries represented is demonstrated by the views of Stefansson (1913, 388), a contemporary of Fleming's who was at least somewhat suspicious of the value of missionary work, but who greatly respected the Inuit:

The Eskimo are people whose intelligence is keen with reference to the facts of their immediate environment; but that environment is so monotonous, the range of possible experiences is so small, that no matter what the fiber of their minds may be at bottom, the exercise is wanting that might lead to a broad mental development.

Rather than being like younger brothers, Stefansson felt the Inuit were "child-like" (Ibid.).

The fundamental purpose of the missionary in the Arctic was

...to link the spiritual and material man with God, and the missionary's task is twofold: first to be a witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and second to teach the people and through instruction to enlighten their minds so that their wills may be directed along the right way (Fleming, 1956, 376).

To this end, missions were established throughout the region. The first of these was located in Labrador after 1770 by the Moravians. By 1829, that church had four missions, each of which had "...a dwelling for the missionary and his family, a church, a trading store and a workshop...." (Jenness, 1964, 10).

The first Anglican missionary resident in the eastern Arctic was E. J. Peck, who assumed responsibility for that church's mission at Little Whale River, Quebec, in 1876 (Carrington, 1963, 171-73). In 1894, Peck moved to Blacklead Island, opening the first resident mission in Baffin Island (Marsh, 1957, 15). Further expansion came only in 1909, when Fleming opened the second Baffin Island mission at Lake Harbour. In the western Arctic events moved more quickly. Father Emile Petitot reached the Mackenzie Delta as early as 1868. In 1874, the Church of England created the Diocese of the Mackenzie under W. C. Bompas (Phillips, 1967, 122). The Roman Catholics established the Vicarate of the Mackenzie in 1901 (Ibid.). By 1930 there were fourteen Anglican and nine Catholic missions to the Inuit (Canada, 1930a, 31). Because the Inuit only infrequently visited the settlements to trade, the missionaries had to "plan their work accordingly", and to proselytize the Inuit when they were in the settlements, or, more often, visit their camps (Canada, 1934, 55; Marsh, 1967, 3).

The missionaries probably met with an initially unenthusiastic response to their attempts to convert:

The value of [the traders'] guns and metal pots was obvious, the value of new religious beliefs was not....

Considering, however, the changes demanded by Christianity...the northern tribes in general accepted the new religion quickly (Crowe, 1974, 148).

Damas (1968, 162), referring to the Hudson Bay area, also reports that "...nearly all the Eskimo...very rapidly became nominal Christians...." But he questions "...just how deeply Christian concepts penetrated their view of the world" (Ibid.). The 1901 census shows that only 42.5% of the entire Northwest Territories population subscribed to some organized religion (Canada, 1902, vol. 1, 5, 282). The 1931 census shows the effect of the increased number of missions established in the intervening years, and of the success met in conveying their point of view: 96.5% of the Indian and Inuit population of the Northwest Territories subscribed to some organized religion (Canada, 1936, vol. 1, 944-45). The Anglicans were the successful group: in 1964, 80% of Inuit were reportedly of this faith (Neill, 1964, 393).

The missionaries' proselytizing was educational in nature:

Protestant missionaries envisaged an exacting role for their converts, believing that they had to achieve their own salvation through a lengthy process of private study, reflection, prayer, and inner revelation, culminating in baptism. Roman Catholics, however, conceived of salvation as requiring not only the efforts of the candidate, but priestly intercession as well (Zaslow, 1971, 65).

While literacy was not essential for the Roman Catholics' program, it was for the Protestants'. They were committed to spreading Christianity through propagation of the Gospel, a method based on the Protestant tenet that the Bible is the sole standard of faith:

...what was needed for the savage? The Word could be conveyed by preaching, but in that situation the listener relied partly upon the authority of the speaker. Should not the convert be able to determine matters of salvation for himself by reference to the Supreme Source as revealed in the Holy Scriptures? Was not literacy required...? (Berkhofer, 1972, 4).

Certainly, it was. If the Inuit were to be able to read the Bible, either they had to be taught a language in which the Bible was already printed or have it translated into their language. On a world scale this matter

generated what has been called "...an intense effort to translate the scriptures into other languages and to create written languages for the purpose where none existed before...." (Sopher, 1967, 43). The Moravians, as part of their religious instruction, taught the Labrador Inuit to read and write in the Danish Roman alphabet previously utilized in Greenland (Mayes, 1972, 20). Peck, beginning at Little Whale River, compiled an Inuit grammar and translated religious texts into Inuktitut utilizing a syllabic script originally developed for use among the Cree; he carried this system with him to Cumberland Sound in 1894, giving it another center from which to diffuse (Ibid.). In the western Arctic, Bompas, then I. O. Stringer, also pursued the translation of religious tracts into Inuktitut, in this case using the English Roman alphabet that had also been used in Alaska.

The Inuit were extremely interested in learning to read and write.

Low, referring to Ungava, states that

All are exceedingly anxious to learn to read the books printed by the Church Missionary Society.... A great many Eskimos have never come into contact with the missionaries; notwithstanding this, there are only a few of the Labrador natives who cannot read and write, while the natives of Baffin island are rapidly reaching the same state. Every native who learns to read and who possesses a book, becomes the teacher of the uninstructed; in this manner education is spreading rapidly. A good example is found in the natives of the northwest coast of Hudson bay, several of whom have learned to read from the Big island natives on the Scotch whaler, who were in turn instructed by visiting Eskimos from Cumberland gulf (Canada, 1906, 139-40).

In the Mackenzie area

One adult...taught another, and children taught their parents, until by the first decade of the twentieth century the Mackenzie Eskimos too were corresponding with one another from one end of the delta to the other (Jenness, 1964, 16).

The educational nature of the missionaries' proselytization logically led to their involvement in the provision of two services ordinarily

supplied by government, formal education and health care. Educational work usually began shortly after the establishment of a mission

...as one of the first steps in the conversion of the aborigines of the district. In addition to the subjects usually taught in primary schools special attention is given to manual and domestic training, and hygiene (Canada, 1937, 12).

This kind of education was given because the Inuit's "...mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited" (Canada, 1934, 55). The missions operated seven schools in the Arctic in 1937 (Jenness, 1964, 68); by 1939, there were nine day and five boarding schools serving Inuit (including those in Labrador) (Crowe, 1974, 166). In 1944, only about seven percent of Indian and Inuit children in the western Arctic attended school; no comparable data are available for the eastern Arctic (Jenness, 1964, 69). These percentages compare with about 68% (1939) and 64% (1944, lower due to the wartime situation) of the age 5-19 population that was in school in Canada at the same time (derived from Urquhart, 1965, 14, 16, 587-88).

Few schools and low enrollment were not the only limitations of the system:

Few of the teachers were trained. There was no curriculum related to the needs of the people, and the nature of instruction was left to the judgement of those who taught. Sometimes it was from school-books of southern Canada, sometimes from materials familiar from the instructor's own upbringing, sometimes from religious tracts....

The emphasis of the missionary was, not unnaturally, on religious rather than on secular horizons (Phillips, 1967, 126-27).

Jenness also points out that because the missionaries' first task

...was to teach the Eskimos Christianity, not to instruct them in regular school subjects...the secular education that the missions imparted to Eskimo children was commensurate with the funds that the government expended on it. In other words, it was negligible (Jenness, 1964, 42-43).

The medical care provided by the missions was only "slightly less inefficient" than their education (Ibid., 44). Beginning in 1922, the

Eastern Arctic Patrol vessel carried a medical officer who gave what care he could (Ibid.), and in the western Arctic a physician made an annual trip down the Mackenzie River (Ibid., 45). In 1924, the then eastern medical officer, L. D. Livingstone, persuaded the national government to establish a medical office at Pangnirtung, which opened in 1926 and remained in operation for two years; at about the same time, in 1922, an office was opened at Herschel Island, and operated "for a period" (Ibid., 44-45). In 1926, the Anglicans opened a hospital in Aklavik; in 1927 the Roman Catholics did also. In 1929 the Catholics built their second hospital in Chesterfield (Ibid.). In 1930 the Anglicans built their second hospital at Pangnirtung (Fleming, 1956, 321). The government supplied each of the hospitals at Pangnirtung and Chesterfield with a doctor and the salary for a nurse, and with a monetary grant for each patient admitted (Jenness, 1964, 44). Only one doctor was posted to Aklavik (at the Anglican hospital); otherwise, both Aklavik hospitals followed the usual operating arrangements.

Another "very definite need" was filled by the mission operated industrial homes (Ibid., 69). These were the equivalent of rest homes where "...the aged and infirm are cared for and taught native handicrafts" (Ibid.). The industrial homes were financed half by government grants and half by the missions.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Generally, the third agency to establish itself in Arctic settlements was the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The first Arctic Royal Northwest Mounted Police¹ posts were established in 1903 at Fullerton Harbour, Herschel Island, and Fort McPherson. The object of opening these posts

1. Called the Royal Canadian Mounted Police after 1920.

was twofold: first, to demonstrate Canada's sovereignty in the region, and second, to carry out customs duties, collect taxes, and confiscate liquor (Ibid., 19). By 1930 there were twenty-one posts in the Northwest Territories (Canada, 1930a, 32), and with outstanding foreign claims to the region settled, the national government considered the sovereignty issue closed.

With respect to the Inuit, the major task of the police was to apply "...the elementary laws and usages of civilization...." (Canada, 1934, 37). Crime, however, was extremely rare, and the policemen therefore had little opportunity to practice their primary occupation of keeping the peace. The Mountie therefore became responsible for a whole universe of government administrative tasks:

...census-taker, administrator of relief (a job often shared with the trader), license-issuer, customs and immigration officer. He was, in short, the representative of whatever arm of government might be called upon to assert itself or render service in the North (Phillips, 1967, 129-30).

As with the missionaries, most direct contact with the Inuit took place when the policemen made their observational patrols (Ibid., 133; Williamson, 1972, 57). Though their main purpose was to affirm Canadian sovereignty in the region, they were also used to show the Inuit that "...the Government has an interest in their welfare" (Canada, 1930a, 32).

Effects of the Fur Trade

The changes that occurred in this period were several. First, for those groups that had been affected by whaling, the population that aboriginally was seasonally migrant, and that had relocated itself to areas near whaling activities, now shifted again, this time into the "relatively permanent hunting-trapping camp" (Damas, 1968, 162). This

dispersal was necessary both to avoid placing undue localized pressure on the wildlife that still constituted the main supply of food, and to be able to trap foxes in as much territory as possible. For economic reasons, traders encouraged this pattern of population distribution (Williamson, 1972, 56; Canada, 1950, 21; Ross, 1975, 137). Ross, however, feels that the consequence of the resultingly reduced Inuit-western contact was what he calls "interrupted acculturation" (Ibid., 138), in which "...trade and cultural modification by white individuals and systems" initiated in the whaling period was halted or reversed (Ibid., 137). Although fewer Inuit were employed by Europeans than in the whaling period (Ibid.), Vallee (1967, 25) notes that in this period each western institution had at least one Inuit employee, sometimes more:

These Eskimos were the forerunner of a "class" of people who are not dependent on the land for their subsistence. Although they still use the resources on the land to some extent, they are committed to some Kabloona institution which provides their subsistence for them.

The second major change that took place in this period was a progressive alteration in the seasonal cycle of economic and social activity, which had remained relatively intact in the whaling period and the early part of the fox trading period (see pages 25 and 34). This alteration was a direct consequence of the need to capture foxes, the only item the traders would accept in exchange for increasingly necessary western goods (Jenness, 1964, 25; Canada, 1953, 21). In the pre-fur trade period, the Inuit had not expended much effort to catch foxes, which have been described as "valueless" (Jenness, 1964, 25), "of small importance" (Ross, 1975, 136), "useless" (Lloyd, 1947, 40), and "worthless" (Hughes, 1965, 17) to the Inuit: the pelt was not especially large or durable (Graburn, 1969, 17) though the small amount of meat on the carcass is variously reported to

have been "unfit for human consumption" (Canada, 1953, 21) or "eaten with some relish" (Graburn, 1969, 17). In order to obtain the best quality white furs, trapping had to be conducted in the winter, a time that traditionally had been devoted to communal seal hunting. Intensive winter trapping was made technically possible by new implements such as primus stoves and steel sled runners, which provided increased mobility (Crowe, 1974, 119), and the rifle which, through its range and accuracy, allowed improved access to game (Ross, 1975, 101). Socially, however, trapping was difficult. Because trapping was carried out inland, while most campsites were coastal, trappers

...renounced the comfort and support of their relatives and friends and the amenities of village life, and spent their days in the solitude and isolation of their individual...tents (Jenness, 1964, 25).

Graburn indicates that "individual" comprised one, two, or perhaps three men who were closely related (Graburn, 1969, 127). Individualization of economic endeavor was further strengthened by the increased reliance on the gun, which was introduced in the whaling period, so that the nuclear family based household became the predominant economic unit, at the expense of households based on other relationships, and at the expense of the overall community (Hughes, 1965, 17, 24; Williamson, 1972, 56; Damas, 1968, 159).

The most important problem to emerge from these changes was the acquisition of food. If one were trapping for fox, one was not hunting food species, and whether or not foxes were tasty, there is no question that they were small and therefore would hardly have supplied a trapper with enough to eat, never mind the situation his dependents would have faced. Crowe suggests that except in the western Arctic most Inuit, at least initially, dealt with this problem by limiting their commitment to

trapping (see page 34). Treude (1975, 53-54), referring to the central Arctic, supports the view that trapping was first an "auxiliary occupation" entered into strictly to obtain necessities, but that as game populations were depleted by use of the rifle, trapping increased. As this occurred, and in the western Arctic where specialization arose early, there was an "utter incompatibility" of trapping and hunting, and only the presence of the trading posts prevented starvation when cached food supplies ran short during the trapping season (Jenness, 1964, 102-103). Birket-Smith (1959, 212) comments on this situation:

...to the H.B.C. a valuable man is the same as a skilful trapper, and the Eskimos are thus being more and more brought to neglect the caribou hunting and seal hunting that alone keep them provided with their most important necessities: meat, skin for clothing, and blubber... the fox of course has a trading value only, and means nothing in the domestic economy of the Eskimos. The transformation process has already gone so far that the Aivilik tribe, for instance, for a great part of the winter receive quite insufficient nourishment in the form of tea and "flapjacks" (of flour, baking powder and water) in order that they may with so much the greater eagerness devote themselves to fox trapping. The H.B.C. has even started to sell canned goods to the people; I still remember, with all due respect, a terribly salty mixture of potatoes and carrots with scattered fragments of mutton. A greater mistake than to introduce this kind of food and to allow the Eskimos to neglect their old occupations would be far to seek....

One should not overlook that larger dog teams were used in this period than had previously been the case (Crowe, 1974, 119; Vallee, 1967, 37). Although this served to increase mobility, more food was required, and even though the rifle eased its acquisition (Hughes, 1965, 17; Treude, 1975, 55), hunting game for dogs was no easier than, but just as necessary as, hunting game for humans, thereby compounding the whole food acquisition problem. Increased dog team size had the added disadvantage of increasing the pressure on game populations, thereby contributing to their decline.

Although several changes occurred in seasonal activity, other important aspects of life were changed little or not at all. The large social

gatherings formerly held in late winter still took place, but now in late summer at ship time, and to a lesser extent at the time of trading trips. The social activities at such gatherings were also changed, from a focus on games, stories, and feasting, to trading and church services, as well as the traditional visiting. Further, although the scale of the economic production unit was reduced, its basic co-operative nature remained unchanged, and in the case of large sea mammals, group hunting continued to be the usual practice (Hughes, 1965, 17; Williamson, 1972, 56). Finally, although fox skins were the main trade item and appear to have been regarded as an individual possession (Graburn, 1969, 115; Hughes, 1965, 18), the fact that the skins were not shared appears not to have broken traditional sharing rules: they were too small (Graburn, 1969, 115).

A third major change that occurred in the fur trading period was the creation of the "camp boss" as the instrument of cross-cultural communication. Although the Inuit retained control of their day to day activities (Crowe, 1974, 118), the milieu in which these activities were conducted was increasingly western, and the agents of the larger society, the traders and the policemen especially, preferred "to work as much as possible" through one person in their dealings with the Inuit (Williamson, 1972, 57):

Eskimo society had chosen its own leaders generally on the basis of skill in the hunt, though other considerations, such as age, entered into the selection. The leader's power was tempered by much collective decision-making. The white man, however, wanted to deal with a single person, not necessarily the man who would be chosen by Eskimo standards. The new camp boss had to be amenable to the white man's needs, and quick to pick up some English. The reflected white light would ensure his position among the Eskimos. He was instrumental in eroding or eliminating the process of local decision-making, except on those matters well outside the white man's interest. Later generations faced a long uphill struggle in trying to restore local decision-making (Phillips, 1967, 79-80).

Damas (1968, 162) supports this view:

Although the all-native character of the outlying camps aided in the continuance of traditional authority and sharing patterns that were based largely on kinship, the paternalistic authority of the various white agencies made inroads into native areas of decision.

Williamson (1972, 57) suggests that although the *isumataq* often became the camp boss, on occasion

...a group might produce an adept spokesman who functioned in [an] intermediary role and no more, while actual authority rested in the hands of another individual or the *isumataq-angaquuq* axis.

He further suggests that while the increased individualization of society lessened the authority of the *isumataq*, his role as arbiter with the various European agencies tended to strengthen his position (Ibid.). Insofar as this suggestion is accurate, it would indicate the continuation of a process initiated in the whaling period, that in which a "head native" employed by a ship generally found his position enhanced in the Inuit community (Ross, 1975, 80, 85).

A fourth major change of this period was the widespread acceptance of Christianity. Largely, the missionaries' revelations at first were taken to be a new set of taboos (Stefansson, 1913, 93-94, 404; Jenness, 1964, 26), and the missionaries themselves were regarded simply as "...a new and in certain ways a superior kind of shaman" (Stefansson, 1913, 97). Acceptance of the new ideas is not surprising, from the missionary or the Inuit point of view. The missionaries believed that any heathen would accept Christianity if it were shown to him, in a process that Brody (1975, 23) suggests was one of "...trade, medical benefits, threats and tireless exhortation." For the Inuit, acceptance probably involved a willingness to receive the unfamiliar ideas of the westerner on much the same basis as their unfamiliar technology; the new taboos were at first simply additions to the old ones,

but with time replaced the old ones. Williamson (1972, 57) also suggests that Christianity may have been accepted to replace the "spiritual void" created when the Inuit realized that Europeans were capable of survival on their own terms in an environment which the Inuit previously had felt to require a "total dependence" on "traditional religious practice." One may also speculate that "deals" were involved: to acquire the proffered medical assistance described by Greenshield (see page 109), for example, one may have had to become at least a token convert.

The change in religious beliefs was not painless:

Some of the missionary ideas about hygiene, sex, and God were fine in Europe where they were part of a whole way of life. Trying to fit them into native ways caused many problems, and people became mixed up as to what was right and wrong, true or false (Crowe, 1974, 149).

Such confusion led, in many cases, not only to an abandonment of the old ideas, but to a scorn of them resulting in a loss of spiritual autonomy comparable to that taking place in the material sector of society. Most importantly,

The central and at the same time sacred pursuit of the Eskimo-- hunting, gradually became ancillary to the essentially secular occupation of trapping (Williamson, 1972, 57).

Vallee (1967, 28-29) contends that the break with religious tradition and related modes of cultural expression was a "cultural discontinuity" that would be comparable to Canada experiencing, between the 1930s and 1950s

...a mass conversion to Buddhism and a concomitant switch from the Euro-Canadian literary and musical traditions to those of the Chinese....
...because so much of this tradition is now defined as "obscene" by the new moral guardians, those Eskimos who cherish certain vestiges of the tradition are reluctant to pass it on to their children and reluctant to express it publicly, i.e., in the presence of Kabloona. In short, many Eskimos have become ashamed of a large part of their own oral and musical tradition.

Other observers have commented on this phenomenon, and relate it to the missionaries' school system. Speaking of the Mackenzie area, Stefansson

(1913, 32) states:

...it seems to most observers that the labor and expenditures of money [on schools] are scarcely justified by the results.... Somehow it seems that one of the first things an Indian learns in school is contempt for the ways of his ancestors....

The other major objection to missionary education deals with residential schools. Some Inuit children, many of whom were orphans, were taken from home at an early age, and did not see their families again for some time, in general for from two to five years (Jenness, 1964, 43-44). "The value of the education was outweighed by the way the children were cut off from their parents, language, and customs" (Crowe, 1974, 149). Referring specifically to the orphans, Jenness (1964, 68) comments that at times the missionaries may have had no choice but to place the children in the boarding schools, but that in many cases

...we may question whether they acted wisely or even charitably, in placing the young orphans in distant boarding-schools, where their upbringing, and the sketchy education they received, unfitted them for the life of their own people without making them acceptable to the world of the white man.

The major change that resulted from the presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Arctic was the application of western legal concepts:

Heretofore, of course, social controls were exerted from within the Eskimo community, with "law-giving" and social sanctions residing within the value-conditioned behavioural notions of the group, articulated by both the secular and religious leaders....(Williamson, 1972, 57).

Many of the laws were initially incomprehensible to people who were not familiar with the society that had generated them. For instance:

Some game laws...contradicted the law of survival during times of starvation. For people accustomed to settling matters themselves or by a meeting of the elders, it seemed wrong and childish to refer everything to some outsider (Crowe, 1974, 163).

But legal authority now rested with the outsiders. Aware of the dilemma, the police made an attempt to take into consideration the Inuit view:

In the handling of local problems, and in the settlement of cases before formal courts, there was leniency and toleration in the application of the law.... The local constable had to become adept at turning a blind eye to many minor deviations from the law. Sometimes such difficulties were best handled by local social action (Phillips, 1967, 132-33).

In the final analysis, the police

...acquired a reputation for fairness. They were nevertheless firm, authoritarian, or at best paternalistic, and regarded with profound respect, often amounting to fear (Williamson, 1972, 57).

Interpretation

During the fur trading period, the economic specialization of the Inuit increased greatly; their dependence on the outside world also increased although no corresponding ability emerged among the Inuit that allowed them to affect the outside world in return; the knowledge that most Inuit had of how western society functioned probably decreased as a result of reduced direct exposure to it. Overall, the peasant condition that was created during the whaling period was maintained.

The economy became more specialized as one species increasingly became the focus of attention. That this should occur among a people who had, first, traditionally exploited every accessible resource and, second, found the fox particularly valueless, is all the more notable. The danger of such specialization is analogous to that of one crop farming in agricultural areas, though it is even more risky in the Arctic given the simplicity of the ecosystem, in this case manifested in the severely periodic life cycle of the fox, and given the low non-trade value of the fox to the Inuit. Such specialization and reliance on one species put the traditional balance between culture and environment into acute jeopardy.

The increasing specialization as fox trappers was linked directly to an increasing dependence on the outside world, without a concomitant

external dependence on the Inuit arising. Demand for fox depended on world fashion, a phenomenon totally beyond Inuit control. As with any luxury good, demand is erratic, and in time of economic hardship likely to evaporate quickly; such was the case in the 1930s and in the 1940s. When demand was low and especially when low demand coincided with low availability of foxes, Inuit income declined, sometimes dramatically (see for example Jenness, 1964, 50-51; Canada, 1950, 39; Canada, 1953, 21-22).

No one questioned the value of the Inuit to the industry, a value best expressed by a lay observer:

The Eskimo is indispensable to the fur industry which is by no means small. This applies particularly to the white fox, the pelt of which is of more economic importance than all other Eastern Arctic furs combined. It has been alleged that white men could, with a little training, become highly efficient trappers. This may or may not be true but from the *practical* point of view, there is the time-worn analogy of the camel and his water requirements. Perhaps, with a little training, white men could become even more efficient than the Eskimo in the art of hunting the fur-bearing animal, but how many white men would care to spend their lives in the Arctic throughout the entire year, year in and year out? (Rabinowitch, 1936b, last page).

The Hudson's Bay Company clearly held the same view; their response to downturns was to extend credit to the trappers, which much increased the dependence of the latter on the outsiders. "Some natives...became the company's bond-slaves, indebted for more furs...than they could pay in several years" (Jenness, 1964, 41). Brody (1975, 22-23) goes further, suggesting that the company created a dependency relationship by design:

Once the people living in hunting camps were short of basic foodstuffs, a trader could effectively dictate his will to individual families by extending or refusing credit at the store. The "reliable" or "good" hunter would of course receive emergency rations; those hunters who were not "good", who had resisted the pressure to shift from subsistence to exchange, would be left without rations.

More positively, credit certainly represented a form of security against hardship. Vallee (1967, 38-39) believes that

...the more dependent a group was on fox trapping, the less likely it was that this group would experience starvation....

The more dependent a group was on trapping, the more visits they would make to the settlement where rations could be procured even without the pelts to trade, for the traders were always willing to extend credit against future catches.

Bethune (Canada, 1934, 85) acknowledged that a downturn meant hardship, but "...probably not as serious as the former cyclic or local famine periods, when there were no traders to tide the people over." Phillips (1967, 79), however, believes that credit only partially alleviated suffering in the bad times, but agrees that it definitely subordinated the Inuit to westerners.

The Inuit also became more dependent than in the whaling period on western implements, and upon hunting and trapping methods that utilized these goods, while they were decreasingly able to recall and utilize the traditional implements and methods. This shift was encouraged by the Hudson's Bay Company, which engaged in what we would now call "want creation." Cantley, who as a senior Hudson's Bay Company trader should know, says that "The Eskimos had to be shaken out of their primitive lethargy and made to want more" (Canada, 1950, 21). The ultimate consequence of changed technology and methodology, especially as it was coupled with fox trapping as the sole mechanism by which to obtain western goods, materialized just after World War II. After two decades of slow general decline, fur prices dropped so low that the income the Inuit could obtain by trapping did not provide "even their bare essentials" (Ibid., 39).

While a change in Inuit-western relations obviously was required, the Inuit were not in a position to initiate, or even to contribute to, it as a consequence of relations in the period. The reason is found in Ross'

suggestion (see page 43) that acculturation was "interrupted" in this period. Because few Inuit other than the "camp bosses" had direct contact with westerners or their institutions in this period, there was too inadequate an understanding of the workings of western society for the Inuit to determine how to readjust their relationship to it.

Westernization of the Inuit was taking place, just as western society hoped and presumed it would; the eating of some store-bought food, the shame or contempt felt by some toward the traditional religion, the application of western law, all evidenced this. But westernization was occurring at an uneven rate: economically, the Inuit were strongly integrated into the larger society, and "completely dependent" (Canada, 1953, 21) on its goods, but in an extremely specialized, ecologically unsound manner. Socially they were linked hardly at all.

As in the whaling period, to attach blame to the Hudson's Bay Company would be unfair: they were in the region to earn a profit, the best profit would result from the highest harvest of foxes, the most efficient way to trap was from dispersed camps, so that dispersed Inuit population was therefore urged by the company. The national government would no more have thought to regulate the Arctic fur industry than it would to have regulated whaling, so the system remained unaltered. Unfortunately, as a consequence, Inuit society remained in the "in between" condition created in the whaling period, unable to maintain itself by the aboriginally successful subsistence production, but not further changing into a sector of western industrial society.

The emergence of a new fashion resulted in fox trapping replacing whaling as the basis of the Inuit economy. Another new fashion created a replacement for fox trapping after World War II: a concern in western nations

for "undeveloped" countries and minority groups. This concern was to be dealt with, however, by societies and their governments, not private industries. Chapter Three examines the attempts of the Government of Canada to "develop" the Arctic and its people.

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNMENT AND WESTERNIZATION

In some ways it was like the debate of a group of savages as to how to extract a screw from a piece of wood. Accustomed only to nails, they had made one effort to pull out the screw by main force, and now that it had failed they were devising methods of applying more force still, of obtaining more efficient pincers, of using levers and fulcrums so that more men could bring their strength to bear. They could hardly be blamed for not guessing that by rotating the screw it would come out after the exertion of far less effort; it would be a notion so different from anything they had ever encountered that they would laugh at the man who suggested it.

C. S. Forester, The General (1936, 173)

Prior to the year 1953, the only role of government in the Canadian Arctic was to provide the framework within which free enterprise could flourish. This involved securing Canadian sovereignty in the region and providing a minimum of public services to the indigenous and expatriate populations. In the period since 1953, the federal government has retained this basic posture, but has extended it to more actively administer the indigenous population. This chapter reviews Canadian government policy toward the Inuit and shows that though its execution has been passed from private industry to the government itself, policy has not changed in its basic intent over the past century.

Activity to World War II

In the period 1845-1880, just before Canada acquired the Arctic archipelago from Great Britain, the geographical information obtained in the search for Franklin indicated that

...there probably was no practical route through the Arctic islands. The development of new trade routes in other parts of the world relegated the Northwest Passage to a position of little economic importance, and the explorations that accompanied the search for a passage indicated that there were few resources to attract development (Canada, 1951, 53).

After 1880, government interest in the Arctic was spurred by whaling, attempts to reach the North Pole, and the acquisition by Canada of considerable Arctic territory (Ibid.). All of these were linked to the issue of sovereignty.

Jenness (1964, 17) points out that the British transfer to Canada of title to Arctic territory was of no particular interest to third party nations. This applied in particular to whalers and explorers from the United States. Therefore, in 1884, "...the *Neptune* was outfitted and sent north...for general purposes of administration and investigation" (Canada, 1930a, 125). This was followed by two other expeditions, in 1885 and 1886, but the next took place only in 1897 (Ibid., 127). Sverdrup's 1898 claim for Norway of several islands in the Arctic archipelago, and especially the large numbers of Americans in the Klondike and the Alaska boundary dispute of 1903 moved the Canadians to more intense activity (Zaslow, 1971, 280). In 1903, the *Neptune* was sent again by the federal government to Hudson Bay and the eastern Arctic "to show the flag" and thereby demonstrate Canadian jurisdiction, and to set up a police post at Fullerton Harbour. At the same time, the Royal Northwest Mounted Police established two other new posts in the West, at Herschel Island and Fort McPherson.

While demonstrating sovereignty was the motive for these actions, Phillips (1967, 119) suggests that the post at Herschel Island may have indicated "anxiety" about the condition of the Inuit there. Also, Zaslow (1971, 263, 268-69) states that, although primarily mandated to demonstrate Canadian control of the region, Superintendent Moodie at Fullerton Harbour had a personal interest in the welfare of the Inuit, though he apparently felt he was not successful in protecting them from what he regarded as abuse at the hands of the whalers. Damas (1968, 160) agrees with this interpretation of Moodie's motives, but is more positive about the success of the police:

The Fullerton detachment concerned itself at first mainly with insuring fair treatment of the Eskimo by whalers and enforcing newly established prohibitions against killing muskoxen.

Apart from confirming its sovereignty in the region, Canada was interested in the North after 1880 for the minerals and petroleum it might yield. The first indication of wealth came with the Klondike gold rush of the late 1890s and early 1900s, then with the discovery of oil at Norman Wells in 1920, radium at Great Bear Lake in 1928, and gold at Yellowknife in 1936. In retrospect, Norman Wells was the most important of these events. There had been a Northwest Territories government since 1875, the form of which was slightly altered in 1905 when Alberta and Saskatchewan were created provinces, but the news of the oil strike brought the territories "...into prominence and made necessary a more active form of administration" (Canada, 1930a, 25). This constituted what Jenness called a "hastily revamped" Department of the Interior, including within that department a Northwest Territories Branch to administer the region's resources (Jenness, 1964, 29).

The new branch set up three local administrative offices in the Mackenzie District (Ibid.). At the same time, a fishing dispute again brought up the sovereignty issue, and led to the establishment of two more Royal Canadian Mounted Police posts, in Pond Inlet and Craig Harbour (Ibid.). By 1930, there were twenty-one police posts in the Northwest Territories, seven of them on the shore or east of Hudson Bay (Canada, 1930a, 32). With the Northwest Territories Branch operating in the West, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the East, the federal government "...sat comfortably back to let events take their course, and to handle only such incidental problems as might arise from one day to the next (Jenness, 1964, 30).

While Arctic sovereignty and resources captured the attention of government, the native people did not. The Inuit were the object of what Christensen (Canada, 1953, 12) called government by "remote control":

Most administration was in the hands of the police, and education was left to the churches; the few social services were shared among the police, the churches, and the traders (Phillips, 1967, 155).

Throughout the 1920s, the Ottawa government contended that all was well with the Inuit (Jenness, 1964, 46, quotes evidence). The people were encouraged by government "...to follow their natural mode of living and not to depend upon the white man's food and clothing which are unsuited to their needs" (Canada, 1934, 54), a "policy" which erroneously equated fox trapping with aboriginal practice, and which persisted into the early 1950s.

Also in the 1920s, O. S. Finnie, Director of the Northwest Territories Branch, endeavored to improve upon the "hands off" approach to native welfare. However, until 1930 when the Inuit were declared by the Supreme Court to be "Indians", and because the 1905 Northwest Territories Act made no special mention of them, Finnie was not able to treat the Inuit in any special way, and therefore found his range of possible activities limited.

In spite of this handicap, Finnie was able to organize a few conservation projects, including two muskoxen and caribou sanctuaries, implement new administrative regulations pertaining to caribou, more closely regulate the fur trade, and set up a domestic reindeer industry (Jenness, 1964, 33-35). Phillips (1967, 154) points out that the reindeer herd comprised the only new economic activity specifically organized to help the native people. The herd was designed to create a "general betterment" of the Inuit in the central Arctic, whose condition had been at times "somewhat serious" due to "fluctuations in the number of caribou" (Canada, 1930a, 117).

Just as the Supreme Court decision might have permitted the agency a wider scope in its work, the Northwest Territories Branch was abolished as an economy move, in 1931. The Eastern Arctic Patrol, established in 1922 as an "annual expedition by steamship to the eastern islands of the Franklin District" (Ibid., 120) to conduct administrative and scientific work as well as to supply the various settlements, was reduced to a mere supply operation (Jenness, 1964, 50). This further restricted government activity in the region:

The police could continue as before to uphold Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic and maintain peace, enforce the game regulations, collect the taxes on exported furs, distribute relief, and act in general as the Council's field administrators; the missions, supported by small subsidies, could provide all the hospitalization and rudimentary education that the Eskimos required; while the traders, gently regulated, could take care of their economic welfare (Ibid.).

Unfortunately, the depression brought a decline in world demand and consequently in prices paid for white fox furs (Canada, 1950, 39). In 1933 and 1934 the government provided some relief supplies (clothing and food) for distribution in the eastern Arctic, apparently in the belief that the only need was to tide the Inuit over a short period of distress (Jenness, 1964, 54). Increasing shortages of game in some areas led in 1938 to the restric-

tion of trapping in the Northwest Territories to Inuit, Indians, and those westerners who already had licenses. World War II had the beneficial effect to the Inuit of hastening the decline of trapping by westerners as many enlisted to fight (Canada, 1971, 31). The only important new endeavor in the 1930s to improve the situation of the Inuit was the ill-fated attempt to relocate several families from Baffin Island to Dundas Harbour. This was a pilot project designed to examine the feasibility of relocating Inuit to "...depopulated areas where the native food and clothing supplies were in abundance" (Jenness, 1964, 57). The project failed due to a combination of difficult environmental conditions and Inuit unfamiliarity with the new location; the government "tacitly conceded the failure of its scheme" in 1939 (Ibid., 59-61).

The government pursued its practice of keeping the Inuit in their "natural mode of living" (Canada, 1934, 54), provided small amounts of relief "...kept at a minimum consistent with native health and welfare" (Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, 1944, 71), and persisted in describing the overall condition of the Inuit as "generally satisfactory" and their health as "generally good" right through the 1940s (Ibid., 1937-1949). But World War II first exposed the Inuit to the possibilities of wage employment as a real alternative to trapping. Even then, however, the national government

...frowned on the employment of natives for longer than three years in jobs that by their very nature could not be permanent, lest they should lose some of their hunting skills and become incapable of "living off the country"....(Jenness, 1964, 75-76).

Analysis

Western attitudes toward the Arctic from the time of first contact through World War II, and especially the actions of the Canadian government,

are explainable in terms other than those of Prime Minister St-Laurent, who claimed in 1953 that Canada had administered the area "...in an almost continuing state of absence of mind" (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 2-3 Eliz. II, vol. 1 (1953-54), 698). Rather, since Europeans had first entered the region,

...the economy of northern Canada was based mainly on the exploitation of primary resources, producing a few "staple" commodities for export. Consequently, economic growth has been determined by external forces, notably by demands emanating from western Europe and the rest of North America. However, the demands could not be met without incentives to reward effort and initiative; technologies suitable for a frequently intractable environment; an information system capable of recording and communicating demands and possibilities; organizations capable of acting on such information; and access to labor and capital.

The system of capitalistic, commercial and industrial enterprise, which became the dominant mode of economic organization in the western world in the late 18th century, met all these requirements. Private ownership of the means of production established commercial profitability as the criterion of resource use and made profits the reward for enterprise; the application of science to problems of production yielded the necessary technologies; market prices provided the versatile information system required by consumers and producers; the corporate form of business enterprise made possible the accumulation of unprecedented concentrations of capital under a single ownership while at the same time reducing risks and making long-term planning feasible. In the 19th century, the emergence of liberal democratic institutions in the principal nation states accommodated this economic system. They provided reasonably stable and peaceful international relations and adopted policies which were tolerant of international movements of goods, workers, and capital.

In such an institutional setting, it would appear likely that individual businesses would be the principal decision-making bodies. To the extent that *laissez-faire* was an ideal in 19th century Canada, the role of the state in the economy was widely held to be one of facilitating and accommodating business. However active the Canadian government may have been in providing social overhead capital in the form of canals, roads, and railways, and despite the social similarities between business and government leaders and the relative weakness of ideological barriers to government involvement in the economic life here, in contrast to the situation in the United States (U.S.), it has become conventional to regard the state's economic role as supplementary rather than primary (Rea, 1976, 30-31).

Zaslow (1971, 278-79) agrees, stating that even after the establishment of a national government at the time of Confederation

...development remained mainly a task for individuals and corporations.... The traders, missionaries, prospectors, and Arctic whalers actually carried on with little change or interference....

Northward expansion was fostered by...governments through their policies for promoting the domestic processing of raw materials, generous and lax administration of natural resources, and the reckless undertaking of communications projects.

Further:

In their approaches to the problems of frontier development, Canadian governments, in line with the concept of the Crown as the ultimate source of authority and the repository of public interest, followed authoritarian and centralizing methods [and on] matters concerned with the frontiers, it made decisions according to its own convenience, in line with national rather than local interests (Ibid., 281-82).

The problems of the Inuit stemmed from the way in which this concept of government was executed. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police became the administrators of the Arctic. Judd (1969b, 791) traces this form of local government to the Klondike gold rush, and before that the opening of the prairies to settlement. The idea was "...to impose a symmetry on the north, to build a well-managed and well-mannered frontier...." (Ibid., 793). But the police were merely the field agents of the central government. The Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, who "...should administer the government of that area under instructions from time to time given him by the Governor in Council or the Minister of the Interior", aided by the Northwest Territories Council (Canada, 1934, 12), and located in Ottawa, had the real power. While such a system of government may have been suitable where there were large resource extraction operations, and the need was to prevent the emergence of a "wild west" type of frontier development, it was hardly suitable in the Arctic.

Jenness (1964, 20) is extremely critical of the system, stating that if there had been any real plans for Inuit welfare, Canada

...would have devised some more constructive method of exercising her authority and carrying out her responsibilities than the setting up of police posts, after the manner of a military occupation.

He goes on to compare expenditures on education, health, and welfare with expenditures on police in Arctic Canada, Alaska, and Greenland in 1939.

On a per capita basis, these are:

	Canada	Alaska	Greenland
Education, health, welfare	\$12.57	44.42	18.82
Police	<u>17.00</u>	<u>.42</u>	<u>nil</u>
	29.57	44.84	18.82

(after Jenness, 1964, 71).

In 1939, however, Canada was not a rich country, and had only initiated social welfare services in 1927 when old age pensions were established. In 1939, managerial salaries were only about \$2000/year, and blue collar workers made only \$20-30/week (Creighton, 1976, 19; similar figures existed in 1941, and are shown in Urquhart, 1965, 96). In 1939 all levels of government expenditure on health, education, and welfare were as follows:

Health	\$ 4.17
Education:	11.44
Social welfare, including veterans benefits:	<u>19.17</u>
	34.78/capita

Omitting veterans benefits (\$4.88/capita), as there were undoubtedly no Inuit veterans in 1939, one derives a social welfare figure of only \$29.90/capita/year for all Canadians (Urquhart, 1965, 14, 206). Therefore, while Jenness' criticism is well known, it is perhaps somewhat unfair; most of the population received only a few dollars more than the Inuit. One can, however, accept his criticism, supported by Cantley (Canada, 1950, 47-48), that because the police duties of maintaining order and upholding the law were "negative" tasks, that Canada's Arctic administration was "...as static and unprogressive as police-run states generally are" (Jenness, 1964, 21), and that she was "negligent" in sending police as the "apostles of western

civilization", while the United States and Denmark assigned that role to doctors and teachers (Ibid., 71). Ultimately, Crowe (1974, 163, 173) states:

The police did their best, but they were not trained or equipped to be a whole administration....

Perhaps nothing better could have been done under the circumstances, but in 1939 Soviet Inuit were piloting aircraft, Alaskan natives were running businesses, and Greenlanders were electing their own people to their own councils. Canadian Indians, Métis, and Inuit of the north in that year were without a voice in economics, religion, education, laws, or politics. From proud people who rather pitied the clumsy foreigner they had become bewildered bystanders, an embarrassment to a government that did not know just what to do next.

Change in Pace: World War II-1952

World War II made the embarrassment acute and thereby contributed to greater government attention toward the people of the North (Jenness, 1964, 76; Crowe, 1974, 175). The first evidence of greater government interest in the Inuit was embodied in Dr. G. J. Wherrett, a physician who travelled along the Mackenzie Valley in 1944 to survey health conditions among the Indians and Inuit of that region. In his report, published in February, 1945, he notes that the Department of Mines and Resources suggested his study

...in a spirit of self-criticism...which implies that it is an accepted fact that improvements are needed to bring to these people services that can approach, in some measure, those which are the right of every Canadian....(Wherrett, 1945, 49).

At the same time Wherrett was examining health conditions in the region, Andréw Moore was taking stock of the educational system. His most important finding echoed Stefansson's of 1913 (see page 49), that those natives who had been in school for some years were not competent in their usual land-based lifestyle, but neither were they able to function well in western society (Moore, 1945, 61).

Wherrett (1945, 49) pointed out in his report that the missionaries and medical officers had done as good a job as could be expected under

adverse conditions. This view is supported by Jenness (1964, 69) who correctly notes that the responsibility for any shortcomings belonged to the government:

[The missionaries] saw two extremely important fields of public service in the Arctic which the government itself was openly evading; and... they did their best to fill the gap. That they failed to perform either task well cannot be questioned, for they lacked the necessary organizations and the funds. The fault was not theirs, however, but the government's....

A few changes followed Wherrett's and Moore's recommendations; all were connected to increases in spending:

It is high time that the Department formulated a health policy founded on the needs of the people, rather than on the meagre sum that "Treasury Board" will allow it to put in the estimates (Wherrett, 1945, 59).

In November, 1945, responsibility for Inuit health care was transferred from the Department of Mines and Resources to the Department of National Health and Welfare. New facilities were built to complement the mission hospitals, beginning in the late 1940s at Port Harrison, Fort Chimo, Coppermine, and Lake Harbour (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Annual Report, 1948, 42; 1949, 105; 1950, 80). Preventive and case finding work took precedence, and was especially directed toward tuberculosis. Further, continuing a long established procedure, medical supplies were distributed to "lay dispensers" such as missionaries, traders, and policemen, to counteract the dispersed nature of the Inuit population, who often were visited by a physician only once a year at supply ship time.

In education government pursued a policy of school construction. The first federal day school was taken over from the Anglicans in Tuktoyaktuk in 1948.¹ By 1949, the government also operated schools in the Arctic at

1. The sources disagree. Lotz (1976, 26) and Abramson (Canada, 1963, 16) say the school was "taken over" in 1948. Jenness (1964, 79) and Crowe (1974, 196) say it was "built" in 1947. The departmental reports do not mention the existence of a school in Tuktoyaktuk until 1950 (Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Annual Report, 1951, 88).

Coral Harbour, Lake Harbour, Fort Chimo, and Port Harrison, and one in Coppermine was under construction (Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Annual Report, 1950, 79-80). As the number of schools increased the government "gradually and painlessly" withdrew its support from missionary schools (Jenness, 1964, 79).

Having initiated an increased level of spending in health and education, the government felt optimistic. In 1945, government noted that even though the white fox cycle was at its "lowest ebb", high prices were being paid for furs and that the relief needed by the Inuit was only "normal" (Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Annual Report, 1945, 70). In 1949, when the fox cycle was again at bottom, there was still no particular economic problem, according to the government. Referring to Baffin Island, Hudson Bay, and Ungava, the annual report noted that "Wildlife resources of the land and sea seemed adequate and the natives had not suffered from the scarcity of fur" (Ibid., 1949, 146).

The official confidence of 1949, however, belied a serious concern. In that year, James Cantley, a fur trader, was commissioned by the Northwest Territories Council to report on economic conditions in the North:

The aim of the...survey will be to set forth as concisely as possible the present-day economic position of the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic and to proceed from that to a consideration of means that may be taken to meet not only the current problems, but also the longer range problems that future developments are likely to raise (Canada, 1950, 1).

It was the sudden collapse in white fox prices and the effect on Eskimo economy that made it necessary to evaluate conditions among the Eskimos and reconsider the responsibility of the Administration towards them (Ibid., 39).

Fear that Canada's previous inattention to the well-being of the region's people might be coming home to roost also made it necessary:

Since for the majority of the Eskimos white foxes are almost the only source of revenue, lack of a market for these skins could mean not only that they would be deprived of their only means of earning a livelihood, but that the Hudson's Bay Company and other smaller traders might also be forced to withdraw from the Arctic. The Administration would then be left with the whole problem of providing for these people and setting up the facilities for doing so (Ibid.).

The idea that government might actually have to care for the Inuit was indeed novel, and the mentioned possible withdrawal of the Hudson's Bay Company probably was not idle speculation: Cantley was a longtime, and senior, employee of the company. That the Hudson's Bay Company was in the Arctic for purely commercial reasons was no secret, and by 1953 that the Arctic posts, as a group, were operating at "a small loss" (Canada, 1953, 27) was known outside the company.

The fox price collapse was documented by Cantley as follows:

<u>Cycle Years</u>	<u>White Foxes Average Market Prices</u>	<u>Estimated Market Values</u>
1920/21-1923/24	\$38.32	\$6,675,521
1924/25-1927/28	38.67	6,358,266
1928/29-1931/32	26.99	5,275,686
1932/33-1935/36	16.86	3,522,005
1936/37-1939/40	11.76	1,963,603
1940/41-1943/44	25.99	5,600,195
1944/45-1947/48	16.58	2,783,725
1949- 1 year only	8.88	294,175

(Canada, 1950, 39).

After detailing the 1949 situation, Cantley stated:

...the white fox is the only natural resource of any considerable economic importance that has been, or is likely to be in the foreseeable future, commercially exploited for the benefit of the Eskimo population. Very little is known yet of the mineral resources of the Arctic but even if minerals that could be economically extracted should be found, it is very doubtful if such operations would affect more than a few local Eskimos. The majority would still have to depend largely on foxes and other wildlife for their livelihood.

The two main questions of policy facing the Administration today are (a) what use is to be made of these 1,100,000 square miles of Arctic territory, and (b) what provision is to be made for the future of the 8,500 Eskimo inhabitants (Ibid., 43).

Cantley went on to note:

...as long as the Eskimos appeared to be reasonably well cared for Government appeared to be satisfied to leave them to work out their own destiny with the Hudson's Bay Company and such others as entered the country from time to time. What little action was taken was, on the whole, designed to preserve rather than to construct....(Ibid., 43-44).

Putting aside all lesser considerations for the moment, the immediate and most important problem is to find means of ensuring the Eskimos of a reasonable standard of living. This will entail close investigation of all possible sources of supply and income, which will in turn almost certainly lead to positive steps having to be taken to consolidate and conserve income from all sources so that it may be used to the best possible advantage. This is a subject in itself and it need only be said here that the problems that will be involved in attempting to stabilize and spread Eskimo income so that the "booms and busts" of the present economy may be levelled out as far as possible, can only be tackled with the full co-operation of the trading organization and the minimum of interference from others not directly interested (Ibid., 49).

But Cantley himself, apparently unable to see the forest for the trees, was able to suggest no alternatives other than "make-work" or, following his belief that the trapping industry existed for "the benefit of the Eskimo", an expansion of the very economy that had placed the Inuit in peril:

Any improvement in the Eskimos' standard of living can only come through an increase in the numbers and/or values of the pelts of these animals, through the development of suitable small industries or handicrafts, or through Government grants in one form or another (Ibid., 40).

To assist in overcoming the "boom and bust" of trapping income, he suggested that until such time as the Inuit could handle their own affairs "intelligently", and to avoid "squandering" income on nonessentials in good years and being in need of assistance in poor years,

...they should be guided in their spending and made to put something aside in the good years to tide them over in the poor ones. Control is already being exercised over the spending of Family Allowances so that in view of the Eskimos' steadily increasing dependence on these and on other Government assistance, we would be quite justified in extending this control to include all income (Ibid., 56).

Adult education and local councils would be the means to develop an "independent, self-supporting race" (Ibid.).

Other concern was expressed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who in 1948 commented that every year in the Arctic there seemed to be a decrease in the food supply, and especially in the number of sea mammals (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1948, 54). Again in 1950, they pointed out:

...for some reason, sea mammals, such as seals and walrus, upon which the Eskimos depend mainly for their food, seem to be becoming scarce in certain districts and at certain times of the year where they were otherwise plentiful (Ibid., 1950, 61).

They stated that the Royal Canadian Air Force had had to supply the Cape Dorset population with relief in 1950 because the people were in a state of "semi-starvation", and half of the dogs had died for want of food (Ibid.). The Ungava Inuit were reported to suffer a lack of sea mammals and caribou (Ibid.).

In 1950 came another hint of economic trouble, and an indication that a suggestion made by Cantley was being put into effect:

Aside from the poliomyelitis epidemic at Chesterfield and an influenza epidemic in the central Arctic, health conditions among the Eskimo were good. Wildlife resources of the land and sea have been adequate except in certain areas such as the coast of northern Quebec, although a rather poor fur year and the depressed prices in the fur trade have raised serious problems for the Eskimos who are finding it extremely difficult to pay for equipment and other items of trade which they require. Hence, the state of the Eskimo economy presents a serious problem which is receiving intensive study in an effort to discover new and improved sources of income. One method of supplementing the income of the Eskimo lies in the development of handicrafts, and during the year an agreement was reached with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild whereby the Guild, assisted by a grant from the Administration, undertook to organize and encourage the production of handicraft articles by the Eskimos and to handle the sale of these products (Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Annual Report, 1950, 95).

Also in 1950, the government began to pay Old Age Allowances at the rate of \$8/month to Inuit over seventy years of age. This, coupled with the Family Allowances that were paid after 1946 (Breul, 1951, 310) created

substantial new sources of cash income.² Yet in 1951, government stated that the Inuit still relied on hunting for their subsistence, and fox trapping for "essential outside supplies" (Canada, 1951, 112), even though furs accounted for only about 41% of Inuit cash income (Canada, 1953, 22b). Allowances, which accounted for 34% of cash income, were regarded only as a help in relieving the dependence on a "fluctuating resource", and handicrafts were only an income supplement (Canada, 1951, 112). The local administrators, the policemen, referred to allowances, pensions, etc., as a "stop-gap" (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1948, 54).

The government clearly was aware that more substantial change than the provision of income supplements, which had in fact become a vital component of the economy, would have to take place:

The stagnation in the white fox market over the past few years and steadily decreasing opportunities of obtaining local employment since the war raised serious economic problems throughout most of the Arctic and a great deal of attention has been given to these matters during the past year. Surveys have been made of the resources of the various areas and studies made of what may be done to provide the natives with a more stable economy and a reasonable standard of living.

A recent improvement in fox prices has relieved the immediate problem to some extent but the developments and difficulties of the past few years have served to emphasize the need for a flexible, long-term social and economic policy in respect to the Arctic (Canada, Department of Resources and Development, Annual Report, 1951, 80).

However, little indication was given of the specifics of government intentions:

Continued consideration is being given to the possibility of opening up new areas for Eskimo habitation and providing for a greater utilization of known resources in other areas. Some progress has already been made in this direction and encouraging results have been obtained.

Under an arrangement with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, interest in handicrafts is being fostered among the Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic. J. Houston, of the Guild, has obtained promising results from his work among the Eskimos of Northern Quebec and this year he and his wife are engaged in similar work with the Eskimos of southern Baffin Island. The aim is to have instruction in handicrafts extended to the natives in all parts of the Arctic. Consideration is also being given to the possibility of introducing other crafts and small local industries to assist the natives to augment their present limited incomes (Ibid.).

2. Initial family allowance rates were from \$5 to \$8 per child per month, depending on the age of the child (Canada, 1953, 31-32).

In 1952, some small progress was reported:

In most areas the Eskimos are still able to obtain a large part of their food by hunting and fishing, but in certain areas there has been a decline in the availability of some resources on which these people depend. Caribou have not been obtained in most of northern Quebec for years, and steadily diminishing numbers of these animals in Baffin Island have made it necessary to suspend caribou hunting there until the herds have had a chance to recover. There are conflicting opinions as to caribou population and migrations in the Districts of Mackenzie and Keewatin, but Eskimos in these districts, who depend very largely on caribou, are still able to obtain sufficient for their needs.

Of the marine animals on which the majority of Canadian Eskimos largely depend, walrus is the only one that seems to be less numerous than in former years. Whether this is because of an actual decline in numbers, or to change in migration habits, has not yet been determined.

Although the Eskimos are able to obtain much of their food from resources within their own territories, the continued lack of demand and consequent low price for white fox furs has made it impossible for many Eskimos to earn enough to purchase their needs. This situation has been further aggravated since the war by the greatly increased cost of everything the Eskimos have to buy.

The white fox reached the peak of its cycle, in parts of the Eastern Arctic and the eastern sections of the Western Arctic in 1951-52. Elsewhere, catches have been relatively light. The result has been that relief has had to be issued in areas where catches were light, to make up, in part at least, for the decrease in earnings from trapping. Continued consideration is being given to widening and stabilizing the native economy, either by assisting the Eskimos themselves to recover their self-sufficiency, or by making it possible for them to earn enough to purchase those things they must now have, but which they cannot produce. Some progress has been made, in the first phase, by the redistribution of population to areas where hunting conditions are favourable, by assisting the Eskimos in improving their hunting methods, and by showing them how to make greater use of the resources available. The fishing and sealing development at Port Burwell has proved successful during the past three years and will continue to be expanded. Eskimos transferred to outlying islands from the northern Quebec mainland have done well. Assistance given to the Banks Island and Herschel Island people has made it possible for them to make greater use of their resources and to be largely self-supporting. Steps are now being taken to promote boat-building and other local industries, with a view to encouraging the Eskimos to make their own equipment, rather than to depend entirely on imports.

The revenue from handicrafts is steadily increasing. Under the arrangements with the Canadian Handicrafts Guild, instruction in these arts has now been extended through a great part of the Eastern Arctic. The articles brought out have excited a keen interest in Canada and the United States where they have found ready markets. The Eskimos are interested in the project, and the revenues it has produced have been helpful. Increased building and other activities at some of the settlements, and prospecting in other areas, have provided employment

for a few small groups, but unless there is a marked recovery in the white fox market, discovery of other means of self-support for the Eskimos will remain a problem (Ibid., 1952, 65).

Such was the situation of the Inuit on the eve of massive government intervention in every segment of their society.

Government Policy, 1953-1972

In 1953 came the first indication of a substantial change in the extent and velocity, though not in the underlying philosophy and direction, of Inuit administration:

The strategic importance of the northern part of Canada has increased greatly in recent years. Its place in the economy of Canada is steadily growing and will continue to expand in future. You will be asked to consider a bill to change the designation and orientation of the Department of Resources and Development and to define the responsibilities of the government with respect to the affairs of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, including the Arctic archipelago, and the welfare of the Eskimos (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 2-3 Eliz. II, vol. 1 (1953-54), 5. First reading of Bill No. 1).

The effect of the bill will be...to give a new emphasis and scope to work already being done, and to indicate that the government and parliament wish to see such greater emphasis made a continuing feature of the operation of government (Ibid., 696. Prime Minister St-Laurent speaking).

Going far beyond the minor alterations to the status quo proposed by Cantley and described in the 1952 annual report, the government described its view of future economic activity in the Arctic and made clear the relationship of the Inuit to it:

In the north the basic industry for growth and development is mining (Ibid., 698. Prime Minister St-Laurent speaking).

The development of other resources such as water power, lands, forests, and so on will follow and be dependent upon the development of its minerals (Ibid., 707. J. A. Simmons, Liberal member for the Yukon, speaking).

I think this department will have to give close attention to what can be done to integrate the native Eskimo population into the development, and probably the administration also, of parts of these northern areas (Ibid., 700. Prime Minister St-Laurent speaking).

While the first Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources annual report (1954) primarily reported on progress in the usual government activities, there was some indication of the "new emphasis":

Definite plans are now under way to educate and give technical training to Eskimos interested in and capable of taking advantage of increasing opportunities in the Arctic and elsewhere....

...the steps that are now being taken to diversify the economy and to provide education and technical training will in time provide those who must remain as hunters and trappers with a higher standard of living and those others, who are so inclined, with opportunities for taking up other forms of gainful employment (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1954, 27).

In 1955, government intentions were clarified substantially:

The objective of Government policy is relatively easy to define. It is to give the Eskimos the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities as all other Canadians; in short, to enable them to share fully the national life of Canada (Lesage, 1955, 4).

This objective was based on the premise that westernization was inevitable, and that the process could be guided by government so that it would be in what government perceived to be the best interests of the Inuit:

The only realistic approach is to accept the fact that the Eskimo will be brought ever more under the influences of civilization to the south. The task, then, is to help him adjust his life and his thoughts to all that the encroachment of this new life must mean.... For those who can continue in the native way of life successfully--or can follow it more successfully than any other--little change may be necessary or desirable, so long as that condition lasts....

[Inuit and Canadian cultures] must tend to draw together because they will be subjected to the same governing influences, i.e., the same economic determinants, the same body of law and the same framework of opportunity in education, religion, employment, recreation, artistic expression, community and national life. The industrial society of the North American continent will not be greatly deflected from its course by receiving this small group of Eskimo people and their culture (Ibid.).

The specifics of government activity were related to the general policy as follows:

Economic development and increased defence activities is already bringing, and will continue to bring, opportunities for employment. At the same time, plans are proceeding for the stimulation of small industries, such as boat building, etc., which I mentioned a few moments ago. The natives will not, however, be able to take advantage

of these and other opportunities unless they have some schooling. Primary schooling is the minimum requirement and vocational training is needed by many. Given the necessary education and training there is no reason why Eskimos and Indians cannot satisfactorily fill many of the jobs in northern Canada which would otherwise have to be undertaken by people brought in from the south, often at high cost (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Special Committee on Estimates, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, March 28, 1955, 538. Jean Lesage, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, speaking).

The small industries referred to were of a different nature than those that had been initiated in earlier years, that is not "self help" industries, but were more consistent with historical government activity in the North. They were described by the Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources in comments he made after a trip to the North:

...there are two problems in the north. The one is economic, the problem of developing the north so that we can take advantage of the vast natural resources that exist there. I think the way to develop the north economically is to try to create an economic climate which is favourable to the development and exploitation of those resources. The key to that development is transportation.

There is a second problem, a human problem which faces the population up there....

I was saying that we have to try to interest the natives in small industries. My expression may not have been the best, but I was referring to small industries and trades, teaching them to be carpenters, for instance. Then if we had to build a school in a community we would not have to import carpenters from Edmonton at great cost (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 3-4 Eliz. II, vol. 4 (1955), 3728).

We have to take these native people...and try to settle them down to something that their forefathers would never have done.... Our policy is to reduce the cost of living in the north, to create economic conditions that will facilitate economic development and the exploitation of natural resources and also to bring education to the population of the north so that the natives can be usefully employed in other kinds of occupations than the ones they are occupied in now (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Special Committee on Estimates, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, March 23, 1955, 439. Jean Lesage speaking).

The minister did not expect the process to be quick:

...you do not transform people who have been living for generations in the stone age overnight into the atomic age. It is a problem which might take generations. We should not be discouraged (Ibid., 454).

There was no change in policy while the Liberals remained the government. The Conservatives came to power in 1957, and expressed that their two main concerns in the North were mineral resources and roads with which to exploit the minerals (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Mines, Forests and Waters, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, June 9, 1958, 11-20. Alvin Hamilton, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, speaking). This was essentially the same position as that of the Liberals, but the Conservatives wished to increase the pace of activity, to carry out the "delineation of these resources" and succeed in "opening up the country" in five years rather than the twenty-five that the Liberals were said to have envisioned (Ibid., 16). But government, as usual, did not intend to do this directly:

This government believes in a system of private enterprise. This government believes it is not the responsibility of government to go into projects and replace private enterprise. We believe in what we call dynamic government as opposed to passive government. Dynamic government, to us, is simply doing those things which will encourage private enterprise to go in and develop our resources (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 8-9 Eliz. II, vol. 6 (1960), 6831. Alvin Hamilton speaking).

The construction of a railroad to Pine Point on Great Slave Lake was the most important project undertaken by the Conservative government. Originally argued for in 1955 by the Liberal government (Rea, 1968, 265), the Conservatives in 1959 set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole idea, and in 1961 announced the railroad would be built (Ibid., 266-67). The second major project was the "Roads to Resources" program, a national endeavor initiated in 1958 to build roads to potentially valuable natural resource areas. A related and notable event that occurred while the Conservatives were in power was the first application by private industry, in 1958, to prospect for oil on 1.6 million hectares in the Arctic Islands; the necessary permission was given in 1960 (Judd, 1969b, 804).

The Conservatives believed that the increased pace of western activity they were fostering in the Arctic made the westernization of the Inuit more compelling than ever:

It becomes increasingly evident that Arctic lands will no longer support the traditional hunting and trapping economy of the Eskimos; even less will they support the rapidly growing Eskimo population. Consequently, new outlets must be found to preserve the Eskimos' economic independence and to permit them to share in the rising living standards of the country (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1958, 25).

Although the annual report suggested that the choice of taking wage employment or continuing to hunt still existed (Ibid.), the minister responsible, Alvin Hamilton, indicated otherwise:

We do of course envisage bringing the Eskimos into the life and operation of northern Canada to the greatest possible extent. The resources of the land in which the Eskimos have lived in the past are diminishing. However, the population is increasing so other livelihood must be found for a substantial proportion of these people. In a sense another livelihood must be found for all of them because the level of their existence in the past has been low to such a degree that it is not acceptable to Canadians.... (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Mines, Forests and Waters, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, July 1, 1958, 220).

The Conservatives also subscribed to Lesage's ideas of what constituted useful employment:

[The Inuit] like the country and intend to stay. Ordinarily, labour turnover is high in the north or in any place outside our main centres of civilization. In the north, however, labour turnover can be very low. People who are not appalled by cold weather in winter or mosquitoes in summer, people who do not miss life in the big cities of the south, are valuable to Canada in the tasks of northern development (Canada, 1960b, 34).

As usual, the benefit of northern development to the Inuit was simply assumed.

The Liberals returned to power in 1963. Arthur Laing, the new Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, promptly indicated that there was no change in government policy toward the Inuit and the Arctic:

The federal government first took an active interest in northern development during a Liberal regime. The succeeding Conservative government, to their credit, carried on and expanded these programs, and added to them to meet changing conditions. The present government does not foresee a radical departure from the broad lines established earlier, although of course conditions are not static and policies must be flexible to support them (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 12 Eliz. II, vol. 5 (1963), 4507).

The immediate problem which has been recognized by successive governments, and this is not a partisan matter, is how to make a reality of the human and material potential that is existing there. I think my predecessor in this post would agree with me that the fundamental problem of the north is economic. This is not entirely a problem for governments, though certainly they have a role to play in co-operation with soundly based private enterprise. What can be done to help broaden the economic base of the region so it can provide a satisfactory standard of living for its growing population and contribute to the economy as a whole? This is the question with which we are confronted in dealing with northern Canada. Let there be no mistake that the economic base must be broadened, or any doubt that the population is growing very quickly.

Historically, we would say that the important residents of the north, the Eskimo population, were able to depend on hunting and fishing to maintain their traditional way of living. These traditions are gone and will not return. With southern medicine and medical care, the population in most areas has grown far beyond the capacity of the local resources of game and fish to support it. The people in the south are no longer prepared to see disease and starvation hold the northern population to the limits set by the local food supply. The Eskimo people themselves have become aware of our southern comforts and conveniences and are no longer prepared to live in the way their forefathers did.

I found it very significant on my northern trip that virtually all the Eskimos with whom I spoke accorded first priority to the education of their children....

As hon. members know, the schools are there. Most northern children, of whatever racial origin, can now go to school; and within about five years this opportunity will be open to all of them. Well qualified students will soon be graduating in substantial numbers and will be looking for work. However the jobs are not there now, and they will have to be provided. The economic base must expand (*Ibid.*, 4506).

The Liberal view was reiterated in 1964. In a brochure titled This is the Arctic, the question was posed about the region, "What Good Is It?":

[The question] can be answered almost with two words--minerals and oil.... No part of the Arctic is written off as a major source of minerals, and there may come a day when some of Canada's biggest mines and oil wells will be among the igloos. The government is not trying to extract the minerals; that has been and will continue to be the job

of private enterprise. But it is the government's job to encourage and assist private enterprise by mapping, surveying, and the other related activities that it undertakes. Without accurate maps, prospectors would have trouble finding themselves, to say nothing of minerals. Without geological surveys and aerial photography, mining companies would have difficulty knowing where to explore. And in the future the government's biggest help will probably be in transportation. Every year now millions of dollars are being spent by businessmen to scour or drill the rocks for the richest mines and oil wells of tomorrow. These men don't spend their money for amusement; they know the future value of the North (Canada, 1964, 26-27).

The Inuit were said to have "three basic needs":

Along with the need for a secure economy, the Eskimos have two related needs. They need better education and they need better health if they are to take full advantage of the new opportunities. (Ibid., 22).

But, as the then Minister of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Jean Lesage, had stated in slightly different terms in 1955:

None of this means that the Eskimos are being pampered. Spoon-feeding is definitely out; they are simply being helped to help themselves. The Eskimos are not wards of the state and they are not being treated as wards. They are full Canadian citizens, and as citizens the day may come when Eskimo legislators will help direct affairs in all Canada, and when an Eskimo will sit in Parliament at Ottawa. Eskimos already hold responsible jobs in the administration (Ibid., 23).

The government view remained static. In 1966, creating for the Inuit a new economic base with which to replace hunting was a priority (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Northern Affairs and National Resources, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, March 31, 1966, 9). Another was the pursuit of vocational education, "...to give an opportunity to the Indian and Eskimo people to participate in the mining, oil and gas exploration developments which are going on...." (Ibid., May 13, 1966, 123). "Primary importance" was, however, still attached to resource development in the region (Ibid., July 27, 1966, 599). But the Inuit knew how to take all this: in 1967, a member of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development rose in the House of Commons to report that they were

"...co-operating well in adapting themselves to our educational and economic system...." (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 16 Eliz. II, vol. 2 (1967), 1356. Richard Southam speaking). Northern development was still specifically equated with mineral exploitation (Ibid., 1348-49).

In 1968, Pierre Trudeau became Prime Minister and Jean Chrétien became Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Nothing changed but the people:

The Indian and Eskimo people have their own objectives and goals; it is not the responsibility of the Government to define them. The departmental role is to establish its own policies so that Indian and Eskimo individuals can determine and reach their own goals within the framework of Canadian society.

It is the objective of the Government that Indian and Eskimo people shall be able to choose their goals for themselves and have the capability training and the clear right to set about achieving them. There should be no social barriers preventing our Native people from pursuing their aims within our society, and they must be given the opportunity to draw upon the resources of society to provide them with the necessary training and other assistance to bring those goals within their own reach. They must have the same degree of self-governing local institutions as other Canadians. They must have access to the same institutions and programs of government as other Canadians. They must have the opportunity to achieve for themselves their own aspirations.

Northern Canada must be developed to the greatest extent which is economically feasible, and the degree of development must be enhanced by appropriate government action to make possible developments which, unaided, might lie fallow for too long. Development must take into account both Natives and others, and it must be in the best interests of both Northern Canada and the nation.

Northern development must provide jobs for Northerners and it must enhance the country as a whole (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, November 11, 1968, 85-86. Jean Chrétien speaking).

But the "framework of Canadian society" as it would exist in the North was that of a mining community:

It is the intention of the government and the Department to place particular emphasis on the development of sound economic opportunities for our native peoples and for northern residents, and I believe we have now developed an organizational concept that will ensure positive results. After all, there is little point in bringing to the Indian and to Northern peoples generally the benefits of our

social programs, particularly education, if there is no opportunity available to the young boy or girl or for the vocational trainee once they graduate. It would indeed be most discouraging if, having made the great effort of acquiring useful skills, the graduate then has to rely on social assistance or less challenging work because there are no alternative opportunities available to him. In the North we are taking aggressive steps to attract major industry development, particularly in the fields of oil and mining....(Ibid., 89).

The important thing is the total development of the Territories. It is also important that the development of northern Canada which represents 40 per cent of our country, be progressive and rational. We must not engage in fantasies but rather implement programs for the development of the North (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 18 Eliz. II, vol. 1 (1969), 1126. Jean Chrétien speaking).

The economic development proper, is now simply fantastic in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, when one considers that in 1963, the value of the mining production in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon amounted to only \$20 million; in 1969 our mining production will be over \$200 million.

With respect to possible new developments, we are told every day that new minerals have been found both in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (Ibid., 1127).

Such "development" of course constrained the "objectives and goals" that realistically could be achieved by the Inuit, especially since wage employment was to be restricted to that connected with mineral exploitation:

The government now has the opportunity to ensure that development of resources in the north will be to the benefit of all citizens of the north. I made the plea, and I repeat it today, that there be an orderly development of resources in the north so as to provide employment for Eskimos and Indians who want to take employment. I am not saying that all Indians and Eskimos must be miners; that is not what I have in mind. But if they do want to take jobs, we want to make sure they are employed in the development of resources of the north. We must make it possible to establish in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon the kind of society that we want in Canada. I have indicated to the mining industry many times since I have been minister that they have to work in that direction, and I must say some good progress has been made (Ibid.).

Any doubt that government policy still was not exactly what it had been since 1953 was dispelled later in 1969:

There is a close relation between the welfare of the inhabitants of the North and the development of northern resources (Ibid., 19 Eliz. II, vol. 7 (1969), 6922. Jean Chrétien speaking).

By the early 1970s there was still no change:

...it is necessary to find ways and means of permitting Indians and Eskimos to follow a different way of life if they choose to do so....

We must make sure that we provide these people with opportunities to work if they are to share the advantages of the general economic and social levels of Canada (Ibid., 20 Eliz. II, vol. 6 (1971), 5743-44. Jean Chrétien speaking).

To provide these opportunities "...it is necessary to develop the north" (Ibid., 5744). After all, the government did not wish

...to sit on resources of the north so that Indians and Eskimos are deprived of any opportunity to find a place in the wage economy and have their share in the wealth of Canada, thus forcing them to live on welfare (Ibid.).

And no one would choose to remain a hunter dependent on welfare:

I am confident that in time more and more of the native population will become part of the labour force in the north and share in the benefits of northern development (Ibid.).

In 1972 the most elegant statement to date of government's policy toward the North and the Inuit was presented to the country in the form of a booklet titled Canada's North 1970-1980. The statement was "...founded on the Government's conviction that the needs of the people in the North are more important than resource development and that the maintenance of ecological balance is essential" (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, March 28, 1972, 7. Jean Chrétien speaking). Certainly, this was a revolutionary statement. Made specific, Canada's new objectives in the North were:

To provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations.

To maintain and enhance the northern environment with due consideration to economic and social development.

To encourage viable economic development within regions of the Northern Territories so as to realize their potential contribution to the national economy and the material wellbeing of Canadians.

To realize the potential contribution of the Northern Territories to the social and cultural development of Canada.

To further the evolution of self government in the Northern Territories.

To maintain Canadian sovereignty and security in the North.

To develop fully the leisure and recreational opportunities in Northern Territories (Canada, 1972e, 10).

These were, however, national priorities applied to the North, not northern priorities. Specifically, this meant that "...the kind of development encouraged in the North will reflect economic conditions and policies in the South" (Ibid., 9). This was defined obliquely as mineral exploration: "...the economic future of the North lies in the ground" (Ibid., 14). Further indicating that nothing had really changed, Chrétien's introductory remarks notwithstanding, the booklet offered that although poverty was the "most pressing problem" of the native people (Ibid., 11), most of the economic benefits of government policy would "be felt in the South" (Ibid., 9).

Within this context, the situation of the Inuit and the remedy for it were set out:

The Eskimos (11,050 in 1970) are scattered in Arctic regions where the natural constraints are very severe. New concentrations of population can result from major non-renewable resource development (Mary River in Baffin Island for example) affording opportunities for trained Eskimo labour and other economic benefits. Further improvements can be made to methods of harvesting renewable resources. The co-operative movement can be expanded for economic and cultural purposes. Associations representing the Eskimo people should be encouraged along with viable community development. The restricted opportunities for developing the economy in some regions (Keewatin for example) and the rapid growth of the Eskimo population (rate of natural increase for Eskimos 4.0%) could stimulate migration to more favoured regions in the Territories and Southern Canada, particularly by educated and trained people. Perhaps the most important need in approaching such questions is to get rid of myths about the Eskimos ("Eskimos want to continue their traditional nomad life", "they can be insulated from the new influences at work in the North"; "they are unable to adapt to life in the South," etc.). Some Eskimos have shown keen interest in the material aspects of modern society and an eagerness to adapt themselves to it. The real need is to concentrate on means of enhancing the Eskimos' self-respect and livelihood, especially through diversified education and vocational training and fundamentally to give them mobility and freedom of choice (Ibid., 24).

In particular, the needs were to create wage employment opportunities, to provide training and/or education for such positions; to offer native people access to administrative positions; improve consultation procedures between local people, government, and industry; and maintain opportunities to carry on traditional or "analogous" activities (Ibid., 35-36). It could have been written in 1953.

Analysis

One can only comprehend the genesis and continuation of one government policy after 1945 by returning to the idea of developed and undeveloped societies. The Inuit had been recognized as useful contributors to the western economy by both whalers and fur traders, and in fact both of these activities were successfully pursued in the Arctic in large part because of Inuit participation. For their part, the Inuit were interested in the western activities as the means by which to obtain western material goods, and for some time were able to successfully balance participation in both their traditional and the new activities. Ultimately, however, an over-reliance on trapping as the sole basis of economic exchange with westerners evolved, to the extent that the survival of the Inuit was threatened; this occurred in the late 1940s.

The government view was that this social and economic breakdown could be blamed on the physical environment, not western actions, most especially those designed to westernize the Inuit. This attitude is exemplified by a 1955 government statement that implicitly recognizes the state of imbalance between culture and environment that western nations were then beginning to call "underdevelopment":

The problems of these peoples are as varied as the land they live in and, indeed, are due in large part to environmental factors. With the opening up of the north, their daily lives are changing and they are confronted with a number of economic and social problems, individually and as groups. This process of change affects the Eskimos in the Arctic and Mackenzie River delta, and the Indians in the Mackenzie River Valley and the Yukon. Improved and increasingly effective health and welfare services, family allowances for the children and other social security payments for the aged, the blind and the disabled in recent years have substantially improved the lot of many of these people. As a result, population has been growing, increasing the pressure on decreasing or stationary resources of game and fur-bearing animals. Hunting, trapping and fishing still continue to provide the means of livelihood for the greater number of the native people. Of these occupations, only trapping provides them with cash income. Fur trapping during the past few years has been a depressed industry because world prices have fallen seriously. Catches of some animals have gone down, and this has aggravated the difficulties of the native people (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1955, 9-10).

The reasonable response of government to this situation, after 1953, was to try to return the Inuit to a condition in which they would have the ability to support themselves. But because the causes of the situation were misinterpreted, government chose to achieve its objective by further extending southern Canadian social and economic activity into the North, by integrating the Inuit into this, by making them like us:

In future years the Eskimo will be brought ever more under the influence of our civilization. There is no purpose in arguing whether this is good or bad. It is inevitable (Ibid., 12).

At long last these people would be raised out of nature, to the upper level of the latticework, into humanity, by converting the disorganized historical process of westernization into a systematic, well orchestrated policy.

One might suppose that the motive for all this government activity was at least humanitarian, even if misguided. But then one might wonder whether the embarrassment of others seeing the conditions in the Canadian North during World War II would have been by itself sufficient motivation to act in a nation not particularly concerned with social welfare of any sort and

that had been in the habit, in the North, of leaving "...their social conscience for others to exercise" (Phillips, 1967, 126). More probably the major motive was economic. Fearing, with the end of the war, a return of the depression, Canada in 1945 had embarked on its first serious program of social welfare, one aim of which was to maintain a standard level of public services throughout the country (Creighton, 1976, 107-8). In the North, particularly, Wherrett had pointed out the relationship between health care and economics, providing the government with a rationale for action in the region:

...health cannot be divorced from socio-economic conditions and a health program will fail if, at the same time, efforts are not made to improve the economic status of these [Indian and Inuit] people (Wherrett, 1945, 59).

Consequently:

Disease in the north became a kind of national obscenity, not only a threat which might contaminate the south, but an insult as well. It could also have become an international embarrassment to a country which was giving vigorous support to the United Nations and to the new concept of foreign aid. The north was a skeleton in Canada's closet (Judd, 1969a, 597-98).

The economy that had emerged and that was subjected to government intervention in the late 1940s was what would now be characterized a dual economy. Speaking of the period 1870-1914, though the description is equally applicable to the fur trading period, Zaslow (1971, 281) states that the two sectors comprised

...a diffused, primitive, individualistic pattern based on the wildlife resources, which was characteristic of the early stages of development; or the pattern of the new industries, which were mainly organized on specialized, hierarchical lines and gave rise to urban communities and wage-earning labour forces.

The new industries were primarily "...forays into isolated areas to develop high-value discoveries such as gold, radium and uranium, or the silver-lead ores of the Mayo district in the Yukon...." (Tough, 1972, 76); these new

industries were "...carried on in enclaves separated from continuing traditional economic and social arrangements" (Rea, 1976, 39). As it affected the Inuit, this was "...a staple export-based hinterland economy superimposed on a traditional native economy, itself largely a by-product of modern industrialism" (Ibid., 53), which used their skilled labor to gather the basic commodities, first whales, then fox furs.

Viewed in this context, the emphasis on rapidly completing the assimilation of the Inuit into western industrialized society becomes understandable:

...what would be the point in raising a new, healthy generation educated into the ways of the white man if that white society could not, or would not, make available in the north its own economic and social opportunities to replace the traditional ones it was destroying? ...Canadians and Canadian governments decided that there was no choice but to change the style of Eskimo...life and replace, almost entirely, the native cultures with white man's education, technology and social organization (Judd, 1969a, 598-99).

The only question was one of "degree and tempo" (Ibid., 599), or what was later called "pacing" (Science Council of Canada, 1974, 5).

Throughout the period 1953-1972, there is constant reference in the government literature to allowing the Inuit the choice of whether to participate in the wage economy or remain hunters. There is no reason to believe that this attitude was other than what it was stated to be, one of permitting the Inuit to be full fledged Canadians with the same rights and responsibilities as anyone else.³ At the same time, however, nobody in government believed that any normal human being, given the choice, would opt for any but the western lifestyle, a reflection of longstanding western ethnocentrism:

The material gain from employment in the prosperous mines, the attractive living conditions and the opportunities for bright new futures provide their own advertisements (Canada, 1960b, 36).

3. Implicit in this equality was the opportunity to live and work in southern Canada. A statement representative of this view was made by a high ranking public servant in 1969: "...all Eskimos will not be miners. As Canadians, many will choose to live in the South" (Stevenson, 1973, 190).

"If he has the chance to do so the Eskimo will undoubtedly climb the ladder of civilization" (Lesage, 1955, 5). The government view has been as limited as that of Forester's savages with their screw.

Actions, not unexpectedly, have reflected this blindness. While honestly believing the possibility of choice was being maintained, all concrete efforts were directed toward the creation of trained Inuit wage laborers and wage positions for them. Further, such a policy basically solved both of Lesage's "two problems": the creation of a new, presumably stable, economic base for Inuit society satisfied the humanitarian problem; creating a resident labor force for southern based industry went some way toward satisfying government's "active" role in the economy of providing an appropriate environment for private industry.

One must not overlook that in the period 1953-1972 private industry remained the direct executor of Arctic "development"; government merely gave policy direction and provided social overhead capital. There was still no government recognition that private industry operated in the Arctic, as elsewhere, to make a profit, not to act as a social welfare agency for the local population. But, in contrast to whaling and trapping, traditional land oriented skills were of little or no use in the industrial society being created. This has been admitted indirectly in such government statements as that of Jean Chrétien, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, that an Inuk would only become part of the "labour force" when he accepted wage employment, which was also the only way for him to avoid living on welfare or to attain the social and economic "levels" of Canada (see page 81). The practical consequence of this policy, at least to date, is that

From being a "participant" (albeit a humble one) in the economic life of the North, [the Inuk] found himself increasingly an outside observer. Bewildered that his traditional skills were no longer of value and at the same time increasingly bound to the white man's settlements and way of life, the native Northerner often lapsed into the self-destructive role of "hanger-on". In the eyes of the "outsiders" he became a liability of the area--at worst a nuisance for the exploiter, at best an object of charity to be attended to first by the church and more recently by government (Wonders, 1972, 139).

Far from creating a stable economy, the government introduced another cycle of staple export activity, this time based on the extraction of petroleum and minerals. Early in the century government opinion was that northern resource development would be "impermanent" and that the region was not worth public investment (Judd, 1969b, 797). Norman Wells changed that attitude in 1921; government then made its first attempt to control part of the northern economy (Ibid., 799). As noted above, by the mid-1950s massive commitments were being made to resource exploitation in the region: the Pine Point railroad, the various "Roads to Resources", and encouragement of oil and gas exploration. And at the same time, the only position the Inuit could hope to take in the area, given the failure of hunting to support them, and any serious government effort to improve its viability, was

...wage employment made available by some massive increase in the exploitation of northern mineral resources. This assumption...has... become almost an article of faith in the administration of the north during the 1960's. And it is now regarded almost as a panacea; the ultimate solution to northern poverty (Ibid., 803).

So the trap is set. Northern development is good because, among other advantages, it gives native people a greater range of choice: they will, with education and industrial advance at the frontier, be able to choose between a life on the land and wage employment. But, we are also told, a life on the land is no longer possible--the population is too large and the renewable resources are insufficient. So federal policy must be directed at creating jobs. Therefore economic development is urgently needed--in order to solve, of course, the Eskimos' problems. With this circular and self-justifying argument policy-makers effectively narrow down the alternatives: Eskimos must become wage-labourers (Brody, 1975, 221-22).

CHAPTER FOUR

POLICY IN PRACTICE: CUMBERLAND SOUND

"...the policy is in the implementation."

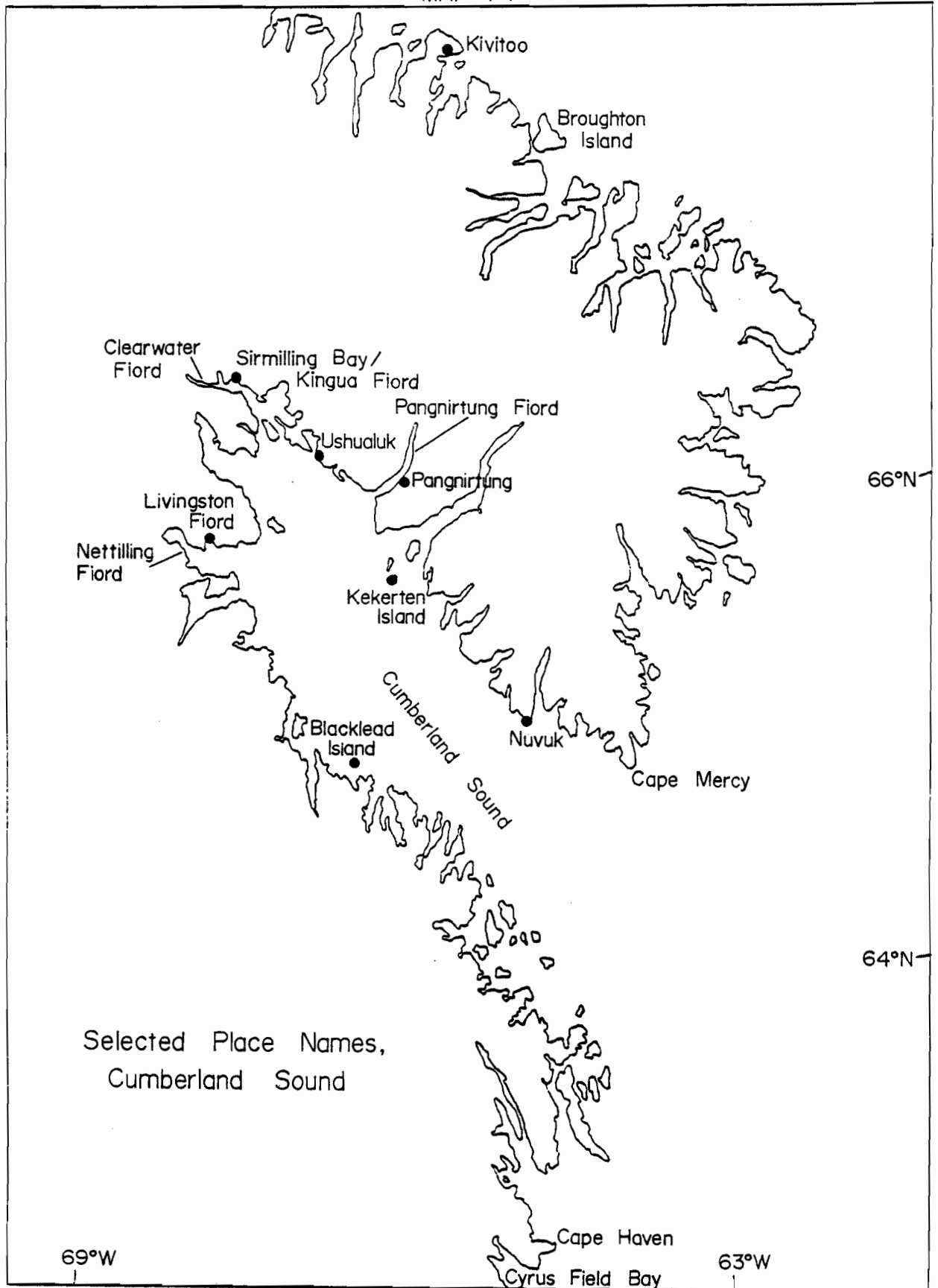
E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful
(1974, 169)

This chapter explains how the government policy described in Chapter Three was put into practice in Cumberland Sound. To do this requires that the historical material presented in Chapter Two be reviewed as it applies to Cumberland Sound so that recent events may be properly understood. Therefore, the first part of the chapter describes how explorers, whalers, and traders, missionaries, and policemen affected the region and its people. The second part of the chapter deals with policy implementation in Cumberland Sound. The emphasis accorded the implementation of policy in a "typical" Arctic region is appropriate for it is local administrative actions that have translated abstract policy into immediate reality for the Inuit.

Initial Contact

Baffin Island was known to the Norse, who called it Helluland (Morison, 1971, 41; Ingstad, 1972, 63). Ironically, in view of subsequent events, they remarked upon the white foxes present, but made no use of them (Ingstad, 1972, 53). The island apparently never was settled by the Norse, though they may have camped on the coast; no artifacts to substantiate this latter suggestion have been discovered (Schledermann, 1975, 19).

MAP 4-1



John Davis is the first European recorded definitely to have visited Cumberland Sound, in August of 1585 (Morison, 1971, 590). "The Eskimos, doubtless remembering Frobisher's kidnapping [in Frobisher Bay in 1576-77], kept out of sight" (Ibid., 592). Evidence of human habitation, however, was observed by the expedition (Ibid.; Schledermann, 1975, 20). Davis returned to Cumberland Sound in July, 1587, but again did not see any Inuit (Morison, 1971, 601).

The Whaling Period

The next European known definitely to have entered Cumberland Sound was a whaler, William Penny, though whalers had been in the area for a century and it is unlikely some of them had not ventured into the sound (Haller, 1967, 26-28). William Wakeham, while on his observational cruise of 1897, was informed by the whaling station agent at Kekerten Island, a Mr. Milne, that Penny had established a sedentary station "as far back as 1820" (Canada, 1898, 75). This is unlikely, as Penny would have been only eleven years old at the time (Holland, 1970, 28); perhaps Milne, who in 1907 committed suicide "in a moment of despair, caused by nostalgia" (Canada, 1909, 73), was not a reliable informant. More likely Penny rediscovered Cumberland Sound, which he called Hogarth's Sound, in 1840, at which time ships sailing with him caught a few whales (Holland, 1970, 32). Subsequently, through the 1840s, the general practice of British whalers became to fish in Davis Strait in summer and in Cumberland Sound in autumn, and then to return to Britain for winter (Ibid., 33-34; Harper, 1972, 19; Haller, 1967, 29).

In contrast, the Americans adopted the practice of wintering in the sound, the first time in 1851 (Haller, 1967, 29; Harper, 1972, 20). Bernier states that between 1846 and 1852 the Americans sent one ship to Cumberland Sound each year, but between 1853 and 1858 five ships were sent each year;

after that the Americans' attention shifted to Hudson Bay (Canada, 1909, 74). Penny built British stations at Kekerten Island and at Nuvuk, apparently in 1853 (Holland, 1970, 39; Harper, 1972, 20). Wakeham, writing in 1898, states that Kekerten Island and Blacklead Island had been operating as whaling stations for about thirty-five years, or since 1863 (Canada, 1898, 74), though he elsewhere states that a station had been operated at Blacklead Island since 1859 (Ibid., 75). Whatever the exact dates may be, the importance of Cumberland Sound as a whaling ground clearly declined after 1860 when the Americans moved to Hudson Bay (Holland, 1970, 41). In spite of this, the area provided great wealth, \$15,000,000 in oil and bone between 1840 and 1870 (Ibid., quoting Charles Francis Hall).

Harper describes the operation of the whaling industry in the area during the late 1800s and early 1900s:

There were three main centres of whaling activity in the sound near the turn of the century. Closest to the present settlement of Pangnirtung was Kekerten, located on one of a cluster of small islands just south-east of the mouth of Pangnirtung Fiord. This station was a group of a half-dozen buildings owned by a Mr. Noble of Aberdeen. Another station was located at Blacklead Island off the southern shore of the sound. Cape Haven, on the mainland near Brevoort Island at the southern entrance to the sound, was owned by an American company in Boston. Each of these three stations operated in a quite similar manner. From one to three white men were in charge of each, and each station was supplied with four to six boats in which most of the able-bodied Eskimo men were employed during the whaling season. The hunting method was essentially to harpoon whales from the boats as they cruised among the broken ice at the edge of the solid floe. Payment for the natives consisted of biscuits, coffee, molasses, tobacco, ammunition and clothing. One interesting trace of whaling days remains in the Baffin Island Eskimo word for Saturday--*sivataaqvik*--which literally means the time when biscuits are acquired, since it was on that day that the weekly rations were given out.

By the 1880's the bowhead whale had been hunted almost to extinction and whaling became less and less profitable. When synthetic substitutes for whalebone were developed around 1905 the whaling industry was dealt a crushing blow from which there was no recovery. In 1913 the Ernest William of Dundee sank in Cumberland Sound; it was one of the last Arctic whaling ships. Until the 1930's some whaling continued from shore stations in the sound (Harper, 1972, 21-22).

By 1903, at least, white whales also were pursued:

...white whales are abundant at the head of the gulf during the summer, where they frequent the flat, muddy mouth of a river. They are driven by whaleboats up the river, on the rising tide, and kept there until the tide falls, when they become stranded upon the mud flats and are easily killed. This fishery has only been prosecuted in a desultory manner, and would probably pay if handled with judgment (Canada, 1906,11).

By the 1930s, change was noticeable:

For some time the Hudson's Bay Company has been conducting an annual drive of white whales at the head of Kingua fiord, Cumberland sound. One drive only is made in each year, unless the first attempt is a failure, at or about the time of the first "spring" tide following the clearing of the fiord of ice--usually in July. These sea mammals it is reported become thinner as the season progresses so that the earlier the drive can be made the greater will be the quantity of oil obtained.... All the natives available, with their motor or other boats, are employed during the actual drive. The boats form up in a line and, creating as much disturbance as possible, gradually drive the timid animals in close to the shore where they are held until the tide goes out. The stranded animals are then killed with rifles.... The skins are exported and used for fine leather goods and the oil is rendered at a blubber plant in Pangnirtung, both skins and oil being shipped out (Canada, 1934, 60-61).

The "disturbance" was created by motor boats, firing rifles, and beating pans (Ibid., 74). The harvest was substantial: in 1923, 600 whales were taken; in 1924, 800; in 1928, 300 (this number producing 160 barrels of oil, worth \$.60/70 per gallon, or \$2,288 (Ibid.).¹ In 1931, 200 white whales were taken by the Hudson's Bay Company operation (Robertson, 1934, 218). Adams (1941, 119) reports that the company obtained the whaling station involved from a competitor located in the area, though no specific date or who this competitor was is mentioned; the station was moved to Pangnirtung in 1925. The company operated the whale drive until 1963 (Crowe, 1974, 117). The oil was rendered and barrelled, the meat used for dog food, the skin eaten as a delicacy by the Inuit, and the hides sent to England for manufacture into bootlaces (Harper, 1972, 22).

1. Twenty-two gallons per barrel (The Economist Guide to Weights and Measures, 1962, 57) times 160 barrels equals 3520 gallons times \$.65 per gallon equals \$2,288.

The effects of the whalers on the Cumberland Sound Inuit were several. First, pre-contact tribal distinctions apparently were lessened, as the four aboriginal groups of the sound were reduced in numbers and otherwise influenced by whalers (Boas, 1888, 16-17). The reduction in numbers is directly attributed to the introduction of disease, especially syphilis, by the whalers (Kumlien, 1879, 27; Boas, 1888, 18), but the exact reduction is not possible to establish. Penny, in 1840, estimated the number of Inuit in the sound to be 1000 (Holland, 1970, 40). Boas (1888, 17), in 1883, estimated the population of Cumberland Sound to be 1500 to 1600 "when the whalers first wintered", presumably in 1851. Warmow, a Moravian missionary, counted 350 in the winter of 1857-58, according to Holland (1970, 40); Boas (1888, 17) says this figure was 300. Kumlien (1879, 12), referring to 1877-78, states the population of Cumberland Sound would not exceed 400. Boas (1888, 18) offers that in December, 1883, there were 245 Inuit living in eight camps. Schledermann (1975, 272) regards the 1840 estimate of 1000, the 1857 of 350, and the 1883 of 245 as "fairly accurate"; Boas (1888, 17) himself suggests that his estimates of 1500-1600 are doubtful. Regardless of the specifics, there was unquestionably a tremendous decline in numbers after 1840:

It is certain that within the last thirty years the mortality has been very great among them; even the whalers remark an astonishing diminution in their numbers at the present day, as compared with twenty years ago (Kumlien, 1879, 12).

The distribution as well as the size of the population was altered. In particular, Boas (1888, 58-59) reports that the Akudnirmiut (of Davis Strait) and Nugumiut (of Cyrus Field Bay) moved toward Cumberland Sound wintering stations, though the migration of the latter group was lessened when whalers became active in the Cape Haven region. Within Cumberland

Sound most of the population was concentrated in two locations, Blacklead Island and Kekerten Island. Low describes Blacklead Island as it was in 1903:

The settlement consists of a dozen small, one-storied, wooden buildings, comprising the house and storehouses of the whaling station, the church, hospital, dwelling house and outbuildings of the missionaries. All are located at the southeast end of the island, a few feet above tide water. The surface is rock, or very moist boulder clay, without drainage, and the refuse from the native encampment makes the surroundings very filthy. The water supply is obtained from small ponds, in hollows of the rocks on the hill behind the houses. As the neighbourhood is overrun with dogs, and as the natives often build their snow houses directly over the ponds, the quality of the water is very bad, and probably accounts for much of the sickness prevalent here (Canada, 1906, 8-9).

Kekerten Island was similar:

The station at Kekerten consists of the usual half-dozen small buildings, all nicely painted, with the whaleboats ranged on skids, and barrels and tanks alongside clean and ready for use (Ibid., 11).

Although the Cumberland Sound population relocated in the immediate neighborhood of the two stations, seasonal activity, which was generally compatible with whaling, changed only nominally. Boas describes Inuit activity at Kekerten as it existed in the 1880s:

When the Eskimo who have spent the summer inland return at the beginning of October they eagerly offer their services at the stations, for they receive in payment for a half year's work a gun, a harmonium or something of that nature, and a ration of provisions for their families, with tobacco every week. Every Saturday the women come into the house of the station, at the blowing of the horn, to receive their bread, coffee, sirup, and the precious tobacco. In return the Eskimo is expected to deliver in the kitchen of the station a piece of every seal he catches.

The time for the fall fishing commences as soon as the ice begins to form. If the weather, which is generally stormy, permits it, the boats leave the harbor to look out for the whales which pass along the east shore of the sound toward the north. During the last few years the catch has been very unprofitable, only a few whales having been seen. As the ice forms quickly the boats must be brought back about the end of October or the beginning of November....

A lively traffic springs up as soon as the ice becomes strong enough to allow sledges to pass from shore to shore. The sledges of the stations are sent from one settlement to another to exchange

tobacco, matches, coffee, bread, &c. for skins and the spare blubber which the Eskimo have carefully saved up. On the other hand, those natives who require useful articles, such as cooking pots, lamps, &c., collect quantities of hides and blubber and go to Qeqerten to supply their wants. The winter passes quickly amid the stir of business, till everything comes to a stop at the end of March, when the young sealing season fairly opens.

When the sun has reached such a height that the snow begins to melt in favored spots, a new life begins at the stations. The skins which have been collected in the winter and become frozen are brought out of the store room and exposed to the sun's rays. Some of the women busy themselves, with their crescent shaped knives, in cutting the blubber from the skins and putting it away in casks. Others clean and salt the skins, which are likewise packed away. The men also find enough work to do after the young sealing is over, for the whale boats must be got ready for the spring fishing. Strangers whose services have been engaged by the station for the next few months arrive daily with their families and all their goods to take up their abode on Qeqerten. The boats are dug out of the deep snow, the oars and sails are looked after, the harpoons are cleaned up and sharpened, and everything is in busy preparation. The boats are made as comfortable as possible with awnings and level floors, for the crews are not to come to the shore for about six weeks.

By the beginning of May, the arrangements having been completed, the boats are put upon the sledges, which, under the direction of native drivers, are drawn by dog teams, with their crews, to the floe edge. The sledges being heavily laden and food for the dogs having to be provided by hunting, each day's stage is rather short. Arriving at the floe edge the sledges are unloaded and the boats are launched. Seals and birds of all kinds are now found in profusion and the chase is opened without delay upon everything that is useful and can be shot. Sledges are regularly sent back to Qeqerten with skins and meat for the families of the Eskimo, while the blubber is packed in casks, which are kept ready on the spot.

The most important object of the expedition is the whale. Harpoons and lines are always in readiness for the contest with the mighty monster. The boats return to the north with the breaking up of the ice and the fishing ends in July. The Eskimo are paid off and dismissed and resume their reindeer hunting, while the whites are glad to enjoy some rest after the weeks of exhausting labor (Boas, 1888, 59-60).

Little had changed by the early 1900s:

During the summer months all the able-bodied men, with some of the women and children, proceed to the head of the bays, and thence far inland, to hunt the barren-ground caribou, to secure a supply of skins for winter clothing and bedding. They are absent until September. On their return they are employed at the whale fishery until the gulf freezes fast, usually early in December. During the remainder of the winter, they maintain themselves by harpooning seal through breathing-holes in the solid ice, or by killing them in the open water, at the edge of the floe. Whaling is resumed in March and continues until the ice breaks up; then the seal hunt begins and ends only when the time arrives to go inland again.

The whaling operations are carried on in a similar manner at all of the stations. At each, there are one to three white men in charge, but the actual work is done by the natives. The whales are taken by harpooning them from boats cruising among the broken ice, at the edge of the solid floe. Each station has from four to six boats; consequently nearly every able-bodied native is employed in them during the whaling season. They and their families, at such times, are fed with biscuit, coffee and molasses from the supplies of the station, but supply their own animal food. The men are paid irregularly for their work, usually in tobacco, ammunition and clothing, and they receive extra pay when a whale is captured. Of course the pay alone does not at all represent the value of the whale, but the expense of the station, and the few whales killed prohibit a large expenditure (Canada, 1906, 9-10).

An almost total dependence on whalers as suppliers of western goods emerged in Cumberland Sound, perhaps to a greater extent than elsewhere. Ross (1975, 145) states that the Inuit in Cumberland Sound had "superior" trade opportunities. He states that whaleboats had been in use since the 1860s (Ibid., 87); Haller (1967, 40-41) states that *umiaks* were rare by the 1870s; Kumlien (1879, 18) indicates that there were many whaleboats in use by the late 1870s. Kumlien also reports that by the late 1870s, "...so many of the Cumberland Eskimo have procured some kind of firearms that their primitive modes of hunting and their hunting implements have, to a great measure, been modified, and even in some instances altogether lost" (Ibid., 34). By 1911, the Inuit of Kekerten Island and Blacklead Island had more than one rifle per man (Ross, 1975, 147). Haller (1967, 37-40) concurs with Kumlien's suggestion that hunting methods were changed: seal hunting, traditionally carried out with the use of a harpoon, became dependent on the rifle; stalking and killing caribou with *inukshuks*, spears, and bows and arrows was also given up for the gun. Kumlien (1879, 25, 42) also indicates that by 1877-78 few Inuit used needles made of other than steel, and that most of the *komatiks* were constructed of wood obtained either by trade or from shipwrecks, though runners were still made of bone.

This apparently substantial flow of material goods has been denigrated by at least one Inuk, Pitsualak:

When the ship left, a horn was blown at a house, and we would go to the person who had blown the horn. We were going to get something for working. We never got what we wanted. We didn't get any money even though we worked so hard on the whales. We got what the whalers gave us. The person who had shot the whale would get a boat and a rifle. We, the whalers, didn't get what we deserved to get. Now that I think about it, we were all fooled. For working so hard we got a new pair of pants, shirt, smoking pipe, and tobacco. The pipes we got were, I guess, made out of clay or stone. I don't see them around these days. Our wives who helped cut up the blubber and put it into barrels got things, too. Putting blubber into barrels and cutting it up was hard work. They would get things like pots, kettles, material, tobacco, smoking pipes, and soap (Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 24-25).

None of which lessened the desire to participate: "When they asked me to go with them, I was so happy to go" (Ibid.).

As some stations closed, the Inuit moved to others to obtain employment, or traded at more distant locations without actually relocating. In August, 1897, Wakeham, in charge of that year's government observational patrol, while at Blacklead Island, noted:

To this population there has within the last few days been added 120 men, women and children who have arrived here from New Gummiute, where a whaling station owned by the Williams Company, of New London, Connecticut, had formerly existed; this station having been abandoned, the natives have come up here to seek for employment (Canada, 1898, 24).

The Cumberland Sound Inuit began to travel as far as Kivitoo to trade, as local activity declined and Davis Strait experienced a resurgence (Boas, 1888, 60).

A final aspect of life not specifically mentioned in the contemporary analyses of the whaling period, and not directly caused by whalers, is the recurrent shortage of food. A local resident, Arnaquq, refers to changing campsites in an attempt to avoid "going hungry", and states that his family had taken in some children whose parents had starved, apparently in 1910

(Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 30-31). Another Inuk states that the residents of Blacklead Island who had no dogs often went hungry because they had to walk to hunting grounds (Pitsualak, *Ibid.*, 19). The 1911 census indicates, however, that only two of nineteen Inuit men had no dogs, and that an additional man had only one; the other sixteen men had at least two dogs each, enough to form a team (Canada, 1912, 645). Lewis (1904, 220), in his biography of Peck, refers to near starvation in 1894, and again in 1899 (*Ibid.*, 280-81) in Blacklead Island, and the actual starvation in 1898 of four people while on a hunting trip somewhere to the north of Blacklead Island (*Ibid.*, 278). In the winter of 1903-04, Blacklead Island experienced "a chronic state of starvation" due to unfavorable weather conditions (Canada, 1906, 62). In December, 1923, the Pangnirtung policeman made a patrol to Kekerten Island to relieve a shortage of food (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1924, 37). Boas (1888, 18-19) felt that weather and "taboos", not a biological shortage of animals, caused such problems, a view supported by the specific references.

The general argument as to whether the whalers were beneficial or harmful to the Inuit is, of course, relevant to Cumberland Sound. Low felt that "On the whole, the whalers may be taken as beneficial to the Eskimos...." (Canada, 1906, 10). But at the opposite extreme Kumlien (1879, 14) stated:

The Cumberland Eskimo of to-day, with his breech-loading rifle, steel knives, cotton jacket, and all the various trinkets he succeeds in procuring from the ships, is worse clad, lives poorer, and gets less to eat than did his forefathers, who had never seen or heard of a white man.

Neither was the first missionary resident in Cumberland Sound, Rev. Peck, pleased by the conduct of whalers. Referring to the 1901 visit of a Dundee whaler, he objected to

...the immoral conduct of the crew and...the fact that this snare of the devil proved too subtle and strong for some of the candidates for baptism. "I have more than once," writes Mr. Peck, "at a terrible cost to my own ease of mind, pointed out to these wretched people the sure and certain goal to which they are travelling. The extermination of the whole of the Eskimo population in Cumberland Sound and elsewhere is only a matter of time, if some check is not put to these awful practices. I see no reason why officers of whaling ships should not exercise proper discipline on board their own vessels. I spoke to the captain about this matter." (Lewis, 1904, 311-12).

Peck, however, was in an awkward position from which to complain. The mission was supplied from Britain by whalers, and he to some extent relied on their hospitality not only to live in Blacklead Island, but to visit Kekerten Island, operated by Crawford Noble. His unsuccessful plan to escape this dependence was to persuade the Church of England to outfit "...a mission vessel with which to reach the distant Eskimos and to be independent of whaling ships altogether" (Ibid., 314).

Wakeham noted in 1898 that whaling activity was falling off (Canada, 1898, 74), and that the station in Cyrus Field Bay had closed just before his visit to Cumberland Sound (Ibid., 75). In 1903-04, Low reported that the other two stations were in difficulty:

...two whales had been taken in Cumberland gulf during the past year. The oil and bone from these, together with the oil and pelts of 3,000 seals, and some bear, wolf, fox and walrus skins would realize a handsome profit, and lend encouragement to the continuation of the stations, which, for several years previous, had not cleared expenses (Canada, 1906, 10-11).

No one argued that the stations' closing would create hardship for the Inuit, irrespective of their previous effect. Wakeham (Canada, 1898, 75) stated:

...there can be little doubt that those [Inuit] who have been brought up about the stations would be badly off were these closed and abandoned.

Low stated that because the Inuit

...have long been dependent upon the whalers for guns, ammunition and other articles of civilization, there is no doubt that many would perish

should the whaling stations be closed without other provision being made for the accustomed supplies (Canada, 1906, 10).

As in other regions, the Cumberland Sound whalers attempted to keep the industry viable by trading with the Inuit for other local products. Haller (1967, 42), citing the number of sealskins taken by the *Alert* (owned by Noble) between 1885 and 1901, shows that this was not an inconsiderable trade:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Skins</u>
1885	5000+
1888	3300
1892	8613
1895	4500
1899	2900
1900	3048
1901	3420

Low indicates that in 1903, 3000 sealskins were traded in Cumberland Sound (Canada, 1906, 11).

Virtually no information exists as to conditions in Cumberland Sound between 1903 and the early 1920s. The population figures shown in Table 5-1 lead one to believe that most Inuit continued to live near the whaling stations until at least 1911; one may speculate that whale fishing and trade based on animal skins continued in a relatively sluggish way during the period. During the next thirteen years, part of the Inuit population dispersed from the whalers' wintering sites to other locations that offered "better chances of hunting and fishing" (Canada, 1923, 31). Schledermann (1976, 87) reports:

A number of these camps were situated in much the same areas as the old Thule winter sites, indicating that the geographical location of the old settlements still offered the best ecological advantages for the hunters.

The Fur Trading Period

Traders

The establishment of posts specifically for the fur trade did not... occur until the 20th century. At first the trade was conducted by firms

or individual captains formerly in the whaling business, often at traditional sites....

While ex-whalers were opening up the fur trade on the east coast of Baffin Island, the Hudson's Bay Company was penetrating new territory on the south coast. The Company extended its operations to eastern and northern Baffin early in the 1920s, and by 1925, with the withdrawal of several smaller whaling and trading companies, had obtained an effective monopoly throughout the Eastern Arctic.

A few ex-whalers remained in the region, trading on behalf of companies or in their own right, but there was no independent trade of any significance in the Eastern Arctic. This was due to the inaccessibility of the region, as well as to the fact that by 1926 all of it lay within the boundaries of the Arctic Islands Preserve. As on the Arctic Coast, the Department of the Interior tried to restrict post locations, and the withdrawal of the Hudson's Bay Company from Port Leopold and Arctic Bay in 1927, for example, was a result of this policy.

The Hudson's Bay Company had opened 23 posts in the region prior to 1940, but by the end of that year maintained only nine of these. As on the Arctic Coast, the initial heavy penetration was partly in response to competition, and partly a means of establishing trade relations with the Eskimos at a time when fur prices were high and the incremental costs of operating additional posts low. Once the company had established its clientele, and particularly with the decline of competition, rationalization of the trade could be effected (Canada, 1971, 123).

A list of posts in Cumberland Sound, and the dates they operated, is presented in Table 4-1.

No definite information is available as to why the Pangnirtung Hudson's Bay Company post was located where it was. Adams (1941, 122) states:

Pangnirtung owes its variety of functions in the first place to its accessibility. It is accessible to the white man, who comes by sea, because the fiord is wide, deep, and free of ice in late summer. It is accessible to the Eskimo, who comes overland or alongshore, because it is near the mid-point of the long north shore of the sound. These advantages were emphasized by the Hudson's Bay Company when it purchased the other trading posts on the sound and transferred their activities to Pangnirtung.

Usher's statement that the post was originally intended for Nettilling Fiord (see Table 4-1) leads one to speculate that its location may not have been as straightforward as Adams suggests. Usher notes that the post was originally called Netchelik post (Canada, 1971, 128), which apparently remained the case through 1923 (The Beaver, March, 1923, 232; Canada, 1923, 30).

TABLE 4-1

FUR TRADE POSTS IN CUMBERLAND SOUND

A.	Blacklead Island. 64°59'N, 66°11'W. Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost. Operated intermittently.	1921-1936?
B.	Livingston Fiord. App. 65°57'N, 67°46'W, exact location of post unknown. Also known locally as Kangertukjuk Fiord or Karneetookjuak. Hudson's Bay Co.	1924-1925
C.	Sirmilling Bay. App. 66°37'N, 67°19'W, exact location unknown. Location formerly referred to as Kingua Fiord. This is a local name with no official status, but appears on the 1929 Dept. Interior map. On the same map, on the north side of the Fiord, is marked a place called Issortukdjuak, at which this post may have been located. Hudson's Bay Co.	1921?-1925?
D.	"Oshualuk". 66°18'N, 66°29'W. Oshualuk is a local name with no official status. Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate. Also known as Ooho-Arlo Station. Sold to HBC.	1918-1923
	Hudson's Bay Co. Outpost of Pangnirtung. Purchased from Arctic Gold Exploration Syndicate.	1923-1933?
E.	Pangnirtung. Hudson's Bay Co. Originally known as Netchelik post. Location originally intended for Netilling Fiord.	1921-present
F.	Kekerten. 65°42'N, 65°49'W. Robert Kinnes & Co. Sold to HBC.	c.1915-1923
	Hudson's Bay Co. Purchased from Kinnes.	1923-1925?
G.	Cape Mercy. North of Cape Mercy in unnamed bay at 65°02'N, 63°30'W, exact location unknown. Sabellum Trading Co.	1911?-1927?

SOURCE: Derived from Canada (1971, 128-29).

Whatever the exact reasoning, the location of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Pangnirtung was critical because it directly influenced the Anglicans to relocate their mission to the site (see page 108); it probably influenced the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as well. Although the site is accessible by sea (the fjord has a depth of about sixty-five meters), the holding ground for anchorage is "poor" (Canada, 1966, 170). More importantly, in terms of micro-climate, a worse location could not have been found:

Sudden gales of great force, of a type frequent to fiord and ice cap meteorology, are a feature of Pangnirtung Fiord. These winds, of which there is often very little warning, blow down off the Penny Ice Cap, and between the sides, whistle down through the fiord with great violence from the north and northeast. On occasion, ships at anchor off the settlement have had to get underway and proceed into the more open waters on Cumberland Sound. It is estimated that winds exceeding 100 miles an hour [160 km/h] occur (Ibid., 171).

Caribou were apparently common in Pangnirtung Fiord (at least before about 1930 (Haller, 1967, 82; Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 15)), as were fish (Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 15), but the more important seals were only abundant there in summer (Haller, 1967, 52-57). In 1931, Inuit armed with rifles were thought by one observer to be inclined to kill caribou "too freely", perhaps thereby contributing to their depletion (Robertson, 1934, 208). Most Inuit were therefore disinterested in Pangnirtung as a residence even after the trading post was established:

...because of the lack of opportunity for employment and the physical factors of extensive tidal flats, distance from hunting areas and föhn winds, large numbers of people were unwilling to settle around the Hudson's Bay Company post in Pangnirtung (Haller, 1967, 46).

However, a few Inuit moved to Pangnirtung. In 1924, twenty men were reported by the police to be resident at the settlement, and showing symptoms of westernization:

The natives of the Pangnirtung post are not good hunters.... It seems, and is apparent, that they are incapable of gathering in the products of the country without someone giving them instructions, or

urging them continuously to be on the hunt for something. The majority of them cannot even succeed in any undertaking without continual instruction (Canada, 1930b, 65).

While this statement may accurately describe some of the Pangnirtung Inuit, others would be better described in Vallee's terms. He suggests that some Inuit who worked in settlements simply shifted their source of income from the land to western agencies; this hardly represented laziness or inability.

Without question fox trapping was accepted quickly as an economic activity by the Cumberland Sound Inuit. The 1911 census shows that there was not one fox trap in Blacklead Island or Kekerten Island at that date (Canada, 1912, 644-45). However, Bethune reports that by 1925-26 "thousands" of foxes were traded, but in 1927-28, at the bottom of the life cycle, only 500 (Canada, 1934, 85). The Hudson's Bay Company tried to help nature's production by establishing a fox fur farm across the fjord from Pangnirtung, but nothing is known of its success (Robertson, 1934, 218). In the 1920s, sealskins were reportedly purchased "to some extent" but at a low price; they were mainly used for domestic purposes by the Inuit (Canada, 1934, 75). Only in the 1960s did sealskins again become as important a trade item as they had been in the latter part of the whaling period (Canada, 1967, 61; Graburn, 1969, 131-32; Kemp, 1971, 113; Ross, 1967).

Missionaries

Cumberland Sound had the first permanent mission in Baffin Island; it was established by E. J. Peck, an Anglican, at Blacklead Island in 1894. Peck was not the first missionary to have visited the area: in 1857 the Moravians had sent a missionary named Warmow with Penny to Cumberland Sound "to find out what openings existed for missionary work" (Anglican Archives, Peck, The Eskimo, 19). He spent the winter of 1857-58 in the sound, but

His report, however, to those in authority pointed out the formidable difficulties which certainly existed at that time in the prosecution of the noble desires of his brethren so the project was, with deep regret, abandoned (Ibid.).

Peck's desire to go to Cumberland Sound went back to his days in Ungava, where some local Inuit who had visited the region told him

...that whaling ships visited those desolate parts and that many Eskimo dwell in those regions. Immediately the desire was planted in my soul--doubtless by the voice of the Holy Spirit--to carry the Gospel of peace to those lonely and forgotten people (Ibid., Peck notes for his autobiography, vol. 6).

In 1893, while in England, he put to the Church Missionary Society the idea of opening a mission in Cumberland Sound:

I do not suggest the Committee's making Cumberland Sound (at present) a permanent station. But we hope, through God's blessing, the natives themselves will carry the Gospel in a more northerly and westerly direction. By visiting Cumberland Sound I will be placed in a position to thoroughly understand and realize the nature of the work, and will be able to see what further openings exist through the means of whaling vessels, of carrying the Gospel to the poor Eskimos living in the western and more northern parts of the Moosonee Diocese (Ibid., Peck letter to C. C. Fenn, August, 1893).

Subsequently, arrangements were made with Crawford Noble of Aberdeen who owned whaling and trading stations at Blacklead Island and Kekerten Island to transport Peck and an assistant, J. C. Parker, to Blacklead Island (Ibid., Peck, The Eskimo, 20). On arrival in 1894, Peck was not overwhelmed with what he saw:

In very truth this island is a gloomy looking spot, almost absolutely nothing to be seen but rocks, and the bones of whales which strew the place everywhere (Lewis, 1904, 210).

Peck also indicates that there was some opposition expressed by the Inuit to the establishment of the mission, but he does not elaborate (Anglican Archives, Peck, The Eskimo, 20).

Lewis (1904, 214-25) describes the activity undertaken:

The usual routine, Mr. Peck tells us, was as follows: Rise 6.45 a.m., light fires, prepare breakfast; breakfast 8 a.m., prayers 8.30 a.m.;

study of Eskimo language with Mr. Parker from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m.; visiting and preparing Eskimo addresses from 10 a.m. to noon. Then came the preparation of dinner. Dinner 1 p.m., private reading and study from 2 p.m. to 3 p.m., school for children from 3 p.m. to 4.15 p.m., visiting and exercise from 4.15 p.m. to 5.30 p.m., tea 5.30 p.m.; after tea, prepare for evening meeting, which is at 7.30 p.m.; after the meeting, study of the language with Eskimos; family prayer at 10 p.m.; then private reading and devotion till 10.45 p.m. This ended the day and bed had been earned.

Parker was killed in a boating accident in August, 1896 (Ibid., 261).

In September, Peck returned to England for several reasons, but whether he considered this a temporary or permanent parting is not known (Ibid., 269-70). Between then and 1901, Peck, C. G. Sampson, and J. W. Bilby were, in various combinations, at the Blacklead mission. By 1899 there was evidence of success in prozelytization: men abstained from hunting to attend church meetings, and audiences were reported to be attentive (Ibid., 282-85). In the following year, congregations were again said to be "large and attentive", but only a small proportion was male (Ibid., 303). In the autumn of 1900, school attendance was sixty-two to seventy children per day (out of a total population of 194 people living in forty tents (Ibid., 304); a reasonable assumption is that at least half of the people would have been children).

In early May, 1901, the first Inuk, a dying girl, was baptized; three more received the sacrament later in the month (Ibid., 308, 311).² The initially slow progress made in conversion perhaps reflected the general animosity of the community toward the missionaries alluded to by Peck at the time of his arrival, and shown particularly by events surrounding the first baptism. Fleming (1932, 41), in his biography of E. W. Greenshield, states:

...the white men on the whalers and the traders in the country resented what they considered to be the intrusion of the missionaries, since their presence interfered with some of the evil practices that had been common up to that time.

2. Fleming (1932, 41) says three in total were baptized, one of whom died, leaving by September, 1901, only two converts.

The Eskimo, being pagan, were under the authority of their religious leaders, who were unprincipled and crafty men, shrewd enough to appreciate the fact that if the new teachers (i.e., the missionaries) were successful in their efforts they would destroy the power of the pagan leaders.

There was definite opposition to the work of the missionaries, therefore, both from the white men and the Eskimo.

Fleming (1956, 272) also comments on the first baptism:

[The missionaries had faced] the diabolic opposition of the handful of white men in the settlement. These men willfully and deliberately had stirred up the local conjurers against the missionaries. Later with subtlety and malice they raped the first little group of Eskimo women who had been prepared for the sacrament of Baptism. Then, like Mephistopheles, they jeered at Peck and his companions, saying, "We'll show you holy Willies that your preaching won't gain a foothold here." For a time it seemed as if all Hell had been let loose on that little island. But after a time by God's good grace two Eskimo were baptized, then more. The good seed was slow to germinate and much was lost because of the white men, but in the end rich fruit developed.

E. W. Greenshield arrived at Blacklead Island in September, 1901; Sampson reportedly had become a trader by that time (Lewis, 1904, 340); Bilby and Peck continued to divide their time between the Arctic and England. Peck left for the last time in 1902; Greenshield remained intermittently until 1913 (Fleming, 1932, 174-75). During this time, mission work was increasingly turned over to Inuit catechists. During one of Greenshield's trips to England, in 1907-08, for instance, the Inuit "carefully preserved the mission house and stores" (Anglican Archives, Peck, The Eskimo, 24). Later Peck noted:

Chiefly on account of [World War I], Cumberland Sound has been without a white missionary for some time, but from reports received from the Eskimo themselves last year (1919) the work of God is still vigorously prosecuted by Peter Tooluakjuak and the other teachers (Ibid., 25).

Kemp (1976, 137), Haller (1967, 33), and Harper (1972, 28) all state that the Blacklead Island mission was kept open until 1926. Certainly, the Anglicans had not lost interest in the region, and when the Hudson's Bay Company made definite its plans to open a post at Pangnirtung, plans to relocate the mission there were formalized as well (Anglican Archives,

J. J. Anderson letter to Peck, February 2, 1924). Adams (1941, 122) states that an important reason for relocating in Pangnirtung was the availability of transportation, in this case "on the Hudson's Bay Company's annual supply ship, the *Nascopie*."

The Pangnirtung mission was opened by C. Jenkins in 1925 (Parish Register of St. Luke's Anglican Church]. H. A. Turner took over the mission in 1928 (Anglican Archives, Turner letter to A. Fleming, August 14, 1929). However, because

The Co. and Police have seen it advisable to get the natives away from Pangnirtung nearer to the sealing grounds so the result is that I shall only have about 5 tupiks here this winter so it will mean more time will have to be spent travelling (Ibid., Turner letter to A. Fleming, September 10, 1929).

At the time, Toolooakjuak, who had been baptized in 1903 (Fleming, 1956, 272), still was reported to be a key figure, the best preacher in Baffin Island, and two other Inuit, Keesark and Uniakshaga, were thought to be quite religious (Anglican Archives, Turner letter to A. Fleming, September 10, 1929).

The Blacklead Island mission had a hospital of sorts, operated by Greenshield and Bilby, who like most missionaries of the day had some medical training. Fleming (1932, 57) states that the building, brought to Blacklead Island in 1902, was

...a small one-roomed shack with loft, and contained the minimum of furniture--a small coal stove, one bed, one chair, and some shelves to hold the little stock of medicines. Not much, yet it provided a place where severe cases could be taken and given care and attention.

Greenshield, at least, believed the medical work went far to overcome Inuit resistance to proselytization:

Medical work helped a great deal in building up an influence which afterwards became a dominant factor in turning people to Christ. They readily saw the value of proper treatment for disease, and even their conjurers came to the missionaries when suffering. Afterwards many of them reasoned that since the teachers were there to do good, their religion must be good too (Ibid., 52-53).

In 1930, Archdeacon Fleming raised the money necessary to open a hospital at Lake Harbour, but because the government had lately stationed a physician at Pangnirtung, and under some pressure from them, the Anglicans agreed to build their hospital at Pangnirtung, though not giving up the idea that a hospital still should be built at Lake Harbour (Anglican Archives, Fleming letter to the Minister of Mines and Resources, May 5, 1939). Materials were sent to Pangnirtung in 1930, and the hospital was operating at least by 1931 (Fleming, 1956, 321). It had two nurses, electric light, and X-ray facilities, as well as the services of the government doctor (Fleming, 1932, 172). In 1931, the hospital was reported to have six beds for adults, two for children (Robertson, 1934, 210); in 1937, ten beds (Orford, 1957, 45). According to a sign outside the mission buildings in Pangnirtung, additions were made to the hospital in 1940 and 1956. The 1940 addition was linked to the establishment of an industrial home (see page 41).

Other than medical care, the major practical skill rendered by the missionaries was instruction in reading and writing. Peck, on his trip to England in 1896-97, had the four Gospels printed in Inuktitut, and he distributed a number of these when he returned to Cumberland Sound. The object was to teach the Inuit to read the Bible for themselves; in the following year he reported that several people could do this (Lewis, 1904, 272, 286). Bilby (1923, 176, 178) comments on the local interest in literacy:

The Syllabic Character is known far and wide today in the arctics [sic]. It has not been spread solely by white men, for the people teach each other as they travel from tribe to tribe. The Eskimo freely write letters to their friends and hand them over for delivery to anyone taking a journey in the desired direction. The letters always reach their destination, because the postman at his first sleeping place invariably reads them all through from first to last; so that if, as often happens, one or two should get lost, the addressee receives the missive by word of mouth; and incidentally the postman knows everybody's business and is altogether the most glorious gossip who could ever drop in and enliven the circle round the *igloo* lamp of a winter's night.

Pen, ink and paper, it may be noted, are innovations of the new civilisation. Prior to the advent of the white man the only idea and the only means of caligraphy the Eskimo had was the etching on ivory or bone. Many vigorous and spirited drawings exist of hunting or other scenes, scratched on blade or handle, and sharply bitten in, black and clear, by rubbing with soot from the lamps. It is not remarkable that a knowledge of writing and reading should have spread among the people in this way, for the Eskimo are avid of instruction, and eagerly avail themselves of any opportunity of being taught. Where Christianity itself has gained a footing it has been largely through the instrumentality of some among them who have come in contact with missionaries, and passed on to others all they had seen and heard.

- An Inuk observer, Kilabuk, best suggests how popular reading was:

When I was old enough, I went out hunting with the men. We had to wait beside a seal hole for a seal to come up, and we would often wait a long time. We sometimes waited all day and all night without eating or drinking. When my father went out to wait for a seal to come up from the seal hole, he would bring along his Bible to keep him company. He would read while waiting for a seal. I think most of the older folks brought something to read (Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 39).

In 1931, 95% of the Baffin Island Inuit were reportedly literate in syllabics (Robertson, 1934, 213).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

The Canadian government established a Royal Canadian Mounted Police post in Pangnirtung in 1923 as part of its effort to demonstrate sovereignty in the eastern Arctic (Jenness, 1964, 29-30). The Pangnirtung site was selected because

This has become of late a trading centre of considerable local importance....

"The site decided upon for the post is well protected from the winds, and a convenient spot on the southeast shore of the above-mentioned fiord." (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1923, 34).

One must assume that in the two years the Hudson's Bay Company had been in Pangnirtung one of the severe windstorms that occurs from time to time in the fjord had not materialized. This apparent good fortune was short lived:

On November 17, 1923, and on May 1, 1914 [*sic*; the date should read 1924], the buildings were partly unroofed by the strong gales which raged; and on May 15, 1924, the canoe belonging to the detachment was picked up by a gust of wind, carried about 60 feet [18 meters], and thrown upon some rocks (Ibid., 1924, 37).

As in other areas, the police undertook a variety of administrative activities, and made frequent patrols of the southern Baffin Island region to carry out these tasks. Several of the patrols are additionally notable for the territory they opened for the first time to western knowledge; most of these are summarized in Southern Baffin Island (Canada, 1930b).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police had little opportunity to carry out its main functions of maintaining order and upholding Canadian law since there was so little crime in the area. Only in the late 1930s was there any consequential illegal activity. In 1939, the police charged a man named Katcho with the murder of a nine year old girl during 1938, and of two boys, apparently during the same year. Katcho was arraigned on board the *Nascopie* in September, 1939, found unfit to stand trial due to insanity, and was taken to a mental hospital in Nova Scotia (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1939, 103; 1940, 114-16).

Life in the sound, 1921-1961

Although the Cumberland Sound Inuit were early and thoroughly integrated into whaling, there is reason to believe that with the onset of the fur trading period they rather quickly returned to a close relationship with the land and were able to maintain that way of life somewhat longer than other groups; this is not to overlook or to minimize the fact that they were as reliant on fox fur trading to obtain western goods as was any group of Inuit. Subsequent to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican mission, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Pangnirtung, all by 1928, life remained fairly constant in the region through about 1961. The general pattern of life, from observations made in the late 1930s, is described by Adams (1941, 123-24):

Life ebbs and flows with the seasons at Pangnirtung. During the long winter, October to June, the Eskimos are scattered around Cumberland Sound, hunting, fishing, and trapping. The mounted police, the government medical officer, and the missionary make regular patrols to help the outlying groups. Occasionally some of the Eskimos from the near-by camps come in to the settlement, but most of the natives remain out until spring. Toward the end of winter and during the brief spring, June-July, the Eskimos arrive with the winter's fur catch, chiefly the white arctic fox, *Alopex lagopus innuitus* (Merriam). Spring is the season of bargaining, of debt paying, and of merrymaking. The amount and intensity of these activities vary with the quantity and quality of the catch, and especially with the world market price for pelts. Regardless of the market and its fluctuations, however, spiritual and marital vows are made at the mission, and the hospital receives an influx of patients with various ills.

Soon comes the annual whale drive in near-by Kingua Fiord. This is made at the time of the first spring tide after the ice has cleared from the fiord, which generally happens in mid-July. The whales are the small white whale, *Delphinapterus leucas* (Pallas), 10 to 20 feet long. Hundreds of these animals come into the fiord and approach the shallows. The Eskimos, led by the Hudson's Bay Company fur traders, drive the whales over the bar at high tide, gradually closing in behind and frightening them with loud shouts and pounding and shooting. There they are held until the low ebb of the spring tide grounds them. They are then shot and their skin and blubber stripped off.... The soft outer skin, called *mutuk*, is eaten by the Eskimos; the tough inner skin, suitable for fine leather goods, is salted, baled, and exported. The blubber is rendered at the whaling station at Pangnirtung, and the oil thus produced is also exported. All the able-bodied male Eskimos aid in the drive, and the women do most of the work on the skins and blubber.

After the whale drive the next important event in the annual round at Pangnirtung is "ship time," which in recent years has fallen late in September. This is the short but significant contact with the white man's world. Trade goods are landed, and "the returns," furs, whale skins, and whale oil are taken on board; new members of the various staffs come ashore, and those they replace make ready to depart; mail is read and hastily answered; government scientists scatter over the surrounding country gathering specimens and taking notes; and the Eskimos help where needed and watch everything with enjoyment.

After "ship time" winter closes in rapidly. Already light snows have fallen...and but a few weeks are left before ice blocks the upper fiords. The Eskimos depart as soon as they can complete their equipment from the new stock of trade goods at the post. Most of the Eskimo families use whaleboats to carry their heavy outfits to the winter camping grounds; hence the urge to move out before the fiords freeze over. With the arrival of the Eskimos at their winter homes the annual cycle is completed.³

3. A detailed discussion of camp locations and areas utilized for harvesting food species and foxes and whales in the period 1928-1962 is presented in Kemp (1976, 137-40).

The white whale hunt organized by the Hudson's Bay Company provided much of the region's population with a kind of employment familiar from the whaling period. The company was interested primarily in obtaining the oil and skin for commercial resale, and sought the participation of the Inuit only to achieve this goal. Participation had several effects on the Inuit, however, aside from simply providing them with a source of cash income with which to obtain western material goods. First, the Hudson's Bay Company had no use for the meat of the whales and

...as a result of the drives the dogs at Pangnirtung probably feed better during the summer months than the dogs at any other point in the Eastern Arctic. The Eskimos consider the skin of the white whale a delicacy and eat it raw or partially cooked (Canada, 1934, 61).

Second, and more importantly:

This annual drive, and the work resulting therefrom which usually lasts for some weeks, gives employment to Eskimo men and women and thus is of some value to the native. There is, however, the other side to the situation, as has been pointed out by a departmental officer. The natives engaged by the Company in the rendering of the oil and the preparation of the hides are unable to participate in the inland caribou hunts and have to go short of caribou skins for clothing for the winter (Ibid.).

The size and function of the various western agencies changed little in this period. In 1932, there were twelve westerners in Pangnirtung (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1932, 96), in 1936-37, fifteen (six men, six women, three children) (Adams, 1941, 122). Orford (1957), the physician in Pangnirtung between 1937 and 1940, names eight westerners (one male trader, one male policeman, two female nurses, one male doctor (Orford), his wife and two (after 1938, three) children). No missionary is mentioned by Orford, but one who is known to have been married was in Pangnirtung in 1938, at least: the birth of a child to them in that year is recorded (Northwest Territories, Pangnirtung Sub-Registrar of Vital Statistics. Certificates of Registration of Birth, certificate no. 653).

This yields a total of twelve in 1938. In 1956, before the arrival of the single female welfare teacher, there were apparently eleven westerners: four men, four women, and three children (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956). The police, missionaries, and doctors all made patrols, some of them quite lengthy, to the various camps to provide the Inuit what the westerners believed to be essential services. This activity may be contrasted to that of the Hudson's Bay Company traders who offered what the Inuit believed to be an essential service; in this case the Inuit did the travelling.⁴ The physician's sphere of activity was enlarged in 1938 when, by using the newly arrived Hudson's Bay Company two-way radio, he was able to render assistance to more distant areas (Orford, 1957, 124).

The Inuit of the region were regarded by westerners as little acculturated. Comparing several Ungava and Baffin Island settlements in 1933, one observer stated:

At Pangnirtung, natives [*sic*] dwellings, customs and dress were much more primitive than anywhere previously visited. Skin tupeks completely replaced the canvas tents of the lower latitudes, and sealskin clothing was seen more often than duffle garments (Woonton, 1933, 206).

Part of the reason for this status was undoubtedly the low level of contact the Inuit had with westerners. In contrast to the "twenty men" reported resident in the settlement in 1924 (see page 104), Orford (1957, 56) states only the four families employed by western agencies lived in Pangnirtung. His figure essentially corresponds to the five tents reported by Turner in 1928 (see page 109). Further, Christmas and ship time were the only times that any number of Inuit visited Pangnirtung (Ibid., 56, 77). Evidence of

4. One should not overlook that the traders had a problem not encountered by the other westerners, in that they would have had a large cargo of trade goods to transport to the camps, and a similar bulk of furs to transport back.

low resistance to disease provides further support for the view of slight acculturation. Orford reports this disability was the consequence of being exposed to outside infection only at ship time each year (Ibid., 45). The results could be devastating. In 1941, subsequent to the visit of two U.S. Army aircraft, the schooner *Morrissey*, and the *Nascopie*, "...the natives almost without exception were ill in various degree" with severe colds and/or pneumonia (Parish Register of St. Luke's Anglican Church). At least thirty-four people from the camps and Pangnirtung died by the end of the year from various respiratory causes (derived from Northwest Territories, Pangnirtung Sub-Registrar of Vital Statistics. Certificates of Registration of Death).

As late as the mid 1960s Cumberland Sound provided an exception to the serious concern expressed by government as to the ability of most Inuit to support themselves by hunting and trapping. In 1955, the Officer in Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol stated that Cumberland Sound was an "excellent" area for country food (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1. Report of the Officer in Charge, September 16, 1955). The newly arrived welfare teacher reported in April, 1957, that "The general situation of the people in this district seems quite favorable.... The people seem satisfied to continue their present method of life...." (Ibid. Welfare report, April, 1957). In December of the same year, she noted that "For this day and age in the Arctic this settlement remains remarkably untouched with white civilization" (Ibid. Welfare report, December, 1957). In January, 1958, she pointed out that welfare problems in the area were "negligible" due largely to the availability of traditional foods and "the lack of contact with...western culture" (Ibid. Welfare report, January, 1958). In May, 1958, the teacher wrote that the people in the region "prefer to remain independent" (Ibid.

Welfare report, May, 1958). The police reported in 1959:

The Eskimos in the Cumberland Sound area are still the true hunters and have little or no contact with white people except when they visit Pangnirtung to trade, or are visited by a missionary, doctor, or policeman (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 2. Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally, May 15, 1959).

In 1960, they noted that "The Eskimos in the area have retained the rapidly disappearing virtue of being a self-reliant people" (Ibid. Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally, March 24, 1960). Seal skin was still used for tents and for some clothing, seal oil for heating (Ibid.). The first area administrator offered these comments:

Prior to 1962, Pangnirtung and Cumberland Sound had the reputation of being one of the last strongholds of the "true Eskimo"--that is, people who lived entirely by hunting, and visited the settlement rarely, to trade or unload ship in the summer. Relief was said to be non-existent, and the Eskimos of a superior type.

The picture was partly true--the R.C.M.P. had about eight people on permanent relief, and about half the people were independent, and by local standards, clean. There were several camps however, where the people lived in dirt disease and poverty, through laziness or inability. These camps were not advertised, but were well known to the doctor nurses and police. Periodic hunger through break-up and freeze-up were an accepted part of life for all camp people....

Compared with the Eskimos I knew around Ungava Bay, the local people are surprisingly naive in their conception of the whitemans world (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963).

Finally, Otto Schaefer (1966, 46), a physician who spent a number of years in Pangnirtung, stated in 1966 that the people of Cumberland Sound were "more primordial and less sophisticated" than Inuit in other areas.

The validity of all of these comments is best evidenced by the fact that the Cumberland Sound population urbanized later than most regions of the Arctic. The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project provides the dates at which thirty-one Arctic regions underwent urbanization, which is defined as the growth of permanent settlements (Canada, 1976, vol. 3, xxiii). Of the thirty-one areas, twenty-one urbanized earlier, Pangnirtung and two other

settlements became "permanent" at the same time, 1962, and only seven later (derived from Ibid., vol. 3).

Government Activity in Cumberland Sound Before 1956

Early government activity in Cumberland Sound was similar to that in other regions of the Arctic. As part of Canada's initial interest in demonstrating sovereignty in the Arctic, William Wakeham, at Kekerten Island in 1897

...hoisted the Union Jack in presence of the agent, a number of our own officers and crew, and the Esquimaux, formally declaring in their presence that the flag was hoisted as an evidence that Baffin's Land with all the territories, islands and dependencies adjacent to it were now, as they always had been since their first discovery and occupation, under the exclusive sovereignty of Great Britain (Canada, 1898, 24).

In 1903-04, A. P. Low did much the same thing, to dispel whatever doubts still existed as to Canada's authority in the region; in the course of his travels, he visited Cumberland Sound in 1903 and again in 1904. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a post in Pangnirtung in 1923.

In 1926, Dr. L. D. Livingstone was posted to Pangnirtung as the government medical officer for the eastern Arctic (Canada, 1930b, 87), and in 1931 he became the first resident doctor at the newly opened Anglican hospital (Harper, 1972, 28). Livingstone and his successors made several patrols of the Cumberland Sound camps, frequently in the company of the police. Etoangat, for many years the hospital's guide, describes these patrols:

We went from camp to camp. Some families would not be at their main camps. They would be out caribou hunting or somewhere else and we had to go after them and look for them. Sometimes we would find them and sometimes we didn't.

In the summer I used to hunt whales with some whalers, and when it was time to go back to work the nurse and I would go from camp to camp again, bringing to the hospital people who had TB. We were always kept busy through the years (Stories from Pangnirtung, 1976, 44).

Several government supported scientific expeditions were based in Cumberland Sound. Most of these took place either in the 1920s (Soper, Burwash, Weeks), or just after World War II (Dunbar, Riley); Southern Baffin Island (Canada, 1930b) and Haller (1967, 31-32) summarize the most important of these.

As part of the government effort to relocate Inuit during the 1930s to better hunting areas, an unknown number of people were brought from Port Harrison, Quebec, to Pangnirtung, and twelve were taken from Pangnirtung to Dundas Harbour; the latter group returned to Pangnirtung after a two year absence (Crowe, 1974, 116). There was no other government activity of any significance in Cumberland Sound until 1956.

The Bureaucracy Arrives: 1956-1961

As Williamson (1972, 57) points out, government put its new postwar policy into effect only slowly; with the exception of a few scattered locations greatly affected by the war, such as Frobisher Bay and Fort Chimo, the basic social and economic patterns of the fur trade period persisted "relatively undisturbed" into the 1950s:

Lacking in experience, personnel and, in the earlier stages, adequate funding, the new department made rather modest and tentative incursions into the North during the first 2 years of its existence (Ibid.).

Phillips (1967, 169) elaborates:

When the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources was formed in 1953, the total staff of its Northern Administration and Lands Branch was 376. Of these people, 150 were in Ottawa, the rest thinly scattered in the larger settlements of the Yukon and the Mackenzie. There were only twenty-six teachers. Game and forestry and the administration of Wood Buffalo National Park were the main concerns of the field staff. There were four administrative officers in all the Northwest Territories, all junior, not one of them beyond the tree-line, not one in Arctic Quebec. The Commissioner of the Yukon had one junior administrator to assist him. There was one junior engineer in all the North. Not a single social worker concerned with the North was employed in the North or in Ottawa. The entire northern budget for capital and operating expenses in that first year of the new department was four million dollars.

The first government administrators posted to the Arctic after World War II were called welfare teachers. They were

...responsible, in addition to classroom teaching, for community organization and recreation as well as for the general wellbeing of the natives. Their primary purpose is to teach the Eskimo children to read, write, and speak English, and to acquire facility with numbers. They assist the long range health program by encouraging principles of health and sanitation. In introducing some of the facts of Natural Science, the theme of conservation of wildlife resources is foremost. In all instruction, the teacher is careful not to disturb the recognized good characteristics in the material, social, and moral codes of the Eskimo (Canada, 1951, 111).

The Officer in Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol had suggested in 1955 that a school and a "more active educational program" should be established for the Cumberland Sound population (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1. Report of the Officer in Charge, September 16, 1955). The first welfare teacher, who had previously worked in the western Arctic, was posted to Pangnirtung in the autumn of 1956, and shortly thereafter began submitting a series of welfare and community reports which provide a delightful account of settlement life between December, 1956, and July, 1959.

An early report comments:

The general situation of the people in this district seems quite favorable. At present there seems "sufficient" country food for all, with temporary shortages due to unusual weather. The people seem satisfied to continue their present method of life and beyond a basic knowledge of English there seems little need for special training (Ibid. Welfare report, April, 1957).

Her initial views of the other westerners were generally favorable; she felt welfare was "very well handled through the R.C.M.P. and the Doctor" (Ibid. Welfare report, February, 1957), and that the Hudson's Bay Company manager "is very wise in his guidance of the men's spending" (Ibid. Welfare report, May, 1957). She did, however, question what might be the limits to paternalism. Referring to a summer, 1957, police edict against the habit of some Inuit to gather and "loiter" in Pangnirtung for the summer, she commented:

It is felt better for their physical, social and moral welfare that they should not hang around the settlement. I quite agree with this. However I am somewhat doubtful just how much authority we should or can exercise over the Eskimoes, in such a matter (Ibid. Welfare report, July, 1957).

Moreover, in the year referred to, the police action backfired, with grave consequence: the supply ship arrived earlier than expected, and there were virtually no Inuit in Pangnirtung to help offload:

Many of the people from around Cumberland Sound are dependent on the money made from handling freight for their sole cash income for this part of the year. Those who were not in town will have a serious loss (Ibid. Welfare report, September, 1957).

The teacher's apparent "live and let live" attitude was questioned by her superiors in Ottawa. They appreciated the general picture of living conditions her reports provided but "We would like, however, a little more concerning the specific work you are doing in respect to general community welfare programmes" (Ibid. Letter, Chief of the Education Division to Pangnirtung welfare teacher, September 18, 1957). The comment in reply was equivocal, showing the teacher's understanding of the need to prepare people for more contact with western culture, but in the absence of immediate pressures a hesitancy to alter the Inuit lifestyle:

It is difficult to know what expansion should be made in the educational program here. In the past, when day school was held only certain days of the week and only in the afternoons the missionaries in charge have usually also held evening classes for adults. The result is that, as far as I can gather, all adults, with the exception of the very old ones, have a certain knowledge of English. But there seems to be a determination NOT to use it, and to force the "whites" to learn Eskimo. For this day and age in the Arctic this settlement remains remarkably untouched with white civilization. Until more contact comes through mining or some such opening I feel it is unlikely that much furtehr [*sic*] progress can be made in getting these people to see any need for knowing and using English.... (Ibid. Welfare report, December, 1957).

The teacher elaborated upon the favorable conditions of the sound in the new year:

General welfare problems in this settlement seem rather negligible--owing probably to the amount of "country food" available, the fact that most people still live in small scattered groups, and the lack of contact with Dewline, mining, and general western culture (Ibid. Welfare report, January, 1958).

Very few natives who are not employed at one or other of the "white" establishments are allowed to remain in the settlement (Ibid. Welfare report, February, 1958).

Those who did live in Pangnirtung were reported to be supplied with a "reasonable amount" of seal and fish by camp residents (Ibid.).

Her Ottawa superiors persisted:

The fact that these people do not wish to use the English language gives us some little concern. Anything you can do to change this attitude will be appreciated. Certainly we wish them to maintain pride in their own culture and language but if they can only be led to realize the importance of learning English from the standpoint of job opportunities which may result from mining development, they should not object to it (Ibid. Letter, Chief of the Education Division to Pangnirtung welfare teacher, February 6, 1958).

The teacher replied, more opposed than ever to westernizing the lifestyle:

At present most of the adult hunters of the region prefer to remain independent, and far be it from us to do anything to lessen this (Ibid. Welfare report, May, 1958).

She believed that a day school would tend to keep people in one place, to their detriment; the alternative was to put the children in a residential hostel in Pangnirtung for a few months in winter. But while such an arrangement would

...certainly accustom them to a less rigorous way of life...how many of them would then be content to return to living in a shelter made of old blankets? And if they insisted on more permanent housing, what would be the effect on their families mobility and hence their success at hunting? (Ibid.).

During this period of relative quiet in Cumberland Sound, government was spreading its rule elsewhere in the Arctic. In fiscal 1955-56

...six Northern Service Officers were appointed to co-ordinate field activities and to supervise developments in various areas. Three were attached to DEW and Mid-Canada Line operations, and three others were located in Keewatin, Ungava Bay, and Frobisher Bay (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1956, 25).

The pressures for action were so immediate that the six new officers, all with some previous northern experience, were sent northwards to their task with no training. They had the broad objective of introducing community-development principles to alleviate poverty and help stricken people to develop new avenues of useful activity. They had the advantage of coming late on the scene and of being able to profit from the errors of earlier administrations around the world (Phillips, 1967, 171).

The Northern Service Officer was

...unofficial mayor of the town. He was to be the originator of small industries to diversify the economy. Above all, he tried to reverse the trend of exclusive white rule, and to foster the fragile institutions of local government, through community councils....

[The administrator] was expected to manage the services of the town. He was to see that the power, water, and garbage services worked, to act as a municipal works department, to co-ordinate federal activities among the agencies in the town, and to perform tasks on behalf of others. He had to meet immediate human needs across perhaps a thousand square miles of tributary barrens, finding jobs, nominating trainees, issuing relief, and organizing emergency evacuation. He was to help build the new society; perhaps encouraging a local council, explaining the principles of co-operation, or acting as adviser in personal and community problems. All this was to be accomplished by a staff of one, plus an Eskimo interpreter-assistant. The northern service officer was the federal administration, the provincial administration, and the municipal administration. Like the R.C.M.P. before, he had a wide variety of duties: unlike his predecessors, he was also charged with helping to shape a new society that southern Canada now impatiently awaited from its North (Ibid., 172, 174-75).

The number of Northern Service Officers was increased in 1956-57 to eight, posted to Frobisher Bay, Cape Dorset, Fort Chimo, Great Whale River, Churchill, Baker Lake, Tuktoyaktuk, and Cambridge Bay (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1957, 25).

However,

...confusion as to roles and jurisdiction among the various government employees, each of whom believed he had a valid mandate arose: teachers, social workers, nurses, the R.C.M.P.--all in one way or another presented problems in human relations for the newly arrived Northern Service Officer (Fried, 1968, 184).

Consequently, in 1956, the Northern Service Officer was renamed Area Administrator (Treude, 1975, 56),

...in order to emphasize his role of orchestrating and harmonizing a complement of professional teachers, nurses, welfare officers, etc.

A clear-cut distribution of activities and duties among these government personnel was worked out (Fried, 1968, 184).

By early 1959, a government plane was stationed in Frobisher Bay (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 2. Welfare report, February, 1959). That autumn, the Administrator of the Arctic wrote to the Pangnirtung community teacher, the second individual to have held the position of teacher in Pangnirtung:

As the government plane at Frobisher Bay will be making regular visits to most of the areas in the Baffin Island Region, including Pangnirtung, it is now feasible to bring these areas under the jurisdiction of the Acting Regional Administrator at Frobisher Bay.

All correspondence concerning matters in the Pangnirtung area will, therefore, be addressed to [the regional administrator] with a copy to be forwarded to you, with his additional instructions or directions. Until the appointment of an Area Administrator at Pangnirtung you, of course, will be acting in that capacity, and your channel of communication with Ottawa on administrative matters will be through [the regional administrator]. You should also communicate with him by radio on urgent matters.

Direct communication between Pangnirtung and Ottawa has been difficult and we anticipate that this procedure will greatly facilitate matters of administration in the region (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Pangnirtung community teacher, October 30, 1959).

This shift in administrative responsibility reflected an organizational change that had occurred at the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources in fiscal 1958-59. The Arctic previously had been administered directly from Ottawa; the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources had, among others, a Northern Administration and Lands Branch, which was in turn organized in three parts, the Territorial Division (responsible for the direction of territorial affairs), the Lands Division (responsible for non-renewable and timber resources), and the Arctic Division (responsible for the Inuit). Northern Service Officers were responsible only for local administration (Fingland, 1966, 143). In fiscal 1958-59 the Arctic Division was replaced with two new divisions, the Industrial Division (responsible for improving the Inuit economy) and the Welfare Division

(responsible for social services and assistance). The Northwest Territories was split for administrative purposes into the Mackenzie District and the Arctic District; these were in turn split into regions operated from Fort Smith, Yellowknife, and Inuvik, and Churchill, Frobisher Bay, and Ottawa, respectively. These regions were in turn split into areas based on important settlements in each (Ibid., 143-44):

According to the new arrangement the administration at each level was provided with all the necessary professional support staff and they answered through him to the next level by means of a common channel of communication running from the area administrators through the regional and district administrators to the director (Ibid., 144).

Transition: 1961-1963

This elaborate administrative hierarchy was not called into play in Cumberland Sound until January, 1962, when an outbreak of disease in the dog population led to the posting of the first area administrator to Pangnirtung. Ultimately, the epidemic led to a major shift of population, into Pangnirtung from the camps, which in turn led to substantial changes in lifestyle.

Disease among dogs has not been uncommon in Cumberland Sound or elsewhere in the Arctic. Boas (1888, 130) states:

The Eskimo of all these regions are very much troubled with the well known dog's disease of the Arctic regions...in Cumberland Sound, in some winters, scarcely any have been left.

Bethune elaborates:

The Eskimo dogs suffer periodically from a disease closely resembling distemper.... In its more virulent form the death rate is very high, in many instances the majority of the dogs being killed off in the various communities. The disease is indicated by strange behaviour on the part of the dogs, which foam at the mouth and run about in a peculiar way, finally becoming weaker until they die (Canada, 1934, 111).

In late January, 1962, the Frobisher Bay regional administrator was notified of the following by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police office in Frobisher Bay:

Outbreak of unknown highly contagious disease among dogs Cumberland Sound area. Believe same disease which has ravished Frobisher & Lake Harbour dogs past two years. Outbreak began at camp in which dogs had contact with Frobisher late November, now spread throughout area. Symptoms do not indicate rabies or distemper. Death rate dogs serious economic problem and no Eskimo will have team by end February. Without dogs Eskimos unable to earn livelihood with population of 100 families will require complete relief assistance until boat Spring. Families believe sickness same as Frobisher and Lake Harbour but diagnosis made those cases but sickness (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Assistant Administrator of the Arctic, February 14, 1962).

A report prepared by the regional office states that the disease broke out at Kingmilksoon, was transmitted to dogs at Kipisa and Iglootalik, and the Kipisa dogs in turn transmitted it to Pangnirtung, where it was first noticed on December 20, 1961 (Ibid. Report of regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, February 14, 1962). Considerable dismay was expressed by the regional office that they were notified of the outbreak only on January 27, 1962, over one month later (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Assistant Administrator of the Arctic, February 14, 1962). By February 14, 1962, the department had managed to survey most of the Cumberland Sound camps, and was drawing up plans to deal with the situation. The two basic alternatives were to undertake a relief operation for people in the camps, or to bring the people into Pangnirtung and try to find some kind of work for them there (Ibid. Report of regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, February 14, 1962). The choice was made on March 3, 1962, when the government began evacuating the camps to Pangnirtung, by police aircraft and a Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources charter aircraft (Ibid. Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, March 8, 1962). By the fourteenth of March, 217 of 415 camp residents had been taken to Pangnirtung (Ibid. Letter, regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, March 14, 1962).

In April, the regional office expressed the hope that people would be able to return to the camps by the following winter (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, April 5, 1962). But this meant finding dogs, which in any case could not be brought in until the disease was identified and any new dogs inoculated. The alternative considered was to provide each camp with an autoboggan (one of which had been brought into Pangnirtung in March to help with the evacuation (Ibid. Letter, regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, March 14, 1962)), either as direct relief or via the Eskimo Loan Fund (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, April 5, 1962).

In early May, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Pangnirtung indicated that no new cases of the disease had been observed since April. Between November, 1961, and April, 1962, the dog population had fallen from about 900 to approximately 200 (Ibid. Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, May 3, 1962). "This decrease in the dog population has almost completely robbed the Eskimo people of their ability to live off the land" (Ibid.). In fact, by May, only three camps were still occupied: thirty-seven people (seven families) and eighteen dogs in Kingmilksoon, thirty-one people (five families) and twenty dogs in Ikaloolik, and fifteen people (two families) and fourteen dogs in Avatuktu (Ibid.).

The population of Pangnirtung had risen from 138 before the epidemic struck (Ibid. Letter, regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, March 14, 1962) to 464 in May, 1962 (Ibid. Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, May 3, 1962). At the latter date, sixty men were employed on outdoor "make-work" projects, such as moving oil drums from the beach to higher ground, and thirty men

were carving; all were paid \$20 per week (Ibid.). The men rotated off their Pangnirtung jobs to go hunting, an activity that was also subsidized at the rate of \$20 per week (Ibid.). Morale was reported to be high (Ibid.), an attitude in part produced by the Hudson's Bay Company manager who was using his radio transmitter to broadcast music, notice of meetings, etc., to the community (Ibid. Letter, regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, March 22, 1962).

For the time being, therefore, none are suffering hardship, but as you can see these activities can only be considered as temporary and more definite plans have to be made before very long (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Northern Administration Branch, June 13, 1962).

In fact, as early as June, there were indications that

...some of the displaced people do not wish to return to the camps to live. If this trend continues, it could mean that the permanent resident population of Pangnirtung will be doubled or perhaps even tripled within the next year or so, compared to what it was last year (Ibid.).

Pangnirtung's first area administrator arrived on April 25, 1962. His own view of his role in the community was suggested in a memorandum on site planning sent to the regional office:

...I believe it to be most important that Northern Affairs, being new here, avoid altering too drastically the general character of Pangnirtung. By too great a reliance on elaborate services and machinery we will create the type of community all too common with us--that spends 90 percent of its time juggling supplies, machinery and personnel (Ibid. Memo, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, May 8, 1962).

His immediate concern was to deal with a Royal Canadian Mounted Police recommendation, made in early May, that the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources set up a dog breeding program (Ibid. Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, May 3, 1962), while the police in the meantime brought in thirty-four dogs and eight puppies (inoculated against what had finally been diagnosed as hepatitis (Ibid.

Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Northern Administration Branch, June 13, 1962)) from other detachments, via Pond Inlet (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, June 22, 1962). The Administrator of the Arctic expressed interest in the breeding project and asked the new area administrator to investigate the idea. The Ottawa office also wanted both a social worker and a projects officer posted to Pangnirtung in fiscal 1963-64 (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Northern Administration Branch, June 13, 1962). At about the same time, the Frobisher Bay regional office felt this:

Potential development depends to a great extent on evaluation of resources and this can only be done by means of an area survey. High priority must be given to this area which is not yet, but could be classified as a disaster area....

A programme of adult education for the people living [sic] in Pangnirtung must be considered (Ibid. Frobisher Bay Region Quarterly Report, January-March, 1962).

In September, the regional office was told to go ahead with the dog breeding project (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, September 14, 1962), but the area administrator was opposed to the idea:

Our establishment still under construction, and will be next year. Hopeless to initiate dog breeding project until organized.... (Ibid. Telex, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, September 25, 1962).

The regional office decided itself in support of its field representative, and so informed the Administrator of the Arctic:

Under the circumstances no further action will be taken by this office unless advised to do so by you or until such time as [the area administrator] submits an assessment of the need for the project (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, September 27, 1962).

The Administrator of the Arctic, however, still wished to see the project initiated, and suggested it be done in the summer of 1963 (Ibid. Letter,

Administrator of the Arctic to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, November 15, 1962). The area administrator clearly was peeved; he believed the dog breeding project to have been conceived by a dog enthusiast corporal apparently more as a form of recreation for him than as a help to the Inuit (Ibid. Letter, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, January 16, 1963). He specifically complained:

I wish that my suggestions for a skiff-building project and a simple bath-house had received the high-level support that has obviously been given to the dog project. I did not even get answers to the latter two suggestions (Ibid.).

By January, 1963, seventy former camp people were still living in Pangnirtung due to a lack of dogs and were engaged in a variety of small projects; about seventy dogs had been brought in to date, and sixty more were thought to be needed (Ibid.). In fact, at least fifty-five more dogs were brought in during the spring (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Northern Administration Branch, May 27, 1963). Auto-boggans were reported unreliable and not suitable for Inuit living away from "well-equipped repair shops" (Ibid. Letter, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, January 16, 1963). The dog breeding project never came to pass: by the summer of 1963 the emergency was over, and the need for the project was no longer considered to exist, especially in view of its likely cost and the time it would require of the area administrator (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Director, Northern Administration Branch, May 27, 1963).

In April, 1963, the area administrator reviewed his first year in Pangnirtung. He summarized by saying it was primarily one of emergency measures, and that the change in the year was tremendous:

I think that 1962 may be considered the year of change for the Eskimos of Pangnirtung. The dog epidemic; expansion of D.N.A. staff and buildings, measles epidemic; increased air sea and radio traffic;

general election and shuffling of D.N.A. staff, have made a great change from the old quiet Pangnirtung.

As in other parts of the Arctic, there has been an influx of Eskimos into Pangnirtung--some with legitimate cause, others to sponge or be near the "bright lights". Already we have youths who receive no training in hunting and are becoming a nuisance, and girls who will almost certainly refuse to marry camp men.

Compared with the Eskimos I knew around Ungava Bay, the local people are surprisingly naive in their conception of the whitemans world--for many years their life has turned on the fairly simple establishments of the R.C.M.P., the H.B.Co. and the Mission. The increasing role of the Government, the relative power and duties of Govt personnel, the differences between *[sic]* private and Government agencies, the use of money, the idea of organisation beyond the camp level, the disciplining of children for large community life, the obvious disparity of living standards, the lack of spoken English--all these are new to the area, and since change is painful, we must do our best to minimise *[sic]* further confusion (Ibid. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963).

The Urban Period: 1962-1973

Economy

Although the provision of economic activity to replace fox trapping was, with the provision of improved health and education services, one of the main priorities of government policy after 1953, the apparent wealth of the Cumberland Sound population precluded any such activity in the region until 1962. Hunting remained the main source of income until 1965 (Canada, 1967, 180); in 1958 and 1962 there was little handicraft activity (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1. Welfare report, February, 1958; File A-1000, vol. 1. Report of the regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, February 14, 1962); as late as 1962, only seven families (about forty-five people) were supported by wage employment (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report of the regional superintendent of welfare to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, February 14, 1962). Only in June, 1958, did any local residents accept wage employment that involved travel outside Cumberland Sound (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1 Welfare

report, June, 1958). Even the DEWline apparently exerted only a limited influence on the area's population.⁵ In spite of all this, the federal government expectation was that in the long run mining would be the basis of local economic activity, just as in other parts of the Arctic (Ibid. Letter, Chief of the Education Division to Pangnirtung welfare teacher, February 6, 1958). After the 1962 disruption of hunting caused by the death of the region's dogs, the first area administrator in Pangnirtung commented that any return to hunting would be only temporary, but that handicrafts, tourism, and fishing were other activities that should be suitable for the region (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963).

5. Kemp (1976, 142) states that workers from Pangnirtung and Cumberland Sound, as well as from Clyde River, Broughton Island, and Kivito, were hired to help with DEWline construction in 1956-57, but does not elaborate on the extent of this. The area economic survey (Canada, 1967, 90) states that Pangnirtung and Broughton Island received "relatively high incomes" from casual labor, construction, and employment on the DEWline, but its Table 57, which is supposed to support this, shows that in 1966 only Broughton Island had any permanent DEWline earnings. Further, Cumberland Sound wage income in 1956, a date much closer to the height of DEWline construction activity, was only \$5,200 according to the report's Table 49. The report (Ibid., 88) also says in 1956, thirteen men from the Cumberland Sound region were employed on the DEWline. This information presumably was taken from the 1956 Settlement Survey (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956), but that source also says the DEWline wage was \$300 per month. Twelve months times \$300 equals \$3,600 per year, times thirteen men equals \$46,800, not \$5,200. This, coupled with the welfare teacher's January, 1958 (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1. Welfare report, January, 1958), report of "lack of contact" with the DEWline, and her June, 1958 (Ibid. Welfare report, June, 1958), report that five men were taken away for well-paid wage employment with a mapping company, and that it would be interesting to see their feelings vis-a-vis the customary local wage scale, suggests that the thirteen men may have originated in Cumberland Sound, but that neither they nor much of their money returned to the area.

The provision of economic activity alternative to hunting after 1961 was a bi-directional process in Cumberland Sound. Government pursued its long term plan to integrate the local population into large scale resource extraction by providing and encouraging the use of health and education facilities: the objective was to create a healthier and better educated labor force. In the short term (and apparently in recognition of the fact that even in the long term mineral resource development would be spatially spotty and that those people who could not be persuaded to migrate to such activity would have to be provided with alternative occupations) the local implementation of economic policy focussed on the provision of small industries, most of which were in turn and of necessity focussed on the exploitation of the local environment.

The creation of small local industries was initiated in the Arctic in 1950 with the establishment by the government of a fishing project in Port Burwell, and boat building projects in Lake Harbour and Tuktoyaktuk (Jenness, 1964, 109). Such projects were consistent with the policy of offering assistance to, but not "spoon feeding", the Inuit:

The department had no desire to spend money and effort on palpably uneconomic enterprises, or in areas that were lacking in economic resources. On the contrary, it demanded that every enterprise it supported should become, if possible, self-sustaining, and that the natives who operated it should stand in due course on their own feet and no longer need outside support. In that way, it was convinced, the Eskimos would gain not only economically but socially and psychologically, while the government too would benefit from the reduction in its expenses for straight relief (Ibid., 110).

Other than the "make-work" projects of 1962, only one such small industry was attempted in Cumberland Sound before 1967. This was created by the first area administrator, who established a small skiff building project in early 1963 (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Letter, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, January 16, 1963).

Only \$100 worth of supplies was requisitioned (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay assistant regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, June 17, 1963), but it did nonetheless constitute the first government supported industrial project in the sound.

The next two or three years witnessed a return to the pre-epidemic hunting economy, based on year-round seal hunting (Canada, 1967, 97) in areas "essentially the same as in the past" (Kemp, 1976, 140).⁶ Trade in sealskins reflected this activity: the number traded at the Pangnirtung Hudson's Bay Company post between 1946 and 1951 was 8,705, but by the period 1961-1966, this number had soared to 44,435; in the same period, the number of white foxes traded fell from 3,168 (1946-1951) to 1,301 (1961-1966) (Ross, 1967). The second individual to hold the post of area administrator made a camp patrol in August, 1964, at which time he summarized the condition of the various camps; he felt about half were adequately supplied with food, housing, etc. (Files in Pangnirtung. Camp patrol--Pangnirtung, August 21, 1964), a view which agreed with the assessment made about a year earlier by his predecessor (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963). Low sealskin prices in late 1965 and early 1966 created what was called a "poor local economy", though the fall in prices was slowed a bit by the opening of Ross Peyton's store in late 1965: his presence "...already has assisted in making the Hudson's Bay Company pay a little more for the price of skins" (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, December 1, 1965). Government subsequently displayed a new resolve to create alternative economic activities:

6. Kemp (1976, 140, 142) and Baffin Island-East Coast: An Area Economic Survey (Canada, 1967, 77-78, 97-98) offer detailed discussions of the areas utilized for harvesting food species and foxes in the period 1962-1974 and in 1966, respectively.

We have always maintained that light Industry is the answer to Pangnirtung's problems not complete reliance on a sealing economy (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, March 10, 1966).

No light industry materialized at once, however: an area economic survey was in progress.

In 1962, in the midst of the dog crisis, the regional administrator's office in Frobisher Bay suggested that an area economic survey should be the basis for initiating any new economic activity in Cumberland Sound (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Frobisher Bay Region Quarterly Report, January-March, 1962). Area economic surveys were initiated in the late 1950s

...to determine the basis for local economic and social progress in the Northwest Territories. Basically the surveys are intended to:

- 1) Assess the renewable resources as to their ability to sustain the local population.
- 2) Determine the degree of exploitation of these resources and the efficiency of their use.
- 3) Investigate and explain the social and economic factors affecting resource utilization.
- 4) Recommend ways and means whereby the standard of living of the local people might be improved (Canada, 1958, I).

Between 1958 and 1969 sixteen such surveys were carried out (Lotz, 1976, 23).

The field work for the survey encompassing the Cumberland Sound region was conducted by the contractors in Baffin Island during the summer of 1966, and the report itself published by the government in 1967 (Canada, 1967). Within the general guidelines of the series, the local survey focussed in particular upon these topics:

A detailed analysis of the seasonal hunting patterns of the people of Cumberland Sound was carried out. This analysis attempted in particular to relate the conduct of hunts to the physical environment.

The economics of seal hunting by mechanized means were investigated and a comparison with the costs of hunting by more traditional means was attempted under the particular conditions prevailing in the Cumberland Sound area.

The investigation of the available renewable resources and of the extent of their present utilization was carried out in far more detail for the Cumberland Sound area than for other parts of the survey region.

In the course of interviews, particularly with older Eskimos in the Cumberland Sound area, a large number of old Eskimo place names were collected. These were assembled in a special map which could not be included in the report but may be consulted in the Departmental Library (Ibid., 3).

The general conclusion of the main section of the survey was:

The hunting industry of eastern Baffin Island has now reached a critical stage where, in almost all cases, income from the sale of native products is not sufficient to cover current operating and depreciation expenses... [and] the present level of production, for most animals, cannot be materially increased (Ibid., 96).

Such a statement offered support for general government policy, which was founded on the premise that hunting could no longer support the growing population. The survey's finding that "Some support of a modern hunting industry would seem reasonable" (Ibid.) undoubtedly fell on deaf ears; it would not be economic. Probably more attention was accorded the formal conclusion and recommendations of the survey. This section suggested that large scale capital investments, such as airfields, field cabins for future prospectors, and community services, could continue to contribute to the economy "within the next few years", as could the development of a community service economy, or seasonal migration to southern metropoli for wage employment (Ibid., 100). Biological resources were again stated to be capable of only limited increased exploitation; mineral deposits of economic value had not been located to date (Ibid.). One possible outcome of this situation was:

The future Eskimo population of the east coast therefore may find themselves residents of a dormitory area with a depressed economy. Such circumstances could lead to a culture of poverty based on government relief (Ibid.).

But:

...another road, if taken, could lead to steady economic development and a population capable of moving into diversified activities as opportunities appeared. This second road is an imaginative, well supported program of regional and community economic planning and investment (Ibid., 100-101).

Specifically, the survey recommended the following for Cumberland Sound (the references to whales, fish, and ducks implicitly acknowledged the limited ability of biological resources for expansion):

In Cumberland Sound the potential white whale fishery should be investigated in greater detail. This study should include a careful market and cost analysis to assure each portion of the whale has a defined value and use. Consideration should be given to the possible lease of Hudson Bay whale processing facilities at Pangnirtung.

The char fishery potential of Cumberland Sound should be assessed by fisheries biologists and a number of pilot fishing projects. Combined with this study should be an analysis of known and possible markets for an assortment of char products.

An assessment should be made of nesting eider ducks in Cumberland Sound to see whether or not an eider-down industry would be profitable.

For the survey region as a whole consideration should be given to a program whereby locally processed wildlife foods can be certified for sale through retail outlets....

For the survey region as a whole more consideration should be given to the use of seal nets, especially during the winter period. A study of hunting efficiencies of seal net and seal hole hunting with rifles, or open lead hunting, should be undertaken....

For the survey region as a whole educational programs should be started to acquaint hunters with valuable minerals possibly located in their home areas. Hand samples of these minerals should be on display in local stores or schools. Information on how ore samples should be taken and forwarded for identification and how claims should be staked should be made readily available to local residents.

Soapstone deposits in the Cumberland Sound area should be investigated in detail....

Unused, small houses replaced by new low-rent houses could be dismantled and placed at sites convenient to local travelling parties and possible sportsmen. In Cumberland Sound special attention should be given to Pangnirtung Pass and suitable char streams at the north end of the Sound.... (Ibid., 101-2).

The only specific project to be considered by government while the survey was under way was a non-starter: there was speculation in early 1966 that a fur garment industry would be created (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, March 10, 1966), but by May the idea was reported to be "doomed" (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, May 26, 1966). In April, 1967, an industrial development officer was posted to Pangnirtung and initiated several projects, most of which bore a striking resemblance to the specific recommendations of the area economic survey, though it was

not published until November, seven months later. In June, 1967, a survey of eider duck nests was made with the idea of collecting the down; a gathering project was established but functioned only until 1970 (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, June, 1967; Pangnirtung Eskimo Co-operative, Financial Statements, 1971). In July there was an unsuccessful attempt to reopen the old Hudson's Bay Company whaling station (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Development Officer's Monthly Report, July, 1967). In the winter of 1967-68 an attempt was made to organize a group fox trapping scheme at Nettilling Lake (Ibid. Pangnirtung Development Officer's Monthly Report, October, 1967; Pangnirtung Monthly Report, January, 1968). This project appears to have been abandoned because about one dozen men using 1000 traps caught only fifty-five foxes in two months (Ibid. Pangnirtung Development Officer's Monthly Report, January, 1968; February, 1968), a small catch even considering 1967-68 was not a good winter for fox (Canada, 1975a, 129).

Other projects were longer lasting. Several small projects were financed after 1965 under the Community Development Fund created in that year as an attempt to put control of money into the hands of the Inuit, rather than of public servants, to "relieve the problems of their community life" (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1965, 29). The cost of any project was to be 80% labor (Ibid.). Unfortunately, Pangnirtung had no local council to dispense such money until April, 1967 (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April-May, 1967), and in any case all projects were subject to the approval of departmental officials (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 16 Eliz. II, vol. 3 (1967), 2403. Arthur Laing speaking). In 1966-67, Pangnirtung received \$11,000 (Ibid.), which was appropriated to

the construction of a dog corral and to a community clean-up (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April-May, 1967). This fund was used for several other projects in later years, the most notable in its long term value being a snowmobile repair shop that was built in early 1970 (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, January, 1970). Another successful project, again related to the area economic survey, was commercial char fishing initiated by the industrial development officer in July, 1967 (Ibid. Pangnirtung Development Officer's Monthly Report, July, 1967). This industry was described as "profitable" by 1969 (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, September-October, 1969), and was still operating in 1973 under the auspices of the Pangnirtung Eskimo Co-operative.

The co-operative itself represents the outcome of another government effort to improve local economies. The federal government began establishing co-operatives in the Northwest Territories in 1959 (Crowe, 1974, 191). They were designed to be of

...the producer type which will perform or finance a number of commercial activities with the purpose of increasing the income of the community. [Government] gives considerable assistance in marketing the products from the co-operatives which it is hoped will both increase the standard of living of the Eskimos and will give them an opportunity to control their own economic affairs, and to understand in some measure the complexities of our industrial society (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1960, 36).

In 1966, the initial steps were taken to establish a co-operative in Pangnirtung as one attempt to "alleviate problems" in the community (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, May 26, 1966). The co-operative was formally incorporated in February, 1968 (Pangnirtung Eskimo Co-operative, Financial Statements, 1968).

For a short period after its founding, the co-operative primarily engaged in the purchase of carvings for resale outside the settlement; in its first year, it had eighty-two shareholders, assets of \$27,505, and total

sales of \$15,737 (Ibid.). In 1969, the co-operative expanded: on November 1 of that year it began to provide the labor used in the provision of municipal services, hiring seven employees to do this (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, November, 1969). Total sales rose greatly, to \$37,202 (Pangnirtung Eskimo Co-operative, Financial Statements, 1970). By 1970, sales were \$128,240 (Ibid.); in 1971, \$155,418 (Ibid., 1971); in 1972, \$176,130 (Ibid., 1972). In the latter year, the sale of carvings was valued at \$62,811, fish \$7,810, municipal services and "sundry" \$105,509; there were 149 shareholders (Ibid.). On April 2, 1973, a major change occurred: the Hamlet of Pangnirtung took over the provision of municipal services. This had the effect of lowering co-operative sales, although the workers involved simply changed employers.

Closely allied with the co-operative was the government effort to create a handicraft industry, an idea previously successful in several other locations. An arts and crafts officer was appointed in 1968, and was instructed that "...production is to be given priority over experimentation" (Files in Pangnirtung. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, December 15, 1968). Carving and garment making became the basic productive activities, though prints and ceramics were undertaken as small experimental projects (Ibid.). In February, 1969, the first consignment of goods, comprising fifty parkas, 500 snow goggles, and twenty pairs of *kamiks*, was sent by the officer to Frobisher Bay for resale (Ibid. Frobisher Bay Region Monthly Report, January, 1969). In March, 1969, a small Montreal company expressed an interest in organizing a weaving project in Pangnirtung, and sent representatives to Pangnirtung to examine facilities; the arts and crafts officer was enthusiastic about the possibility (Ibid. Pangnirtung Arts and Crafts

Officer's Monthly Report, February, 1969; Frobisher Bay Region Monthly Report, February, 1969). In early 1970 this project was initiated under the supervision of a company representative (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, February-March, 1970).

Tourism

One project initiated in the 1960s, the establishment of a small tourist/fishing lodge at Clearwater Fiord, has blossomed into a major industry. At least as early as 1938, tourists were visiting Pangnirtung as passengers on the annual supply ship (Orford, 1957, 122, 161). Later, tourist appeal came to be regarded as one of Pangnirtung's main attributes: "Each settlement in the N.W.T. seems to be developing its own particular characteristic. Pangnirtung's emphasis seems to be on tourism" (Files in Pangnirtung. Minutes of Pangnirtung Staff Meeting, March 9, 1970). This conformed to the broader government view. Sensing in 1959 the potential of tourism, the federal government assigned one officer to investigate tourist possibilities and to do what he could "to encourage the development of local tourist industries" in the Northwest Territories (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1959, 30). "Wilderness tourism" was being discussed in Parliament in 1964 (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 13 Eliz. II, vol. 6 (1964), 5944), as were northern national parks by 1969 (Ibid., 17 Eliz. II, vol. 6 (1969), 6419). Records of the number of tourists and their expenditures in the Northwest Territories have been kept since 1959, another indication of tourism's perceived potential importance at that date. The current view is found in a 1973 study prepared for the territorial government:

[The area of the Northwest Territories] possesses a comparatively unspoiled uniqueness for the travelling public found nowhere else in the world. The area is relatively undeveloped in an industrial sense and needs a viable economy.

Tourism, ranking second to non-renewable resources as a revenue producer, is regarded as one of the major industries within the Northwest Territories, with the potential for the generation of employment, income and investment opportunities (Overview Study of Tourism and Outdoor Recreation in the Northwest Territories, 1973, vol. 1, 1).

The potential of tourism in Cumberland Sound had been recognized by the area economic survey, but the first industrial officer was the first to take concrete action:

Due to the low prices in seal skins [there must be] something done in the near future for employment in Pangnirtung. I think that tourist [sic] is the one thing that we can get started for the season of 1968 (Files in Pangnirtung. Letter, Pangnirtung development officer to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, August 25, 1967).

He went on to suggest the establishment of a tourist camp at Clearwater Fiord, a location that offered excellent fishing, and seal and whale hunting, using the services and boats of local Inuit for transport. He also communicated the need for equipment to furnish a very basic tent camp and cookhouse to accommodate the prospective sportsmen. By the end of 1967 various articles such as a stove, a tent, dishware, cooking ware, tables, knives, lanterns, and a generator, were transferred to Pangnirtung from government stores in Frobisher Bay. At about the same time the Arctic District Tourism Development Officer met with the Pangnirtung development officer in Ottawa to discuss a plan of development for the Clearwater camp (Ibid. Letter, Administrator of the Arctic to Frobisher Bay region administrator, December 26, 1967). They decided that the development officer would set up a disassembled building on the site to serve as a cookhouse during the summer of 1968 and that accommodation would consist of three or four frame-tent sleeping cabins. The development officer also was to arrange for the hiring of guides and boats for fishing and for seal and whale hunting; guests were to be charged only a nominal fee for usage of the camp. However, the Administrator of the Arctic made clear that "Because of the many obstacles

which may yet be encountered in getting the camp into operation we are not planning on promoting Pangnirtung to any extent this year" (Ibid.). He also brought up the problem of accommodation in Pangnirtung for tourists delayed there in transit, a problem that was not solved until 1971.

After the 1968 summer season, a report of problems and a list of proposed solutions was submitted to the Administrator of the Arctic by the regional administrator in Frobisher Bay (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay acting regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, September 4, 1968). These included planning, publicity, alternative tourist activities, transportation, food, accommodation, etc. The report maintained that the Clearwater camp was opened prematurely and without adequate supplies, and that there was no one designated to co-ordinate the development of tourism in the area. As for publicity, it was stated that tourists were in need of more detailed information on existing facilities, fee schedules, and the necessity for advance bookings. The regional administrator also felt that tourists should be made better aware of the fact that travel in the Arctic is uncertain at best, due to weather conditions and other unforeseen difficulties. It was evident that the kind of publicity needed was a detailed list of facilities available and a factual explanation of what to expect in terms of accommodation, food, weather, and activities, rather than a glamorization of the "exotic" North. There was, for instance, in the summer of 1968, a promotional trip to various northern communities, including Pangnirtung, organized by the Arctic District Tourism Development Officer. This trip included a sports and outdoor film maker, the outdoor editor of the Buffalo, New York, Courier Express, as well as nine paying guests. The Pangnirtung development officer was to set up the Clearwater camp for this visit, as well as arrange for whale and seal hunting and fishing (Ibid.

Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Pangnirtung area administrator, May 24, 1968). The aims of the trip were described as follows:

From Fort Chimo and Ilkalu Lodge the safari wishes to continue on to Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung to publicize that area in preparation to the opening of a tourist camp at Pangnirtung in the summer of 1969 (Ibid. Letter, Tourist Development Officer, Ottawa, to Nordair, April 19, 1968).

No record of the outcome of this trip exists other than the fact that it was referred to later by the regional administrator in Frobisher Bay as "a premature publicity tour" (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay acting regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, September 4, 1968), which it may in fact have been, considering the state of tourist facilities in 1968. No schedule of fees for tourist services was available, transportation upsets and delays were common, no co-ordination of food services existed, and there were still no tourist accommodations in Pangnirtung.

This last problem was one of the most pressing. The development officer in Pangnirtung was expected to have the camp at Clearwater fully operational by the summer of 1969; the camp was to handle ten to twelve persons at a daily living cost per person of \$40 (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, November 14, 1968). With regard to the accommodation problem in Pangnirtung, the development officer spoke to the Community Association and to Ross Peyton, a local entrepreneur (Ibid. Letter, Pangnirtung development officer to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, November 20, 1968). The Community Association felt themselves unable to cope with tourist accommodation, but Peyton was interested in the project. In the summer of 1970, Peyton and Doug Cressman, a former government employee who had at one time been posted to Pangnirtung, leased the Clearwater camp from the government and ran it during July and August. In the meantime, Peyton had arranged with Nordair to have ten to twelve tourists

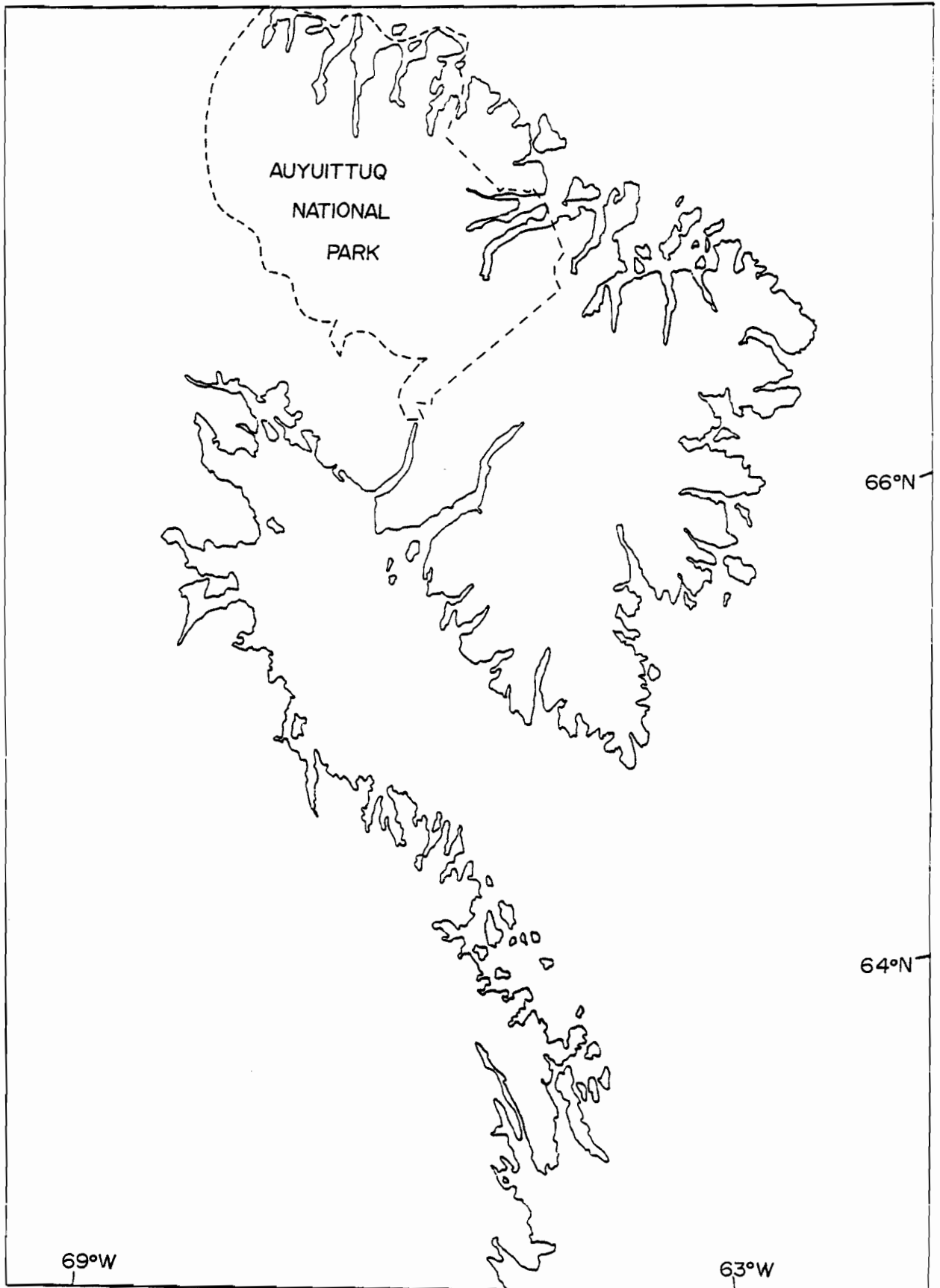
flown into Pangnirtung for each of the nine to ten weeks of the fishing season (Ibid. Minutes of Pangnirtung Staff Meeting, March 9, 1970). Certain houses in Pangnirtung were made available to them for use by tourists until the arrival of the new teaching staff at the end of August (Ibid. Letter, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, June 29, 1970). In 1971 Peyton and Cressman bought the Clearwater camp from the government and opened a hotel in Pangnirtung itself. In 1973 the hotel, Manton House, could accommodate twenty persons in ten rooms, with central bath and shower facilities. The Clearwater Fiord camp could accommodate ten to twelve persons.

Another individual, Ken Brown, a resident of Ontario, has operated a fishing camp near Pangnirtung since 1971. He brought twenty people to his camp in 1971, another twenty in 1972, and sixty in 1973 (Mayes, 1973a).

The most important recent addition to Pangnirtung tourism, unforeseen in 1967, materialized in 1972. In that year, three northern national parks were created in the Northwest Territories, one on Cumberland Peninsula just north of Pangnirtung (see Map 4-2). The primary purpose of a national park is to preserve outstanding natural areas and features as a national heritage. Since a park is of benefit only if it can be used, but because it is desirable to leave the natural environment generally unimpaired, recreation is regarded as the best use for a park (Canada, 1969, 4-5). Parks Canada recognizes that weekend visitation and an associated demand for urban recreation facilities have developed in conjunction with most southern parks (Ibid., 15):

This tendency, if continued, will suggest the need for more amusements which in turn will attract more visitors. The result will be larger concentrations of facilities and permanent or seasonal populations to provide the necessary visitor services. In accordance with our obligation under the National Parks Act the direct and indirect effects of such development on the parks and on the purpose of the parks deserve careful appraisal (Ibid.).

MAP 4-2



Unless visitation is subsidized, large numbers of people will not visit Auyuittuq National Park; the cost is prohibitive. In this sense, the Baffin Island park acts as a tourist attraction, in contrast to southern parks which act as mass recreation facilities for local urban populations.

The main argument used to justify the establishment of the park to residents of the study region was the expected economic benefit (Canada, 1972a, 2; Files in Pangnirtung. Letter, Pangnirtung adult educator to Frobisher Bay regional superintendent of adult education, July 10, 1972). Two sorts of economic benefit could emerge: direct, as jobs provided by Parks Canada, and indirect, as income from tourism generated by the park.

Direct Economic Impact

In the summer of 1972, in the course of a visit he made to the study region, John Gordon, an assistant deputy minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, apparently stated that Pangnirtung and Broughton Island would ultimately share twenty to thirty permanent jobs associated with the park. Just how many years it will be until such figures are achieved was said to depend on the pace of park development, which will in turn largely depend on the number of park visitors (Files in Pangnirtung. Letter, Pangnirtung adult educator to Frobisher Bay regional superintendent of adult education, July 10, 1972; Canada, 1974b, 42; Pangnirtung News and Views, April-May, 1972, 1). In fact, in fiscal 1973-74, three full time and four part time jobs with Parks Canada were held by Inuit (Canada, 1974b, 42). Estimates made by Richards for 1982, which were generally extremely optimistic,⁷ projected only three full and ten part time jobs for Inuit in Pangnirtung with Parks Canada; there would also be perhaps two or three jobs

7. These estimates are also in the base count of 1972 incorrect.

in Broughton Island (General Development Plan, Pangnirtung, N.W.T., 1974, 15-16). In fiscal 1973-74 and in the subsequent few years, Parks Canada intended to spend considerable money for casual laborers employed on construction and cleanup projects.

Parks Canada reports that it spent \$65,000 as wages to Inuit in the study region in 1973-74 (O'Brien, 1975). Exact figures are not available, but without question a substantial part of this amount went to one-time construction and cleanup costs, thus inflating the figure that will be spent annually over the medium and long term. Based on an overall budget of \$291,500 (Ibid.), the \$65,000 represents a direct input to individuals in the communities of 22% of total spending, a higher percentage than most of the private agencies in Pangnirtung are able to contribute (see page 289). Furthermore, this figure would represent 9.4% of the total Pangnirtung Inuit income in 1972-73, an important amount.

Indirect Economic Impact

Indirect economic benefit depends directly upon the number of tourists visiting the study region and the amount of money they spend. The amount and nature of expenses for the 134 tourists known to have visited Pangnirtung in 1973 has been calculated; seventy-eight of these people provided detailed spending information which is extrapolated to include the other fifty-six (Mayes, 1973a). The data collected show that the 134 tourists spent a total of approximately \$93,000 for their holidays. Of this amount, expenditures were as follows:

\$13,500:	hotel, Pangnirtung ⁸
10,000:	handicrafts and souvenirs, almost entirely spent at the Pangnirtung co-operative ⁸
45,000:	Nordair (Montreal-Pangnirtung-Montreal) ⁹
<u>\$68,500</u>	

8. See Table 4-2.

9. Estimate: 134 tourists times \$336 1973 return airfare.

The remaining \$24,500 is attributed to airfare beyond Montreal (for tourists who came from other parts of Canada, the United States, and Europe), supplies and equipment purchased elsewhere (tents, for example), and complementary and/or delay expenses in Frobisher Bay or, occasionally, in other settlements. In addition, a small but undetermined amount of money was left with Inuit who provided canoe transportation from Pangnirtung to the park; given the small number (twenty-three) who went to the park, this could amount to no more than a few hundred dollars.

These figures have two important attributes. First, largely because of the high cost of transport to a remote location, only 25% of total tourist spending was in Pangnirtung. It is likely that virtually all of the \$10,000 spent for handicrafts was returned directly to local residents, but that only 17% (\$2,300) of the money spent for hotel accommodation was so directed (see page 289). Ken Brown is estimated to have spent \$2,100 as wages during the three week period he operated his fishing camp (see Table 5-39). Handicraft purchases by his clients are included in the \$10,000 figure above. Tourism, therefore, in 1973 produced only about \$14,400 income for Pangnirtung, or 2.1% of total Inuit income.¹⁰ This figure will only increase as the number of tourists increases. There is no apparent way to increase the relative level of tourist spending in the community given the high costs, notably airfare, incurred elsewhere.

A second attribute of the figures concerns the financial situation of the hotel. Of an estimated \$114,700 total revenue, only \$13,500 (or \$32,000 including the income from Clearwater), or 12% (28%) was received from tourists. This revenue is also seasonal: it is obtained in June, July,

10. In comparison, in the Northwest Territories in 1969 (the only year for which data are available), tourism is estimated to have accounted for 1.8% of personal income (Canada, 1974a, 68).

August, and September. Operating costs, however, are incurred all year. This becomes important if one suggests that increasing the amount of hotel accommodation will allow for more tourists, which will in turn bring more money into the community. Increasing Pangnirtung hotel space, either by a major expansion of the existing hotel, or by the construction of a second hotel, would produce an untenable financial situation for eight months of the year, unless an increased transient traffic is generated concurrently.

Seventy-seven people visited the park in 1972, but how many of these were bona fide tourists is impossible to establish (Canada, 1972c). Some 200 people visited the park in 1973, only twenty-three of whom were tourists (Major, 1974; Mayes, 1973a). The rest were researchers, mountaineers, or representatives of various government agencies. In 1974, about 430 people visited the park, only 15% (65) of whom are reported to have been tourists (O'Brien, 1975). In 1975, the number of park visitors was 518; in 1976, 639; in 1977, 635; how many of these were bona fide tourists is not known (Charlebois, 1978).

For 1973, handicraft purchases made by all of these people are included in the \$10,000 figure quoted above. Accommodation expenditures show as transient expenditures at the hotel in Table 5-38. Only direct wages by researchers are not accounted for. One should also note that a large number of park visitors, especially those from government agencies, spend only part of one day in Pangnirtung, spending money neither for handicrafts nor accommodation.

Table 4-2 shows the accommodation distribution for the 134 tourists who visited Pangnirtung between June 19 and August 23, 1973. A report prepared for the Government of the Northwest Territories, Overview Study of Tourism and Outdoor Recreation in the Northwest Territories (1973, vol. 1,

TABLE 4-2

TOURIST ACCOMMODATION AND SPENDING
IN PANGNIRTUNG, 1973

<u>Place of Accommodation</u>	<u>Nights</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
Hotel	316	\$13,415.00
Camping	305	
Inuit family	12	
Western family	108	
Church hall	68	10.00
Pool hall	<u>30</u>	<u>90.00</u>
Total	831	\$13,515.00
Other spending		<u>\$10,110.30</u>
Total spending		\$23,625.30

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

113) states:

The limitations of the accommodation plant represent a serious handicap to the development of tourism in the Northwest Territories at the present time. This is considered to be a far more serious limitation than any other, including transport and accessibility to supply.

Although perhaps true for the western Arctic, this generalization clearly is not applicable to the study region. The 1972-73 hotel accommodation was fully adequate for the number of tourists who were making use of it; about 104 people in 1972, about eighty-six in 1973 (Mayes, 1973a). Rather, according to interviews carried out in 1973, the two most pressing problems in the study region were transportation and the availability of detailed, accurate information on the area.

Transportation was a factor over which the tourist had little or no control after having paid for his airline ticket. Weather conditions in Baffin Island often necessitated a certain amount of schedule alteration or delay. However, the majority of inconvenience was caused by arbitrary air schedule changes. Table 4-3 shows that of the tourists interviewed during the two month summer season who were delayed involuntarily in Pangnirtung, four-fifths were forced to wait because the local carrier, Nordair, for no apparent reason did not maintain its printed schedule. There were also a certain number of people held over in Frobisher Bay involuntarily. As Baker (Overview Study of Tourism and Outdoor Recreation in the Northwest Territories, 1973, vol. 1, 117) notes: "...the air communication pattern of the Territories displays serious limitations from a tourist development standpoint that cannot be denied." However, the inconvenience caused to passengers which was not the result of uncontrollable conditions could have been, with a certain amount of interest, planning, and organization on the part of Nordair, almost wholly eliminated.

TABLE 4-3
TOURIST DELAYS

<u>Reason for delayed departure from Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Number of persons</u>
Nordair did not maintain schedule	12
Fault of passenger	1
Flight cancellation due to weather	<u>2</u>
Total	15
Number of persons experiencing delay in Frobisher Bay- Pangnirtung connection	36
Total number of tourists involved	134
Total number of persons delayed	51 (38%)

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

Organization was also necessary in the realm of publicity. Tourist expectations should be based on accurate detailed descriptions of existent facilities and various situations which may arise, rather than romanticized accounts of adventure in the North, such as either of these:

Now, we open the way for modern explorers, adventurers, men and women with vision, dreamers, nature lovers, scientists and students, who want to experience a trip of a lifetime in order to see with their own eyes the wonders of the "Land of the Midnight Sun" ("Arctic Expedition", 1974).

It becomes a matter of prestige to tell your friends you have been on an Arctic holiday. It is the latest "in" thing (Montreal Star, September 4, 1971, 36),

Any kind of Arctic holiday, or tour to Baffin Island, is expensive due to the costs of transportation and accommodation in an isolated area. To allow tourists to incur hardship and added expense as the result of inadequate information would seem extremely unwise and detrimental to the long term development of tourism. In 1973, the majority of tourists were from Canada (see Table 4-4). However, should more tourists be attracted from farther away, either from the United States or from overseas, ensuring that they know what to expect financially will be even more important. These arguments apply as well to entertainment, local tours, the hiring of guides and boats, camping amenities, sport and physical recreation possibilities, and general trip planning. A man who has taken a holiday fishing in Pangnirtung cannot be told on the day he expects to depart that the airline has decided not to fly until two days later, and that he will therefore have to spend an additional amount to obtain accommodation for the extra stay. Other surprises referred to by tourists in the interviews include: a lack of flush toilets, the relatively small amount of Inuit handicrafts available at the co-operative, the coldness and windiness of the climate, the existence of rather spectacular mountains, the wetness of the terrain

TABLE 4-4

ORIGIN OF TOURISTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
British Columbia	3	2.2
Newfoundland	4	3.0
Northwest Territories	4	3.0
Ontario	36	26.8
Quebec	33	24.6
Bermuda	1	0.7
France	3	2.2
Switzerland	2	1.5
United Kingdom	3	2.2
United States	35	26.1
Unknown	<u>10</u>	<u>7.5</u>
Total	134	99.8

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

and consequent difficulties in hiking or walking, and the small degree of contact with the Inuit. None of this would surprise a person familiar with the Arctic, but could ruin the holiday of a first time visitor to the area.

This lack of information, or misinformation, was also true as regards the existence of the national park. Of the 134 tourists who visited Pangnirtung in 1973, only half had heard of the park, as detailed in Table 4-5. Furthermore, from information presented in this table, one can see that of the 134 tourists, only twenty-three (17%) actually went into the park. For those persons who knew of the existence of the park, but did not go into it, the reasons varied from a lack of transportation to the park, to a pre-conception that it was three or four hundred kilometers north of the settlement. One tourist from Toronto knew of the existence of the park, but when he attempted to get specific information about it from Information Canada in Toronto, was informed that they had never heard of it; neither were they able to offer him any written information. One can see from the age-sex distribution presented in Table 4-6 that one is dealing with tourists the majority of whom are perfectly capable of various types of physical activity such as hiking, walking, etc. Many of those interviewed stated that they would have liked to pursue these activities in the park, had they known of its existence or had they been able to arrange for transportation to it.

Health

Apart from the state of the economy, Inuit health and education were the two fields of major government concern in the Arctic after World War II:

...Canadian administrators knew that literacy, formal education, vocational training, employment, housing, rehabilitation, disability programmes and the whole range of developing welfare services were an integral and necessary part of improving Eskimo and northern health....

TABLE 4-5

AUYUITTUQ NATIONAL PARK AS A TOURIST ATTRACTION

Persons with prior knowledge of the park	70
Persons without prior knowledge of the park	64
Persons for whom the park was an incentive to visit Pangnirtung	26
Persons for whom the park was not an incentive to visit Pangnirtung	108
Number of persons who visited the park	23
Number of persons who did not visit the park, because	
No particular desire to do so	60
Lack of adequate transportation	20
Information not available	31
Total number of tourists involved	134

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

TABLE 4-6
AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF TOURISTS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0-9	3	1	4
10-19	6	4	10
20-29	16	5	21
30-39	6	13	19
40-49	9	3	12
50-59	11	9	20
60-69	6	7	13
70 and over	0	2	2
unknown	<u>27</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>33</u>
Total	84	50	134

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

It was medicine which showed the way in the north after 1945. Hygiene and sanitation took charge. If babies were dying, poor housing was to blame. If nutrition was inadequate, then it stemmed either from unemployment, lack of resources, ignorance, or all three. If patients were cured of tuberculosis, there was little virtue in returning them to the same conditions which bred the disease (Judd, 1969a, 598).

The government was pleased with itself at having made this belated observation:

A health service for native Indian and Eskimo was developed as a voluntarily assumed moral obligation on the part of the government, to provide assistance to a more primitive people and to protect the new inhabitants from epidemics which might explode in a population not previously exposed to the diseases of Europe (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Annual Report, 1948, 40).

Jenness (1964, 146-48) summarizes the government's overall health care program:

Through continuous vaccinations and inoculations it will immunize the Eskimo people against those communicable diseases, whooping cough, diphtheria, typhoid, measles, smallpox, and poliomyelitis, that have ravaged them since the beginning of the century. Tuberculosis it will hold in check with BCG vaccine, and by evacuating all active cases to well-equipped hospitals in southern Canada, whence convalescents will be sent north again to recuperate in welfare centres among their own people. Once it has brought tuberculosis under control it will use the surplus beds in the hospitals at Inuvik, Chesterfield, Frobisher Bay, and Pangnirtung for the chronic care of aged Eskimos, and of Eskimos whom disease prevents from resuming their former mode of life. The excessively high infant mortality must be reduced by other methods, and the government will attack it from two directions. Spearheading the main attack will be the staff of the health department's nursing stations, who will visit expectant mothers in their homes, give them pre-natal care at the nursing stations, assist them at delivery and teach them how to take care of their new-born offspring. Supporting this direct assault will be an indirect one, based on the conviction that infant mortality can never approach its low level in southern Canada unless the Eskimos possess warmer and more sanitary homes. Here the initiative passes to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, which is already shipping to the Arctic each year approximately 150 new dwellings--well-insulated, one-roomed wooden houses equipped with sanitary facilities and oil stoves....

Expenditures reflected the new level of activity; spending on Indian and Inuit health care rose from \$2.3 million in 1945-46 to \$10.3 million in 1950-51 (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Annual Report,

1951, 62). But in spite of this increase, a great deal of responsibility was still given to non-government personnel, the people who had previously carried the burden of government's newfound "moral obligation":

[Due to the wide dispersal of population] The outer fringe of service must...consist in lay persons whose sense of humanity, even more than their sense of duty, is enlisted (Ibid., 1950, 81).

[In the more isolated areas arrangements are made with] a multitude of missionaries, traders and officers of various government departments (Ibid., 1957, 79).

The Department of National Health and Welfare regarded tuberculosis as its main concern (Ibid., 1949, 106):

...the government declared war on it....

Each year medical teams came north.... They visited far camps X-raying and inoculating, and a stream of patients were sent south in their wake....

During 1956 one in every seven of the Inuit spent time in a southern hospital (Crowe, 1974, 177-78).

Direct Health Care

The people of Pangnirtung and Cumberland Sound were perhaps better served and demonstrated better health in this period of intensified activity than did those of other regions due to the presence until 1959 of a government funded physician (Covill, 1977) and until 1972 of the Anglican hospital.

In 1877-78, Kumlien (1879, 27) observed that lung diseases were the "most prevalent" in the region, and in 1931 Dr. Livingstone observed that 14% of the Cumberland Sound Inuit had tuberculosis (Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1931, 77). Compared with Crowe's (1974, 177-78) calculation that in 1956 one in seven (14.3%) of all Inuit were in hospital for tuberculosis, in 1957 in Cumberland Sound and the east coast of Baffin Island the figure was only 5.8% (40 of 687 in the E6 population district) (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Eskimo Census--E6

Pangnirtung District, December 20, 1957). One therefore must surmise that medical care during the fur trading period had positive results. Nonetheless, health problems existed, notably with various contagious diseases against which the local population had little immunity. In 1962, for instance, at least seventy people contracted measles (Ibid. Letter, Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, September 20, 1962); in 1967, another measles epidemic affected approximately 200 people (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, September, 1967). In 1966, an outbreak of hepatitis occurred (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, March 10, 1966).

The Pangnirtung hospital, built in 1930, was one of four in the Arctic, and the only one in Baffin Island, until the Frobisher Bay hospital opened in November, 1964 (Canada, 1965b, 24). The Pangnirtung hospital was closed in August, 1972 (Canadian Churchman, June, 1972, 11), after the Northwest Territories fire marshal said it would have to be renovated to meet safety standards at an estimated cost of \$100,000:

The closing of the hospital came as a blow to many people, not the least the bishop and the Eskimo people of Pang.

The hospital...gets high marks even from its critics for the standard of nursing, housekeeping and nutrition it maintains. The use of native food, the proximity of sick people to their homes and close contact with the doctors at the government hospital at Frobisher Bay... are all listed as valid reasons for keeping the hospital open (Ibid.).

However, after the Frobisher Bay hospital opened, the focus of eastern Arctic medical care shifted to it. Therefore:

It was decided that some of [the Pangnirtung hospital's] wards would be used for tubercular patients and others for emergencies, the delivery of babies and general medical care not requiring transfer to Frobisher.

But for some reason, unknown to the nurses and unexplained by the federal department of health, most tubercular patients are no longer sent to St. Luke's, thereby keeping beds empty and increasing overhead (Ibid.).

The government argues that [Bishop] Marsh wanted to close up because of high operating costs and the required renovations gave him the excuse to close the hospital.

Whatever the reasons, there has been an unfortunate breakdown in communication between the two parties and the Eskimo has been the one to suffer (Ibid.).

Indirect Health Care: Housing

The major indirect action linked to improved health care was the provision of western housing. Although government had considered health, education, and economic activity related since Wherrett's 1945 report, and although experiments in housing construction had been carried out at least since 1956 (Canada, 1960a, 67), only in 1958 was there any specific public indication that housing was linked directly to the process of change:

Study and experiments were undertaken to develop low-cost housing for Eskimos using materials indigenous to the Arctic or capable of being transported to the Arctic at low cost. A simple prototype was built at Frobisher Bay. A styrofoam igloo, constructed at Cape Dorset, passed its second successful winter.

Experiments were carried out in the use of technical devices suitable for Arctic use; examples, stoves suitable for efficiently burning animal oils, peat, and other indigenous fuels; cold storage units; low-cost containers for handling and storage of meats and oils (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1958, 27).

In 1960, the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources produced a book titled Eskimo Mortality and Housing which maintained that Inuit mortality, especially of infants, was caused by (1) increasing exposure to infections; (2) lack of continuous warmth and shelter, adequate nutrition, and sanitary environment; (3) environmental aggravation of contracted diseases; and (4) lack of immediate medical care (Canada, 1960a, 7-8). To ameliorate these conditions

A program of improved housing was...essential. But it was also considered essential that the costs of the houses be kept low enough to enable the Eskimos, with their relatively low average annual income,

to achieve ownership within a reasonable period of time. The houses would probably be very small by southern standards (although not necessarily by Eskimo standards) in order that heating costs would remain within the average Eskimo's ability to pay. It was felt that a government subsidy covering capitalization or heating of the houses would be undesirable since it would enhance the Eskimos' dependence on the white man and hinder his development in the increasingly complex society of the modern Arctic (Ibid., 67).

Phillips (1967, 225) elaborates on the idea of charging the Inuit for houses:

Housing assistance was...limited by the administration's anxiety--perhaps over-anxiety--to avoid causing Eskimos to emerge from neglect into total dependence on the white man's largess. If we are going to treat the North as part of Canada, we should maintain something of the equations between effort and reward, between rights and responsibilities, that are part of the general Canadian scheme of things. If the government built and maintained free houses for Eskimos it could meet many problems of health and its own conscience: it could also be creating a permanent problem of dependence, of wards, of half-citizens.

Assistance was limited not only by the slender ability to pay on the part of the Inuit, but by the short shipping and construction seasons, and a shortage of trained workmen (Ibid.).

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources began its first housing program for the Inuit in 1959:

Eskimo families with the financial capability were encouraged to buy houses, and those families who were indigent were provided welfare housing. Houses were bought by the Department and re-sold to the Eskimos. However, as the re-sale program progressed many problems became evident, the two most important being the cost of the houses themselves, and the high cost of heating them during the winter months. Consequently, most buyers fell behind in their payments or made none at all. The small size of the units also proved to be unsatisfactory, for this meant the perpetuation of many of the health and overcrowding problems that the houses were intended to alleviate....

In 1962, the Housing Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development proposed new housing based on a rental scheme scaled to real income; the house types included one-bedroom, two-bedroom and three-bedroom units. By 1965, a program was developed which found the government in the role of landlord heading a massive rental housing program which was implemented in the summer of 1966 and which still continues on a crash-building basis (Canada, 1972d, 10).

In Cumberland Sound, housing construction began in 1959 when one house was built (Files in Pangnirtung. File 301-3-A). By 1961, there were probably seven other houses built (Ibid.; the file is ambiguous); by 1964 six more

(Ibid.), a total of fourteen to date. Therefore, as late as 1964, "Almost half of the Pangnirtung Eskimos lived in tents, and all of the Cumberland Sound family units did so" (Schaefer, 1966, 48).

In 1965, large scale construction began:

<u>Number of houses built</u>	<u>Year completed</u>
10	1965
34	1966
12	1967
nil	1968
10	1969
4	1970
11	1971
nil	1972
8	1973

(Files in Pangnirtung. File 301-3-A).

The 1965 houses are all one room, 368 square feet (34 square meters); the 1966-1973 houses are all three bedroom, ranging in size from 704 square feet (65 square meters) to 768 square feet (71 square meters). By the summer of 1973, there were 108 houses in Pangnirtung inhabited by Inuit.

The local administrators at Pangnirtung believed that people should not move into the settlement due to a lack of employment there (see for instance Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963; Ibid. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, May 15, 1966). Therefore, for several years in the early 1960s they tried to locate houses in the camps:

We have tried putting houses out at are [*sic*] Camps to make life more attractive there, and one this year will be put at Twapine Camp. If we do not succeed in making Camp life more attractive, we will end up as a Welfare settlement (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, December 1, 1965).

How many houses were put into what camps is unknown, other than that Twapine indeed received a one-room house that was later taken to Clearwater Fiord for

use as the tourist camp cookhouse (Ibid. Pangnirtung Development Officer's Monthly Report, September, 1967); in the meantime (spring, 1967) Twapine had closed and the people there moved to Broughton Island (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April-May, 1967) indicating that housing in itself did not make life in at least one camp "more attractive."

Regional and departmental policy was to put the new rental houses built in 1966 and later only in Pangnirtung (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, March 10, 1966). Accordingly, in 1966, the area administrator was told:

...to meet camp housing needs over the next two years by moving settlement houses, which will be phased out by the new rental scheme with its larger homes; funds have been provided in the estimates for transportation of these houses to the camps. Of course this is an interim measure, but is probably not undesirable in light of the influx of people from the camps in your area (Ibid. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Pangnirtung area administrator, January 17, 1966).

Thomas and Thompson link this emphasis on the location of new rental housing in settlements only with overall government policy:

Prior to 1959 and even during the early 1960s, the government discouraged people from moving into settlements. However, the new housing program actively encouraged people to do the opposite. Reasons behind the new policy are clear: a scattered population is difficult to administer; there is no danger of hardship or starvation if everybody is in settlements (and less danger of criticism by the public or press); health stations can look after the needs of the people easily since nurses do not visit remote hunting camps; it is cheaper to make welfare payments in a settlement than to charter airplanes and hire people to visit such camps (Canada, 1972d, 23).

The regional office believed that rental housing scheduled to be built in the summer of 1966 would "solve" most of Pangnirtung's crowding problem (Files in Pangnirtung. Frobisher Bay Quarterly Report, April 6, 1966). Two years later the same office admitted a lack of success: "Overcrowding among the Eskimo's [*sic*] and general shortage of accommodation plague this settlement" (Ibid. Baffin Region Monthly Report, December 10, 1968).

Neither was the physical site of the settlement helpful, as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had discovered forty years earlier. On Friday, February 13, 1970, one of the windstorms for which the fjord is known severely damaged one Inuit house, and slightly damaged several others (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, February-March, 1970). In January, 1971, another such storm destroyed six houses (Harper, 1972, 4). In June, 1971, the Council of the Northwest Territories reported that ten houses would be built in 1971-72 to replace those that had been lost (Northwest Territories, Council of the Northwest Territories, Official Report, 7th Council, 45th Session, 560), but instead eight small (468 square feet (43 square meters)) army quonset tents were erected, the last of which was not vacated until 1974. Sadly, just after that, another storm hit Pangnirtung, in January, 1976:

At least ten buildings were destroyed and power and communications were disrupted as high winds struck the Hamlet of Pangnirtung [January 24]. Damage is estimated at nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. There were no serious injuries (Inukshuk, January 28, 1976, 1).

Most damage was to structures other than houses:

Other damages hit most heavily at houses under construction and fairly new houses, especially government staff houses; ironically, older houses were tied down with cables after a similar storm early in 1971 left many people homeless. About 20 houses have lost roofing, and there may be 100 or more broken windows (Ibid., 3).

In spite of the slow pace, progress was made. In 1960, the government stated:

...the objective was to meet a minimum requirement of 50 square feet [4.6 square meters] of floor space per person...and a heating cost related to the consumption of not more than two gallons [nine liters] of fuel per day (Canada, 1960a, 67).

In the summer of 1973, the Inuit of Pangnirtung had ninety-eight square feet (nine square meters) of floor space per person, substantially in excess of the original goal, but not inexplicable given the shift after 1960 from

one room to three bedroom structures as the "standard" house (Mayes, 1973a). However, each house consumed about $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons (34 liters) of fuel per day (Ibid.), or nearly four times the original goal; only half of this increase can be explained by the overachievement of the space goal.

Government was the owner of the rental housing it constructed:

In embarking upon a "rental" housing program, the government has placed itself in the unenviable position of landlord for almost every dwelling in the North. In order to shift some of this responsibility away from direct government supervision, the program designers have developed the idea that through an association of the tenants, the people themselves will be responsible for renting and maintaining the dwellings.

In 1965, the Housing Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development recommended that a Housing Authority (which would be elected by the tenant's association) be set up in each community. The authority is to be responsible on behalf of the department for the maintenance of all rental housing within the community (Canada, 1972d, 16).

More importantly, from the point of view of local control:

The development of the local Housing Authority will consist of three phases:

- (a) Phase I: In which the Area Administrator for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, or someone nominated by him, will act as appointed chairman of the Authority.
- (b) Phase II: In which the Area Administrator for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, or someone nominated by him, will act as secretary of the Authority.
- (c) Phase III: In which all officers are elected from the membership of the Housing (Association), and no appointed members serve (Ibid., 17).

Pangnirtung's housing authority was elected in the spring of 1967

(Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April-May, 1967).

Shortly afterwards, the area administrator reported:

The local Housing Authority allocated new housing and arranged transfer of families from small units to the new larger ones. This body has now applied for incorporation as the "Pangnirtung Housing Council" and has developed into a use full [*sic*] organization (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, July, 1967).

The authority was incorporated in December, 1967, as the Pangnirtung Housing Association (Ibid. Notes, Regional Conferences, Frobisher Bay, April 16-18,

1968, housing page 2). In October, 1969, the Housing Association moved to Phase II (Ibid. Frobisher Bay Regional Report, October, 1969, 16):

It was also decided at [the October] meeting that the Low-Cost Rental housing area would be divided up into sections and each Housing Association Executive Member would be responsible for one section. Regular visits to the homes were started to see that the houses were well maintained or if any maintenance problems had arisen. It was also arranged for Eskimo ladies to visit the houses to check on the standard of cleanliness, and to give help if necessary. Each Executive Member was also responsible for collecting the rental arrears in his section. This has worked so well that the rental arrears have dropped, by half, this month. The Housing Association Executive are very keen and anxious to shoulder [sic] their responsibilities, and there seems to be no reason why they should not move into phase III after they have had some more experience in housing matters (Ibid.).

The next month, the area administrator reported:

The Association is becoming increasingly independent and maintenance work now has its own section of a warehouse. For next year, they will be ordering in maintenance items by boat and have started to prepare their estimates (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, November, 1969).

In January, 1970, the final group of houses still unconnected was given electrical service (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, February, 1970), and in June of the same year the association bought for their office the building that had originally housed the government physician (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, June, 1970). Apparently, Phase III of the plan has not been implemented (Wilford, 1978).

Education

Government policy toward education after the mid 1940s was much the same as government policy toward medical care: it was an intensification of existing effort, rather than a change of direction. Though the federal government began to operate schools in 1948, little immediate change was noticeable:

In 1950 eight different authorities operated schools in the North. The Department of Northern Affairs provided only three classrooms. Though it paid grants to other agencies to run classes, the classroom standards were uneven. Some schools operated only four hours a day,

four days a week. One teacher in three held no teaching certificate of any kind. Only 117 of all the Eskimos got full-time schooling. There was no vocational education of any kind, no adult education, and no teaching for the growing ranks of hospital patients (Phillips, 1967, 233).

As with health, new facilities were regarded as fundamental to improvement:

Between 1955 and 1965 a capital investment of more than \$25 million was made for schools and hostels in the Northwest Territories alone.... The number of classrooms in the Northwest Territories rose to 266 (Ibid., 236).

By 1965, 80% of the Inuit population had access to formal schooling (Ibid.).

The Pangnirtung federal day school was opened in the autumn of 1956 when the first welfare teacher arrived in the community (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956), thus extending to Cumberland Sound the system initiated in Tuktoyaktuk in 1948. This first school was operated in a building leased from the Anglican mission. The government built its own school, comprising two classrooms, in 1962; two more classrooms and an auditorium were added in 1966; two more classrooms, a gymnasium, a home economics room, and an art room were added in 1969 (Ibid. Site Plan maps, August 16, 1965 and August 23, 1969). By 1973, there was a total of nine classrooms (six in the school building, and three portable); a further six classrooms and a library were added in the winter of 1973-74 (General Development Plan, Pangnirtung, N.W.T., 1974). Residential hostels were operated for three sessions: 1964-65 (sixteen students resident); 1965-66 (sixteen students resident); 1966-67 (seven students resident) (Northwest Territories, 1972b, 145). All available data on enrolments, staff, and classrooms are presented in Table 4-7.

The objective of government sponsored education was first clearly stated in 1958:

The ultimate aim of the Department in the field of education is the provision of basic elementary education for all children in the Northwest Territories, and advanced or vocational education for students and adults with special aptitudes (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1958, 35).

TABLE 4-7
SCHOOL FACILITIES AND ENROLMENTS,
PANGNIRTUNG

<u>Year</u>	<u>Students</u>		<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Classrooms</u>
	<u>Inuit</u>	<u>"Other"</u>		
1956			1	1
1957			1	1
1958	22	1	1	1
1959	16	1	1	1
1960	36	0	1	1
1961	20	1	1	1
1962	29	2		2
1963	41	6	2	2
1964	33	9		
1965	70	1	4	4
1966	97	7	4	4
1967		129	4	
1968		145	6	
1969	187	3	7	6
1970		184	9	
1971		209	10	7
1972		225	10	
1973		247	12	9

SOURCES: Canada, 1975a, 35.
Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources,
Annual Report, 1958, 71; 1959, 82; 1960, 98; 1961, 89; 1962, 43; 1963, 31;
1965, 64; 1966, 113.

Files in Pangnirtung. File 301-3-A; Site Plan map, 16-8-65.
General Development Plan, Pangnirtung, N.W.T., 1974.
Northwest Territories, 1972b, 119, 131-32, 137.

NOTE: Blank spaces indicate data not available.

R. G. Robertson, then Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, pointed out the direct relationship between education and resource development:

...the educational process is aimed at preparing the people for employment opportunities, and a way of life which will support them. Therefore, unless we go ahead on the resources side of it at the same time, we will not have employment opportunities and the possibilities of earning a living in the area. As I say, it is not an "either/or" proposition, but both (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons Standing Committee on Mines, Forests and Waters, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, May 7, 1959, 450).

Education was to be, of course, in English:

English is the language of commerce and general use throughout the north. In order that the Eskimos may be equipped to secure employment and to conduct business affairs, English is the language of instruction in the schools established by the department of northern affairs for Eskimos generally (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 9-10 Eliz. II, vol. 4 (1961), 3788. W. G. Dinsdale, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, speaking).

Phillips (1967, 239) explains the rationale for all of this:

The thinking behind the program was that in future years the children of the North might want to return to the land of their fathers; they might want to live and work in northern towns in occupations requiring a good formal education; or they might want to make their way in Canada as a whole, with no limit at all to the ceilings of their intellectual ambitions. The school had to provide for all. The prospects for employment of the school graduate were bright. Even with no increase at all in the economic activity, even with a total failure of every plan and hope for development of the resources of the North, employment was likely for all qualified to take it, simply by replacing the southern Canadians now brought such distances to do jobs normally performed by local residents. In southern Canada, one does not usually advertise for a store clerk, a nurse, a tractor driver, or a radio technician a thousand miles from home. One does so in the North only because of the temporary vacuum in schooling. In other words, the major problem in the North is not unemployment: it is the serious imbalance that produces a critical lack of skilled and semi-skilled workers alongside a surplus of unskilled. Given an average Canadian standard of education, the northerner has little to fear in his economic future. He is in a highly advantageous position when competing for northern jobs where he is at home. He is cheaper to hire because he is less likely to give up the job. He is less likely to need expensive transportation for himself and his family, on recruitment, resignation, or annual vacation. If the educational system works, he should be able to compete for southern jobs on the same terms as other Canadians.

Not unexpectedly, some problems arose concerning the operation of the school in Pangnirtung, especially during the rapid urbanization of the mid and late 1960s when many families were first directly exposed to the institution. In 1965-66, a few of the older Pangnirtung children were sent to Churchill, Manitoba, for the academic year, but the families involved were not made clearly aware that the residential system meant they would not see their children for about nine months. As a result the children returned to Pangnirtung before the end of the school year (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, May 26, 1966). In early 1967, "...the entire community almost unanimously condemned our educational policy as carried out by the local school" (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, January-March, 1967). A year later, however, the school was reported to be "working smoothly and efficiently" (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, December, 1967), and as far as is known no serious subsequent complaint about its operation has been made.

Local Government

Government administrators early recognized the need for Inuit self-determination at the local level, which was correctly considered to be passing increasingly into the hands of westerners. Cantley, in his 1949 report to the government, suggested that local councils be created to overcome this problem, an idea formally embraced by the government at an early date:

The report is often heard throughout the North that the Eskimos are losing their self-reliance, initiative and independence--that there are no leaders in the camps. The government, in providing care for the aged, the blind and the indigent, and in furnishing family allowances and education for the children, has taken over responsibilities which used to be those of relatives. There is nothing to replace these lost responsibilities. Moreover, as the new social order supplants the primitive life of the Eskimos, direction is given by the various white men on the scene. In consequence, the Eskimo inevitably tends to lose initiative both individually and collectively.

It seems clear that an effort to place the direction of local affairs in the hands of the Eskimos is desirable. In this matter much can be learned from the Indian Affairs administrations which in both Canada and the United States have had conspicuous success with band councils and other community activities that centre in the people themselves rather than in superimposed leadership. In Greenland especially the administration has successfully fostered the development of native councils to handle local affairs. The northern service officers who have been appointed recently to the Arctic Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources are being instructed to encourage the Eskimos to take responsibility for local decisions to as great an extent as possible. What can be done along this line will depend on factors that vary from place to place. In returning local responsibility and authority to the people--particularly in those localities where the traditional social organization is disintegrating--it will doubtless be necessary to proceed from trial to revision (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1955, 15).

One of the goals of the Northern Service Officer was to "...foster the fragile institutions of local government, through community councils" (Phillips, 1967, 172). The first of these was created in 1958, in Baker Lake (Crowe, 1974, 202). By about 1962 most settlements had such councils (Williamson, 1972, 58), though at least three did not have elected councils until the early 1970s (Treude, 1975, 59). Williamson (1972, 58) describes the creation and general operation of the councils:

...the Department of Northern Affairs, while ceding very little responsibility and no authority, did encourage the setting up of what were called "Eskimo Councils" which were intended as representational bodies through which the Government and the Eskimo people could exchange advice in the development and implementation of policy. In the initial stages, the make-up of the councils was left to the judgment of the local administrator, some of whom attempted to institute elections to this representative body, others of whom simply appointed the people they felt to be appropriate. By either method, the councils tended in the end to comprise, in the early stages, a group of men made up of the old camp leaders. This process called upon the members of the councils to undertake approaches with which they had previously had little or no experience. First of all, they were required to think on behalf of a larger mass of people than it had ever before been their habit, many of these people being individuals for whom they had minimal commitment, if they were outside the habituated range of interaction. The degree of commitment a traditionalistic Eskimo leader felt for people tended to decline in direct relation to the relative distance of the sense of kinship. Ability to relate committedly with people outside the familiar dialect sub-group was even less. A

significant number of the new settlements were and are sub-culturally heterogeneous in this way. Secondly, the leaders were often presented with problems characteristic of quasi-urban life, and cast in an administrative context beyond the previous experience of the hunting camp-conditioned council members.

Though not a few older leaders earnestly bent their intellects and adaptive qualities to the new problems, many of the most traditionalistic tended to have recourse to the self-deprecatory reaction of the Eskimo, and to cede the initiative to the white man in authority.

In 1965, government apparently recognized that Inuit participation in councils to date was essentially token, for without funds of their own, their role was purely advisory to the area administrator; Treude's (1975, 59) analysis, for instance, shows that the councils dealt only with the "lowest administrative functions." In an attempt to improve this situation, a Community Development Fund was created by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, with \$17,500 appropriated for use in the Mackenzie District and \$82,500 in the Arctic District in the first year of its operation (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1965, 28-29):

Local Eskimo councils will move forward from their advisory role to take a dominant part in deciding how the money should be used to relieve the problems of their community life (Ibid., 29).

The only limitation placed on spending was that 80% of the cost of any project be spent for labor (Ibid.). But the same scheme, as reported by Arthur Laing, then Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, to the Commons, indicated a much lesser degree of local autonomy:

A community may spend such monies for local physical improvement projects and local economic development projects. Physical improvement projects are required to have a labour content of at least 70%. Departmental field officers authorize expenditures from the fund, within the limitations of the community budget, and after consultation with the local community councils, where such councils exist (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 16 Eliz. II, vol. 3 (1967), 2403).

The councils were still advisory.

Though the Inuit were willing to participate in them, the early councils were not particularly fruitful. In Sugluk, for instance, after the Northern

Service Officer helped to form a community council, it

...had few functions and most of these involved delegating the headman to go to the government official and complain about small matters.... Various men were elected as headman from time to time, but none seemed to be satisfied that any good was being done and most thought it was rather a bother to be a "carrier of complaints." At one point the elected headman was the least respected man in the community and, incidentally, the head of one of the small families in the band of [outsiders]. Some of the whites thought this was a joke at the expense of the Northern Service officer to show him how little they thought of his council.

The council, however, has survived, although it has gained very little power....(Graburn, 1969, 212).

A similar situation was observed in Great Whale River:

Different factors led the Northern Service Officer to encourage the creation of an elected Eskimo Community Advisory Council. Principal among these factors was the necessity to institutionalize a system of communication between the Administration and the Eskimos. While the former could easily call on individual natives, the discussion of collective problems was a difficult matter and it was hoped that a Community Advisory Council could more easily sound the natives and bring already prepared answers to the Administrator. Furthermore such a Council was to evolve gradually into a sort of self-government, able to take decisions concerning all the Eskimo groups at Great Whale River. Thus a superior level of socio-political integration was to be achieved in the native society through the democratic process. For some time, however, the functions of the Council were to remain only advisory and consultative. The administrator retained all executive authority (Balikci, 1968, 163-64).

Brody (1975, 119-21) suggests the fundamental contradiction that led to the limited success:

There is an essential contradiction at the heart of much administrative endeavour in the Canadian Arctic. There is, on the one hand, a conviction that Eskimos are in need of this and that material or social provision, and therefore the Whites must provide it. On the other hand, it is said that the Eskimos should not have everything done for them, because such a dependence is morally and socially corrosive. The provision of goods and services by Whites to Eskimos presupposes that the Whites really know what the Eskimos need. But that presumption is plainly at odds with the fact that all other Canadian citizens supply leaders from among themselves and direct their own political and social development. Eskimos must therefore assume greater responsibility for their own problems. Political institutions must be created for them and local political leadership encouraged. Then and only then, the argument runs, can the residents of an Eskimo community influence the quality and course of their lives and thereby exercise the acknowledged right of all Canadian citizens. This argument is presented to

the Eskimos by way of encouragement; they are told that through their participation in local government, they will shift control from the Whites to themselves. In practical terms, the message is clear enough: if you (Eskimos) adopt these political methods, constitute the necessary elected bodies, demonstrate adequate leadership qualities, and all this by following a number of relatively uncomplicated procedural rules, then we (Whites) will turn the government of local affairs over to you.

All the evidence at my disposal demonstrates that at least in the Eastern Arctic, the Eskimos received this idea with enthusiasm, for they were anxious to change local circumstances and to reverse a number of trends. It often happened, therefore, that a leader or a council or perhaps an individual asked for some change to be made. In the nature of things, these requests for change turned on important aspects of the community's life: a family should be given welfare; liquor laws should be amended; prices at the store should be lowered; a particular White should leave the settlement; their children at far-away residential schools should not be allowed to go to bars. But in all of these examples, the Eskimos have been told that the issues are beyond the range of even their newly enlarged jurisdiction. Community councils cannot decide liquor laws, nor can they interfere with rules governing children in residential schools. Such matters remained in the hands of the Whites.

The administrators thus find themselves in a curious position. On the one hand, they urge the Eskimo community to believe that every effort is being made to give them responsibility for their own affairs. On the other hand, they insist that many of the affairs that the Eskimos regard as most important cannot be included within their sphere of responsibility. They soon realize that all fundamental decisions are still to be made by Whites. It seems likely, therefore, that the local government programmes, in the context of the Eskimos' sense of subordinate status, have accelerated that withdrawal and indifference which the local government programmes are specially aimed at preventing. A settlement manager is in the unhappy position of having to translate these ironies into daily political realities.

One is reminded in all of this of the "camp boss," a figure created by westerners as a cultural go-between, who might or might not have had any standing in the Inuit community; the early councils could be regarded as a plural "camp boss." But Graburn (1969, 212-13) suggests a shift in this situation with time: some younger men have taken a serious interest in the local council as a useful institution, a view which is shared by Williamson (1972, 58).

Pangnirtung saw its first local government body in early 1966, when a Provisional Eskimo Council was created "to help deal with local Eskimo problems" (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, March 10, 1966).

A short time later, the area administrator reported that the monthly meetings of the council were "fruitful" (Ibid. Pangnirtung Quarterly Report, May 26, 1966). But the quarterly and monthly reports of the area administrators written during the late 1960s make clear that the government officers regarded the council as purely advisory. The arrival in September, 1969, of the man who would turn out to be the last federal government administrator led to a change in emphasis; the tone of the reports submitted subsequent to his arrival shows that he felt the council should be given more authority. His timing was good. To that date, Pangnirtung fell into the category of "unorganized settlement" in the Northwest Territories scheme of local government, which in practice restricted the role of a local council to advisor to the local administrator (Phillips, 1967, 254). But under new legislation, Pangnirtung could choose to be a "settlement" or a "hamlet"; hamlet status gave more local autonomy. The idea of becoming a hamlet was proposed to the community by the area administrator in December, 1969, at a public meeting:

The [Hamlets Ordinance] was explained in detail and its privileges and responsibilities were set out.

Discussion followed, questions were asked and general interest in the ordinance was expressed. However, it was felt by the meeting that Pangnirtung should not rush into this but would prefer to follow Frobisher Bay's progress if Frobisher Bay goes to Hamlet status (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, December, 1969).

Following this, in March, 1970, the area administrator held another public meeting to inform the community about the change implied in altering the community council to a settlement council:

...it was decided to have elections and to apply for incorporation as a settlement in order to give greater voice to the local residents in local affairs. The council of eight was elected and it is comprised of six Eskimo people and two non-Eskimo. One Eskimo lady was also elected and the council is a good cross-section of the community (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, February-March, 1970).

The first meeting was held in April, 1970 (Ibid. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April, 1970).

As described by the Government of the Northwest Territories, a settlement is:

...under the direct administration of the Government of the N.W.T. The majority of these communities have wholly-elected Settlement Councils which form the first stage in the development of local government. Although unincorporated, these Councils are the recognized senior body politic of a community, consisting of six or eight members, one of which is elected as Chairman. A Settlement Council is an advisory board only. While it is always consulted, it has no legal powers and therefore may be overruled by the Territorial Government. On local matters the Settlement Council states its opinion in the form of a resolution which is then taken into consideration when the Territorial Government acts for the community.

One of the primary responsibilities of a Settlement Council is to assist in the management of the settlement budget in such a way that services and other community business is conducted to the satisfaction of all concerned. It should be understood that the Territorial Government is responsible for setting budgets for settlement services with guidelines furnished by Settlement Councils. The Council has control over its per capita grant and can conduct community projects with it.

In Settlements where sufficient taxable assessment exists to warrant the recovery of the cost of providing services to the community, the Commissioner may declare the community to be a Taxation Area (Norpinion, vol. 6, no. 3, 1973, 9).

On April 1, 1970, a change occurred in the structure of government in the Arctic: the Government of the Northwest Territories, headquartered in Yellowknife, assumed responsibility for the administration of the eastern Arctic. Following this introduction of a new layer of bureaucracy, the administrative chain of command went from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Ottawa, to the Government of the Northwest Territories in Yellowknife, to the territorial government's regional office in Frobisher Bay, to the area administrator.

Pangnirtung became a hamlet on April 1, 1972. Again, as described by the territorial government:

A Settlement is incorporated as a Hamlet when at least 25 residents present a petition to the Commissioner and he approves it. On the date of incorporation, usually January 1st, the Hamlet Council, consisting of eight members, one of whom is elected Chairman by the others, assumes its new functions.

A Hamlet Council is responsible for setting its own budget within guidelines furnished by the Territorial Government. Council can now gain revenue from Community Service Charge, permits, licenses, fines, fees and other miscellaneous revenue. They are not permitted to raise revenue through taxation of real property. However, in Hamlets where sufficient taxable assessment exists to warrant the recovery of the cost of providing services to the community, the Commissioner may declare the community to be a Taxation Area. Council can also act under the Municipal Ordinance to handle a wide variety of responsibilities, such as business licenses, domestic animals, highway traffic, municipal services, public health, protection to persons and property, zoning, etc.

As a Hamlet, there is more independence from Government control as well as a greater opportunity for citizen participation in the determination of their own affairs (Ibid.).

The organization of the present hamlet municipal government is shown in Figure 4-1.

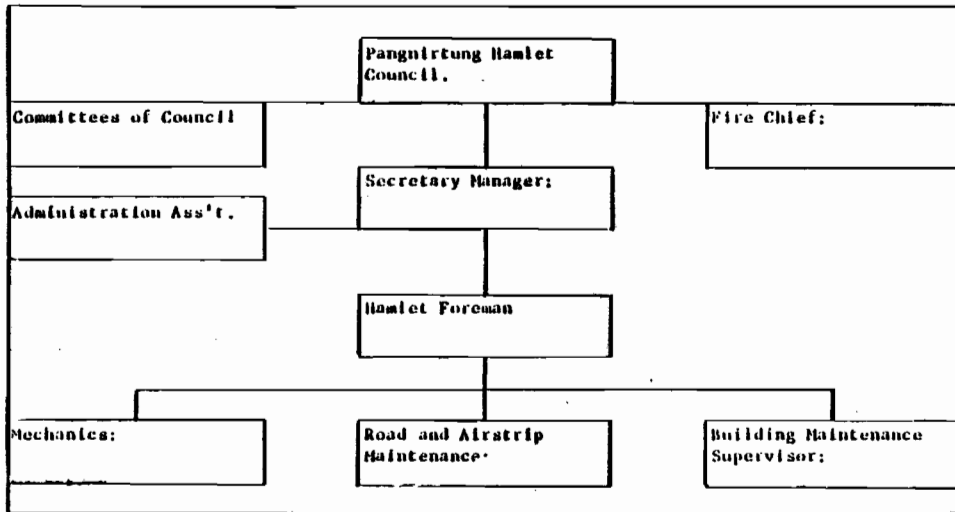
Democratic procedure was, of course, new to most Inuit when they moved into Pangnirtung. The first area administrator therefore had to teach the people to vote, the impetus for this being the federal election of June 18, 1962 (Edmonton Journal, June 1, 1962). Scattered data on voter participation since that time are available, and are presented in Table 4-8. The data clearly show a highly variable participation, but no particular explanation for this pattern is apparent other than the self-evident one that some elections hold more interest than others.

Administrators

Government policy was, of course, implemented at the local level by westerners sent north for the purpose. In 1953 and 1954, there were few such public servants, but a great increase in their number was stimulated in 1955 by the construction of the DEWline (Williamson, 1972, 57). Growth of staff has been the most obvious feature of the northern administration in the succeeding twenty years; the Pangnirtung case is illustrated in Table 4-9.

FIGURE 4-1

HAMLET OF PANGNIRTUNG



COUNCIL RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|---|--|
| a) Decisions and Policy for Hamlet operation. | g) Advisory to Gov't of the N.W.T. on Community needs. |
| b) Budget - Preparation and expenditures. | h) Passing of bylaws. |
| c) Hiring and directing of Secretary Manager. | i) Community Affairs. |
| d) Roads, Airstrips and Street Lights. | j) Municipal Services. |
| e) Operation of Committees of Council. | k) Licences and permits. |
| f) Town Planning and Lands. | |

SECRETARY MANAGER: Report to Council. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) Administration and upkeep of all files, records, and accounting books. | c) Responsible for all operational decisions on a daily basis. |
| b) Recommend methods, hours of work, rates of pay and all other decisions regarding staff. | d) Carry out decisions of Council. |
| | e) Advise Council on Hamlet operation. |
| | f) Hire and direct all staff. |

COMMITTEES OF COUNCIL: Report directly to Council.

Each committee has a different area of responsibility in the community for which they can make recommendations to council governing their procedures and roles. These committees and chairman are as follows;

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1) Finance Committee | 6) Road and Airstrip Maintenance Committee |
| 2) Water and Sanitation Committee | 7) Town Planning and Lands Committee |
| 3) Health and Welfare Committee | |
| 4) Park and Recreation Committee | |
| 5) Protection Committee | |

ADMINISTRATION ASSISTANCE: Reports directly to Secretary Manager. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) Clerk typist and interpreter for office, assist the Secretary Manager in all aspects of running the office on a daily basis. | c) Replace the Secretary Manager when he is sick or on leave. |
| b) Interpret at all Council sessions. | d) Any other related duties. |

HAMLET FOREMAN: Reports directly to Secretary Manager. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) Directs and assists on repairs to equipment, roads and airstrip maintenance service and assist building maintenance supervisor. | e) Supervises and is responsible for all projects, jobs, and operations within the Hamlet. |
| b) Recommends and advises on repairs to equipments, roads, hamlet building, and airstrip. | f) Keeps record on all purchases, supplies, invoices, time sheets, etc. |
| c) Orders all parts for equipment and building. | g) Any other related duties. |
| d) Reports to council as requested to do so. | |

HAMLET MECHANICS: Reports directly to Hamlet Foreman. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) Keeping record of hours worked on equipment. | e) Maintenance and repairs to all Hamlet equipment. |
| b) Advises Hamlet foreman on all parts or equipment required for repairs to equipment. | f) Operating heavy equipment as and when required. |
| c) Keeping garage and work area clean. | g) Any other related duties. |
| d) Maintenance of all tools. | |

ROADS AND AIRSTIP MAINTENANCE SUPERVISOR AND ASSISTANT: Reports directly to Hamlet Foreman. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) Assist mechanics as and when required. | d) Snow removal on Airstrip and Roads. |
| b) Construction and maintenance installation of culverts, ditches and roads. | e) Cleaning markers and signs on airstrip and roads. |
| c) Construction of pads. | f) Any other related duties. |

BUILDING MAINTENANCE SUPERVISOR: Reports directly to Hamlet Foreman. RESPONSIBILITIES:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) Work with fire chief and fire department on fire prevention programs. | d) Painting of airstrip markers and construction when recommended. |
| b) Daily maintenance of all Hamlet buildings. | e) Assist R.A.M.S. and mechanics as and when required. |
| c) Repairs and renovations to all buildings. | f) Any other related duties. |

SOURCE: Reproduced from Just-A-Minute, vol. 4, no. 3, 1973, 4-5.

NOTE: Names of individuals have been removed.

TABLE 4-8

PANGNIRTUNG VOTER PARTICIPATION RATES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Election for:</u>	<u>Rate</u>
December, 1977	Hamlet council	53%
December, 1976	Hamlet council	40%
December, 1975	Hamlet council	71%
December, 1974	Hamlet council	68%
December, 1972	Hamlet council	32%
June 25, 1968	Federal M.P.	68%

SOURCES: Inukshuk, December 10, 1975; January 1, 1975.
Mayes, 1973a.
Nunatsiaq News, December 15, 1976; December 15, 1977.
Wood, 1972, 34.

TABLE 4-9

WESTERNERS IN PANGNIRTUNG

<u>Employed by:</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1973</u>
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development	1	7	0
Government of the Northwest Territories	0	0	18
Department of National Health and Welfare	1		2
Royal Canadian Mounted Police	1	2	1
Northern Canada Power Commission	0	0	1
Local government	0	0	2
Hudson's Bay Company	1	1	3
Anglican mission	1	1	1
Anglican hospital	3	4	0
Other private industry	0	1	4
	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>32</u>

SOURCES: 1956: Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.

1966: Canada, 1966, 172, 176.

1973: Mayes, 1973a.

- NOTES:
1. Figures do not include dependents.
 2. Teachers are as follows: one (D.I.A.N.D.) in 1956, four (D.I.A.N.D.) in 1966, fourteen, including the adult educator, (G.N.W.T.) in 1973.
 3. The figures for 1966 are minimums; the source is ambiguous.
 4. The 1973 figures do not precisely agree with those shown in the Appendix, question 59, due to the refusal of one employee to be interviewed.
 5. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

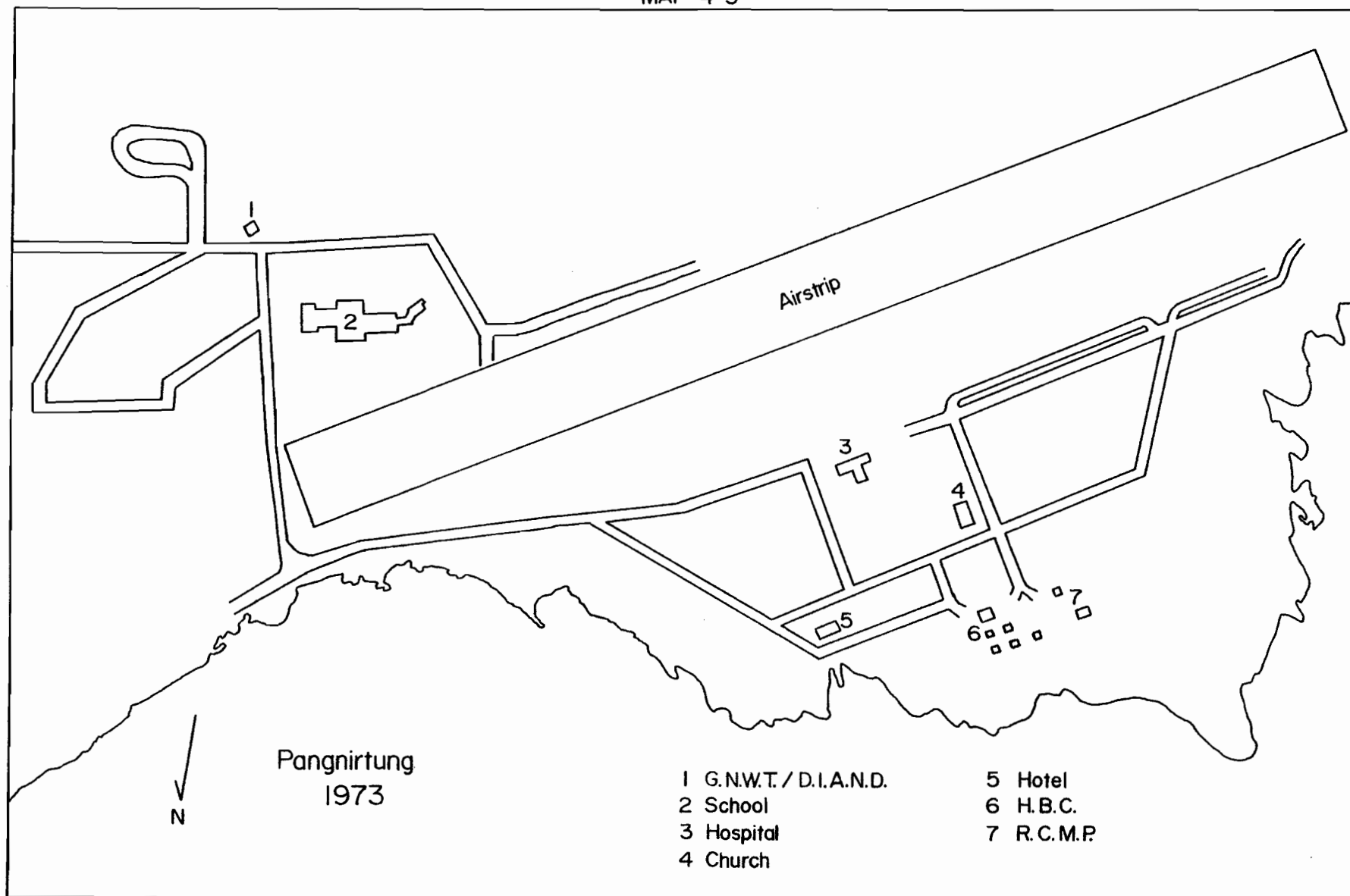
The growth in staff had the effect of more closely defining each person's role. For instance, in the 1950s the community teacher carried out administrative tasks in addition to his educational work where no local administrator was posted (Canada, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Annual Report, 1960, 25); welfare was handled in Cumberland Sound by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police until August, 1962, when it was taken over by the area administrator (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963). Even though one of the primary tasks of the government administrators was to foster local government, between 1956 and 1973 government staff in Pangnirtung rose from three to twenty-two (not including two westerners employed by the hamlet at the latter date); westerners hardly appear to be working themselves out of their jobs. Unfortunately, this is typical of the overall territorial situation which has seen government employment grow from just over 200 in 1953 (Phillips, 1967, 169) to about 5,000 in 1977 (Berger, 1977, 146); some 80% of the latter group is western (Ibid.).

The most notable attribute of Pangnirtung westerners is geographic, and related to the dominant feature of the townscape, the airstrip which cuts Pangnirtung approximately in half. The first western arrivals at the site, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Anglican mission, appropriated the most level, best drained land as their own. The first low-cost rental housing to be constructed for the Inuit also was located in this general area. Most of the early government employees were established in houses located near the school, inland from the first building sites. With the beginning of major construction in 1970 to enlarge the small emergency airstrip, some of the government houses

were moved farther inland. The inland area further expanded in subsequent years because most of the usable land on the fjord side of the airstrip was already taken. In the summer of 1973, there were seventy-six Inuit houses with 69% of the Inuit population and eight western residences with 45% of that population, including all non-government western employees, living on the fjord side of the airstrip. On the inland side, there were thirty-two Inuit houses, with 31% of the Inuit population, and sixteen westerners' houses containing 55% of that group (Mayes, 1973a). These locations are shown in Map 4-3.

A widespread recognition exists that the western residents of the Canadian Arctic play the most important role in interpreting and administering the policies of government, but relatively little information exists about either administrators or their attitudes: Parsons (Canada, 1970b) has conducted the most rigorous survey to date of the attitudes and definitions held by westerners resident in the North toward Inuit; Ross and Westgate (1973) offer some data about teachers; Brody (1975) offers an excellent qualitative survey. One element of the research program in Pangnirtung was therefore to obtain more than the readily apparent distributional information about the western residents of Pangnirtung. With his permission, the interview schedule devised by Parsons (Canada, 1970b), with only minor changes to reflect local conditions, was used to elicit information about the westerners. Like Parsons, no attempt was made to interview those whom he has characterized as "short term transients," thereby restricting the survey to those persons residing in Pangnirtung for more than a single season. In contrast to Parsons, the attempt was made to interview every adult westerner in the community, rather than a sample group. In the event, all but one of thirty-eight potential

MAP 4-3



respondents participated in the survey. The method used was to telephone or otherwise make an appointment in advance with a prospective respondent. The time taken for an interview ranged from about forty-five minutes to, in one case, four hours, with the average being about one and one-half hours. Married couples, and one set of twins, were interviewed as units; almost invariably one of the two would do most of the talking, with the other simply agreeing or not with what was said; to find any disagreement between husband and wife was rare. There was some initial suspicion about the survey when it was undertaken. This was overcome by guaranteeing anonymity of respondents, offering to omit questions found objectionable, or to drop the interview entirely after it was started if the respondent so desired. Only two or three respondents demonstrated any discomfort in the course of the interview, none refused to answer any question, and most seemed to enjoy the occasion.

In the spring of 1973, there were sixty-one residents of Pangnirtung not living in Inuit households; these people comprised the prospective respondents. The actual respondents were:

- 14 single individuals,
- 5 men married to Inuit or Indian women; only the men were interviewed,
- 16 married individuals (8 couples),
- 2 twins (1 set),
- 37 respondents.

The five Inuit and Indian wives, one person who refused to participate, and eighteen children under the age of eighteen years account for the balance of the sixty-one people. The questionnaire used, and the tabulated responses to each question, are presented in the Appendix; the following discussion summarizes the findings.

The adult western population in 1973 was young: seventeen were 29 or younger, only five age 40 or over; the average age was 30.5 years.

Twenty-two of the people had either a university degree or had spent some time studying at university; included in this number were four registered nurses. Eight people had not completed high school. Forty-six percent of respondents came from a town of 5,000 people or less; only 8% came from cities of over 500,000. Thirty-five percent of Pangnirtung westerners resided in Ontario immediately before coming to the community; 56% came from elsewhere in Canada. None of the westerners came to Pangnirtung directly from residence elsewhere in the Northwest Territories, though one of the respondents grew up in the territory. Twenty-seven percent of the population grew up in Ontario, 41% elsewhere in Canada, and 32% outside Canada, half of them in Britain. Of the thirty-seven respondents, 46% were Anglican, 11% Roman Catholic, and all but one of the rest some other Protestant sect. Nineteen of the respondents were female, the other eighteen and the one person who refused to be interviewed were male.

The population is mobile: 43% would not let family ties stand in the way of moving to a better job, 70% would not let friends stand in the way. The mean time spent by respondents in the North was 4.7 years; the mean time spent in Pangnirtung was 2.1 years. There were few "old timers": only four people have been in the North for more than ten years, only one in Pangnirtung for all of that time (he for fourteen years as of 1973). Twelve of the respondents have spent all of their time in the North in Pangnirtung. The reason most commonly offered for going north was for the adventure or general experience the move would offer. Fifty-four percent had a choice of settlement posting; the balance were assigned to Pangnirtung by their employer. Seventy-six percent of the respondents expected to leave Pangnirtung within two years; only two people wished to stay indefinitely. This compares with only 30% who expected to leave the

North within two years, and 35% who wished to stay in the region indefinitely.

In broad terms, 73% of the respondents liked Pangnirtung; only 11% disliked it. The people, the work, the physical environment, and the quiet slow-paced lifestyle were particular likes; the people, the isolation, and the lack of amenities were dislikes. Interestingly, of those who said they liked the people (21), twelve specified they meant the Inuit; of those who said they disliked the people (14), nine specified the other westerners. Deprivations perceived to be associated with northern life included friends, outdoor sports, the arts, good communication facilities, automobile driving, shopping, and a selection of fresh food. Eight people felt Pangnirtung was about as they had expected it to be before arrival. Twenty-one respondents felt it to be nicer/bigger/"better" than they had anticipated; four felt the opposite.

Ninety-five percent of the respondents said they read the settlement newspaper; 77% of those eligible to vote in the December, 1972, council election had done so. However, the majority of people (65%) did not belong to any of the organized activities in Pangnirtung, preferring more individual sports activity such as fishing, walking, and snowmobiling, and more individual social activity, such as visiting friends and partying. Badminton was the only organized sport of any popularity; 43% of the people said they went to community dances, and 51% to movies, either at the community hall or at the school. Forty-three percent claimed to be regular churchgoers. Fifty-seven percent of respondents felt that, on the whole, the westerners in Pangnirtung were a friendly group, but 27% did not.

In contrast to the generally favorable view of westerners and the rather high level of interaction among westerners, there was only limited contact with the Inuit. Ninety-two percent of respondents said they meet

and talk with Inuit at least once a day, but only 24% said they meet and talk with Inuit at least once a day away from work. Only nine people (24%) visit Inuit in their homes "often"; eleven (30%) never did. Only eight people (22%) said the Inuit visited them in their homes "often"; three (8%) said never. Interestingly, several respondents described Inuit children coming to the door to offer handicrafts for sale as "visitors."

No clear consensus existed as to major social problems in Pangnirtung. Excessive drinking of alcohol among the Inuit and cross-cultural relations in general were the only two problems to be mentioned by 25% or more of the respondents. When pressed to name a "most serious" problem, 16% said cross-cultural relations, and the same number said a lack of jobs for the Inuit. Given this lack of consensus, one should not be surprised that westerners had no clear idea how to remedy the problems. Eight spoke of unspecified "better" government policies, and another five favored "plodding away," waiting for the cure that time usually brings. When questioned about alcohol specifically, 46% of the respondents stated that the Inuit, especially the younger ones, had the greatest problem. However, 30% felt westerners, especially the teachers, had the greatest alcohol problem. There was widespread opposition to greater local availability of alcohol: 86% of respondents did not favor a beverage room in Pangnirtung, 86% did not favor a local liquor store, and 81% did not favor the local sale of beer. When questioned about cross-cultural relations specifically, 92% of the respondents stated that they felt there were social class divisions between the Inuit and westerners. Nineteen percent felt there were divisions among the westerners (several respondents characterized this as "cliques"); 73% felt there were divisions among the Inuit.

When asked to provide words or brief statements to describe the Inuit, the most common response was that they were like any other group of people. Other impressions were that they were honest, friendly, expressionless, moody, two-faced, had good family relationships, had self-respect, and suffered a generation gap. There was general agreement with stereotypical statements about Inuit: 73% felt Inuit would not "get ahead" unless they learned to plan for the future; 70% believed Inuit could not handle money properly; 51% felt Inuit were as impulsive as children in their general behavior; 59% thought that Inuit had less sense of responsibility in 1973 than before government initiated its welfare programs; 84% felt that Inuit had more trouble with alcohol than the westerners. Conversely, 89% did not agree that Inuit were too lazy or uncaring to participate in community affairs, and 62% did not believe Inuit needed more education to help in running the affairs of the community. There was uncertainty as to whether the Inuk was a better man on the land than he was a settlement dweller (35% agreed, 27% disagreed, 38% were undecided), but of those who agreed, 62% believed the increasing dependence on welfare in the settlement was the cause of decline. Westerners believed that the most important qualities that the Inuit of the future should have were, how to get along in westernized settlements (32%), a retention of pride in their cultural heritage (19%), a set of goals for their advancement (19%), and a sense of responsibility (22%).

Generally speaking, the respondents felt that government was doing a bad job administering the Inuit: 46% (71% of them government employees) offered this opinion. Only seven people (19%) felt the government to be doing a good job; five of these people were government employees. A further thirteen people (six of them employed by government) (35%) gave a limited

approval to government actions. The main things of positive benefit the respondents believed government had done were to bring the Inuit into settlements, with the housing, health care, and schooling that implied (30%), and to provide health care (30%). Twenty-two percent felt the provision of rental housing to be the most helpful government action. The most important things that government should be doing were said to be creating more jobs (27%), instilling a feeling of material reward being related to effort (27%), and offering a better public health/nutrition program (14%). Individual respondents were not entirely certain the westerners resident in Pangnirtung offered a "good example" to the Inuit: 41% felt they did, 32% felt they did not, 19% were undecided. In contrast, most individuals thought they themselves had something positive to offer the Inuit: 84% thought they could help the Inuit progress toward a better life by setting a good example for them, by providing them with an education, or by providing specific guidance in adapting to western society.

Analysis of Government Administration: 1956-1973

In the post World War II period, Cumberland Sound was typical of most areas in the Canadian Arctic. The important difference between Cumberland Sound and other areas is that it was probably somewhat richer in wildlife thereby allowing local Inuit a greater degree of economic and social independence and self-sufficiency than was possible elsewhere.¹¹ This phenomenon was all the more significant because it endured for a longer time in Cumberland Sound as a consequence of only minimal contact with the DEWline construction activity that greatly disrupted other areas. But in spite of

11. One must be careful to note, of course, that what is now and was in the postwar period considered "traditional" Inuit society was that of the fur trade period, not an "unremembered aboriginal past" (Berger, 1977, 86).

this, government regarded Cumberland Sound as just one more part of the Arctic, all of which was to be integrated into the anticipated mineral development, an outlook manifested locally in Ottawa's insistence that the Cumberland Sound Inuit be taught English to prepare them for employment as miners (see page 122).

The programs and projects that local administrators were to implement had shortcomings. Economic activity received the greatest attention, but change was shackled by Ottawa's determination to create wage paying positions as a replacement for hunting, to the exclusion of any attempt to make hunting itself a more viable occupation, whether as the basis or simply one component of the local economy. Within this philosophical constraint, the concept of basing new activities on the findings of area economic surveys, i.e., objective scientific analyses of the Arctic's resources and the ways in which they best could be utilized, was an excellent one. But the idea suffered from the limitations of the surveys themselves. The major shortcoming of all the reports was that

They were snapshots taken with the cameras of southern intruders, who spent a limited time on the surveys, but reported honestly and accurately what they saw. The information gathered was fitted into an economic framework based on the concepts and needs of a southern bureaucracy, charged with "helping the Eskimos". The Inuit perspective is almost entirely missing....(Lotz, 1976, 26).

Further:

The work of the area survey officers presents something of a paradox, for though it was intended to help the Inuit to make better use of the land resources, continuing government investment in the settlements was drawing more and more people away from the land (Ibid.).

The major shortcoming of the Cumberland Sound report is directly related to this paradox. The field workers were primarily interested in an academic study of the dynamics of seal hunting. While this was unquestionably a worthy research topic, it was not especially appropriate for an urbanizing

region. Although the authors clearly were empathic with the local people and the dilemma they faced in securing a livelihood, only the most superficial attention was given to the issue of what and how specific new activities could be integrated into the community even though the need for this consideration was clear: one of the main findings of the survey was that most biological resources were near or at their maximum level of sustainable exploitation. The only direction from the survey was a facile list of industries to be considered (see page 137) and a vague reference to an "...imaginative, well supported program of regional and community economic planning and investment" (Canada, 1967, 101). Therefore, new activities were limited in scope and number, and implemented within the terms of reference of less knowledgeable and perhaps less compassionate individuals than the survey authors.

Major emphasis initially was attached to handicrafts, especially as organized around a producer co-operative. Crowe (1974, 191) points out that co-operatives represented

...an important part of northern native society and of recent northern history. The idea of sharing, of local groups dealing with fishing, native handicrafts, hunting or house-building, is close to the old native way of doing things. Unlike other businesses, the whole aim of the co-ops is to help the members, their families, and their communities, and the results of co-op effort are open for all to see.

Because of the link with the old ways and the old economy, because of the small scale and local control, co-ops have offered northern native people a chance to deal with modern business matters in a partly native style, using their own language.

While the basic idea was sound, its execution in Pangnirtung has been no better than satisfactory. Initially, difficulty centered on the role of the arts and crafts officer, particularly his encouragement of carving. The officer was told by his superiors not to interfere with the co-operative's purchase of carvings, and the co-operative for its own part expressed no interest in receiving assistance from the arts and crafts officer (Files in

Pangnirtung. Letter, Frobisher Bay regional administrator to Administrator of the Arctic, December 15, 1968). As a consequence, two parallel operations dealing with carving came into being simply because the arts and crafts officer's mandate vis-a-vis the co-operative was not clear, to either party. By the summer of 1969, contact between the two was made to the extent, in fact, that by autumn the officer complained:

The managing of the Pangnirtung Co-operative seems to be taking up more of my time than I had anticipated. The Co-operative should be managing their own affairs. I will train a local person to handle their book-keeping (Ibid. Pangnirtung project supervisor's report, July-September, 1969).

So although the co-operative accepted help, and the arts and crafts officer gave it, this occurred after six months of fumbling for direction. Subsequently, the relationship was excellent, the arts and crafts officer's guidance being responsible for much of the success of the co-operative even though the overall relationship between handicrafts as an industry promoted by government, and handicrafts as one output of the producer co-operative, has remained obscure.

Related to this problem is the issue of government support for an institution it fostered. To suggest one example, why favor by the provision of infrastructure and direct subsidy a weaving operation in Pangnirtung by a southern business organization? The obvious alternative would be to carry out such an operation under the auspices of the co-operative, perhaps using the southern group on a consultant basis, thereby allowing any profit derived to remain in the community. Another example is provided by municipal services (sewage and garbage pick up). After being operated by the co-operative for several years, this service was put out to tender in March, 1973, by the Hamlet of Pangnirtung in line with the new responsibilities received at this level of local government. Two parties tendered; the co-

operative's bid to operate the service for one year was \$43,454 (Mayes, 1973a). After the two bids were examined by the hamlet, the hamlet itself decided to provide the service, which it did for a cost of \$37,205 (Northwest Territories, 1974; the hamlet received a grant from the Government of the Northwest Territories for \$50,151 to operate water delivery as well as sewage and garbage pick up services). While the tendering procedure was legally correct, it was hardly fair to the two parties who bid to have their estimates examined before the hamlet offered a bid of its own. Neither did the procedure yield a better and/or appreciably lower cost service to the community. It did, however, deprive the co-operative of a potential source of profit that could have been distributed to most of the adult residents of the community, or used to create local capital; the Hamlet of Pangnirtung, as a government, could not make a profit or "save" any excess grant revenue through investment. The overall effect of creating the co-operative, but not creating an environment in which it could flourish, was to limit the contribution it could make to the community.

Tourism represents the major economic endeavor initiated by government in Pangnirtung. Tourism was first specifically proposed as an addition to the Arctic economy in the series of area economic surveys. Most of the reports' authors recommended for the settlements under investigation the establishment of small tourist ventures, especially sport fishing and hunting camps. Most of the reports noted that fishing camps could be easily established (and the Ungava report noted that one had operated there since 1956 (Canada, 1958, 20)), but that the Northwest Territories game ordinance would have to be broadened to allow sport hunting. Any question of potential game depletion was regarded as avoidable by the institution of quotas, and

any question of encroachment on Inuit food sources by the required donation or sale to the Inuit of the meat from trophies.

Since the late 1950s, two distinct viewpoints toward Arctic tourism have emerged. One favors rapid expansion and a large industry, while the other favors slow growth and a small industry. The origin of the former view is found in the area economic surveys; as noted, most envisioned a future for tourism. In terms of Inuit welfare, tourism, insofar as guides and camp workers are required, is seen to offer not only wage employment, but a mechanism by which to preserve the skills acquired from a life on the land, but that are of no particular utility in settlement life. In economic terms, tourism is seen to have a "staggering" potential (Northwest Territories, Council of the Northwest Territories, Official Report, 7th Council, 51st Session, 10). Figures such as the following invariably are presented to support the contention that rapid growth is not only possible but is in fact taking place: in 1959, 600 tourists visited the Northwest Territories, and spent a total of \$350,000; by 1975, there were 21,000 tourists who spent \$10,800,000 (Northwest Territories, Annual Report, 1976, 57).

The second viewpoint, that favoring a small industry, has gained support from most observers for several reasons. The first has to do with job opportunities and incomes. K. J. Rea (1968, 95), in his first major study of the northern economy, pointed out that because a considerable training period would be required to produce capable tourist personnel, and because the absolute number of available jobs in tourism was limited, it would be easy to exaggerate the employment potential of the industry. This view has gained favor recently with reports that few Inuit have wanted to take government sponsored vocational training courses in tourist related

occupations (Northwest Territories, Council of the Northwest Territories, Official Report, 7th Council, 48th Session, 435), and that only a "limited number" want to participate in the industry at all (Prattis, 1974, 64).

One may speculate that at least part of the reason for this reluctance is that tourist guiding is not perceived by Inuit to be a desirable alternative to hunting as a means by which to preserve traditional skills.

Another factor favoring a small tourist industry is the absence in the Arctic of any tourist management expertise. Although the Government of the Northwest Territories definitely wishes to promote the growth of the industry (see for instance Northwest Territories, Council of the Northwest Territories, Official Report, 7th Council, 51st Session, 408), they also definitely recognize that rapid expansion will lead directly to southern control of the industry. Consequently, the territorial government has taken the position that growth will have to be slow so that northerners, particularly natives, can be effectively involved (Ibid., 412-13; 7th Council, 54th Session, 443). As well as providing the time to learn, it may also be necessary for government to accept that individual operations must remain small to allow effective native control, as opposed to simple participation. Prattis (1974), who examined this issue at an Inuit owned fishing camp in northern Quebec, demonstrated that any significant increase in visitor numbers from the 1971 level of twelve per week would probably not be viable for five reasons: (1) an insufficient workforce was interested in tourist/guide employment; (2) considerable capital investment would be needed to provide expanded accommodation and eating facilities; (3) reduced prices resulting from "mass" tourism would destroy the reliable market of clients who desired an "exotic" setting and exclusive catering; (4) the Inuk owner would be placed in an untenable social situation in the village

if he became "too wealthy"; and (5) the Inuk owner, for cultural reasons, could not supervise more than the current eight to twelve workers.

The Arctic environment also favors a small tourist industry. There is reason to believe that it will constrain the growth of tourism in several ways. First, for fishing camps, which are the most frequently mentioned kind of tourist operation, fish stocks can only be utilized at low levels as a consequence of slow reproduction (replacement) rates (Northwest Territories, 1972c, 3; Northwest Territories, Council of the Northwest Territories, Official Report, 7th Council, 51st Session, 411). Any overharvesting of the fish population will lower the number of trophy-quality catches, thus lessening the region's appeal to sport fishermen. Second, with respect to sport game hunting, the only change in the territorial game ordinance during the past fifteen years has been to permit sport hunters to take animals, such as polar bears, that otherwise would have been harvested by Inuit. Further relaxation of the ordinance is unlikely to occur unless it is initiated by the Inuit. Third, the Arctic climate has led to the creation of a highly seasonal industry: virtually all tourists visit the region in July, August, and September. Other income sources, as described by the research in Pangnirtung, are also highly seasonal. Fur and handicraft income are both highest in summer, though economic assistance is highest in winter, one would presume to compensate for the missing earned revenue (see page 283). Insofar as tourist income can only be obtained in the summer months, the present seasonal imbalance will be accentuated. While one would not suggest that increased income be refused simply to maintain some sort of seasonal balance in income, alternate sources of winter income might be more useful.

Whether obtained directly--through employment--or indirectly--through the circulation of tourist expenditures--tourism is expected to augment Inuit

incomes. Direct and indirect economic benefit stem from the number of tourists and the amount of money they spend. But in Pangnirtung in 1973, the \$23,500 spent by tourists constituted only 2.1% of Inuit income (see page 149). Wages from other sources--traded furs, handicrafts, and transfer payments--are all more important. Increased economic benefit can come only from an increased number of tourists, increased tourist spending, or both, and this could lead to social problems.

The idea that tourism might produce unwanted social costs in a recipient area is relatively new; one can therefore note that government has never considered what the social impact of tourism in the Arctic might be, but not be overly critical that they have not researched a question that has been generally ignored. But even if new, the idea is important. The conventional view has been that tourism is socially beneficial to recipient groups in that it widens their horizons by exposure to other people. One cannot doubt this would be regarded as an important positive attribute of tourism to a government interested in westernizing the (recipient) Inuit. But recent research indicates that the social cost of tourism could outweigh this benefit. The idea, though as yet poorly developed, is that high tourist numbers lead to local resentment of tourists by a process that is not entirely clear. Bryden (1973, 92-93) suggests that such resentment may stem from the comparison by the indigenous population of their usually lesser material wealth with that of the tourists, or from apparently unfulfilled government pronouncements of the economic benefit to be derived from tourism. As noted, high levels of direct contact are taken to be the first indicator of incipient resentment of tourists. Bryden offers two measures of contact, tourist arrivals per thousand population and tourist arrivals per square mile of land area. The Northwest Territories had in 1975 approximately 552 tourists/1,000 population (21,000/38,000;

Northwest Territories, Annual Report, 1976, 57; Northwest Territories, 1975b, 13). In the same year, the region had only 0.016 tourists/square mile (0.006 tourists/square kilometer) of total land area (1,304,903 square miles (3,379,698 square kilometers)). This, however, is not a meaningful measure because virtually all contact with tourists occurred in the settlements. There were sixty-nine settlements in the Northwest Territories in 1975 (Northwest Territories, 1975c), each of which one may estimate for discussion purposes to have had a mean area of about one square mile (2.6 square kilometers). On this basis, there were 304 tourist arrivals per square mile (117 per square kilometer) of "contact" land area in 1975. By both of these measures, the Northwest Territories exhibits very high densities when compared to twenty-seven "tourist countries" listed by Bryden (1973, 92-93). The inference is that resentment of tourists in the Northwest Territories is relatively likely. In this regard, one would not want to overlook the possibility that tourists comprise only one segment of a larger body of seasonal transients, such as construction workers and government administrators, all of whom might have the same sort of negative influence on communities.

Pangnirtung mirrors the territorial situation: 134 tourists visited the community in 1973, yielding about 188 tourists/1000 population (134/712) or per square mile (72/square kilometer) "contact area." These are both relatively "average" figures in comparison to Bryden's tourist countries, but since 1973 the numbers have risen with an increase in the number of tourists (see page 150). Unfortunately, in the absence of reliable population figures for Pangnirtung, the measures are impossible to calculate.

No statement of Inuit views toward tourism exist. Certainly at the time the House of Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern

Development considered the establishment of three northern national parks in late 1973 and early 1974, one would have expected some sort of statement. However, the only Inuit submission to the hearing, by Inuit Tapirisat, focussed almost exclusively on the propriety of creating parks in an area where land title has not been legally established.

For several reasons, then, one must conclude that the present small tourist industry should not evolve into a sizeable industry in the Canadian Arctic or in Pangnirtung. Tourism can best contribute to the regional and local economies as it does now, one small industry that, with others such as handicrafts and trapping, serves to diversify and therefore stabilize the economy. Any increase in tourist activity might bring increased economic benefit, but one must question whether this would offset the increased likelihood of unacceptable social costs.

Given the foregoing, one must also question the government presentation of the national park created in 1972 to the people of Pangnirtung as an institution of great importance (see pages 147-48). Even more important, however, is the confirmation offered by the way in which the park was established that present government policy in the Arctic is a direct temporal extension of the frontier policy detailed by Zaslow (see page 62), that is, one oriented completely to the national interest with no consideration of local interest. Even though Auyuittuq National Park will have "tremendous effect" on the people of Pangnirtung and Broughton Island, "...the government planned and decided without first consulting the people most affected" (Crowe, 1974, 214). Parks Canada states the reason for this:

...it is...questionable whether a participatory planning process operative at the regional and local scale on matters within the jurisdiction of corresponding levels of government is appropriate in balancing local interests with those of a government program operating with a national mandate in the national interest. For instance, if

after a participatory planning program the locally chosen alternative turned out to be in conflict with the national interest, two extreme results could happen; either the local interest would be overridden or the national interest would be adversely compromised. In the former, local involvement could be considered meaningless; if the latter occurred, important national interests could be jeopardized (Maslin, 1973).

For fear, then, that it could lead to irreconcilable confrontation, consultation with the local people was limited to informing them as to the projected impact of the park, as already designed and interpreted by Parks Canada; this was especially directed toward clarifying possibilities for employment. But even here, initial government efforts were largely unsuccessful due to inadequate explanation to the local people of government procedures. In one case, two Inuit were sent to Ottawa to be trained for employment in Pangnirtung, but in the event one of them could not be hired: a third person, the brother of one of the former two individuals, was employed for another position, and the government did not wish to put itself into a position where it could be accused of nepotism. In another case, thirteen men were enrolled for a "guide and warden training course," operated by the Government of the Northwest Territories adult education program, but instigated by Parks Canada (Mayes, 1973a). While the original intention was that this program be a training venture, in which the participants were paid \$112 per week while learning, it was construed locally as leading directly to a job with the park. In fact, only one participant was employed.

That the attitudes embodied in the creation of Auyuittuq National Park are not unique is confirmed by the implementation of two other government schemes, both of which were defended to the Canadian public as being for the benefit of the Inuit when in fact they were not. The first example is related to telecommunication facilities in the Arctic, a region where high

frequency radio, a notoriously unreliable channel, historically was the basis of the communication network. Consensus was reached at least by 1970, when a conference on northern communication sponsored by the government was held in Yellowknife between Inuit and other northerners and government, as to the general communication needs of the Arctic. These were (1) local radio broadcasting stations, with provision for local input of broadcast material; (2) reliable two-way telephone service with intra- and inter-community connections; and (3) programming in native languages (Mayes, 1973b, 685). The government response was to establish a system based on the Anik series of satellites. The immediate benefits were the provision of improved radio, television, and telephone service to communities that already had taped television or local radio broadcasts before the establishment of the satellite system. The majority of settlements, which were also the smallest and most isolated and which therefore had the greatest need for improved facilities, received no new services.

The second example, perhaps better known, is related to oil exploration. In this case, an affluent trapping community, Sachs Harbour, felt its livelihood to be threatened in 1970 by seismic exploration being proposed by two oil companies. For their part, the companies were acting in good faith and within the guidelines set down by government for such exploration. Ultimately, after considerable controversy, and in the face of clearly expressed Inuit opposition, the exploration was allowed to proceed (Canada, 1970a, vol. 3).

In both of these cases, clearly stated Inuit opinion was overruled and/or ignored by government. The reason is evident: national political priorities could not be compromised by localized opposition to them. Specifically, in the first instance, government had decided to base the

future telecommunication system of the country on satellites rather than land transmission facilities. The needs of the Arctic, which could have been met very inexpensively (Mayes, 1972, 128-34), simply provided a ready rationale for a very expensive project (\$90,000,000 was the figure quoted at the time (Ibid., 126)). In the second instance, northern non-renewable resource exploitation was favored by government at the expense of Inuit well-being. Oil was considered a useful source of energy, and a vital asset to the nation.¹² Fur trapping was considered an anachronism. That such a choice was made is also evidence of the contradiction implicit in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development mandate; the department has "...the dual role of encouraging such development and at the same time regulating it in the public interest" (Usher, 1974, 21-22). The practical effect of all such government behavior is, of course, to further and unnecessarily subordinate the Inuit to western culture.

The provision of direct health care to Pangnirtung is administratively notable for the misuse of existing facilities it represents, rather than for the provision of questionably beneficial new activities and facilities such as were undertaken in the economic sector. One cannot question that subsequent to World War II government did an excellent job under adverse conditions of extending medical treatment facilities into the Arctic. But no recognition seems to have been given by the government to the fact that the missions had provided health care before the Department of National Health and Welfare, and that pre-existing facilities should be integrated with the new. The government's health care scheme was based on the provision of a nursing station for every settlement, of hospitals for the larger

12. The haste to exploit the petroleum potential of Banks Island in 1970 is especially notable given the apparent state of Canadian supply: in June, 1971, the Minister of Energy, Joe Greene, said that Canadian oil reserves would last, at 1970 rates of production, for 923 years, those of gas for 392 years (Northern Perspectives, vol. 4, no. 1, 1976, 10).

centers such as Frobisher Bay, and transportation to southern hospitals for specialized treatment. Pangnirtung presumably did not need a nursing station; it had a mission hospital. But in 1972 the hospital was closed. At that time, the church charged that the government contention the hospital building presented a fire hazard was more or less trumped-up, so that a facility that did not fit into the system could be dispensed with; the government contended that the church had for some time wanted to close the hospital due to low occupancy, and the fire marshal's request for renovations provided a convenient excuse (Pangnirtung News and Views, April-May, 1972; Northwest Territories, Annual Report, 1973, 127). The facts remain that the structure existed, that government was not assigning patients to it, and that it could have been adequately renovated for about \$100,000. To replace the hospital, a two trailer "temporary" nursing station, with a capital value of \$28,000, was erected in 1972 (Files in Pangnirtung. File 301-3-A); this was replaced by a "permanent" station in 1974 at a cost to the nation's taxpayers of \$696,000 (Canada, 1975b, vol. 2, 32-25). One wonders whether the \$100,000 necessary to renovate the hospital would not have been more economic in the long run: the expenditure would have been far less, and the original facility would have been much more spacious. Further, it could have been used as a "real" hospital in future years as a growing population required additional facilities; the alternative was a commitment to expand the Frobisher Bay hospital with all that implies in a continuing expense to fly patients there, the separation of the ill from their families, and the hazard presented by variable flying conditions to quick removal (see page 341). One can only conclude that the government was unwilling to compromise its panarctic health care system even when a modification to it probably would have been the most inexpensive course of action and, most importantly, when

it would have offered the best service to the local population.

With respect to the administration of housing, education, and local government, Pangnirtung has suffered the same problems as other areas of the Arctic. Housing perhaps represents the ultimate absurdity of government policy implementation. Early government policy was absolutely committed to the idea that the Inuit were to have the same rights and responsibilities as other Canadians, which, rephrased, meant no special treatment. In terms of housing particularly, government obviously made the assumption that Inuit, just as most southern Canadians, wished to be homeowners. That this assumption in reality meant that a population known to be indigent, and obviously in need of special treatment, was expected to buy housing does not seem to have been considered: how were the Inuit to pay their bills? Whatever legitimate theoretical doubts the government may have had that giving the Inuit the housing would contribute to the creation of a dependent population, the idea of making them pay was simply ludicrous, and indeed had the effect of perpetuating rather than alleviating the inferior socio-economic status of the Inuit. Similarly ridiculous was the quality of housing provided: tiny, drafty, fire-hazardous ("matchbox") shacks. Again, no one seems to have questioned whether removing the Inuit from inferior indigenous housing and placing them in inferior western housing constituted an improvement; in fact it constituted only a change. One is forced to surmise that "western" was equated with "better" in the government view. Only with the institution of the rental scheme in 1966 was there any indication that government recognized these problems.

One must also question the morality of placing a people who were supposed to be equals into housing that was clearly inferior to that provided to government public servants. In Pangnirtung, the area administrator

noted that the Inuit were conscious of the disparity as early as 1967 (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, June, 1967). The exterior facades of housing for the Inuit and the government's western employees were equalized in 1973, but many interior furnishings remained different; the Inuit still did not receive running water, for instance. Lastly, the disparity between Inuit and western housing in the settlement is inconsistent with stated policy: "The need to rid northern communities of all forms of segregation is axiomatic" (Canada, 1972e, 34).

The education provided to Pangnirtung suffered from the same ethno-centrism as the housing provided to the community: western was equated with better. Even recognizing the need to provide more information about encroaching western society,

...the educational systems on the whole have been one-sided, designed according to southern ideas, and not adapted to northern native cultures and customs (Crowe, 1974, 197).

The extension of education to the North has too often been the product of good intentions and direct transfer of southern ways to the North. Subject matter and the language were typically imported without modification. The unfortunate mismatch between educational programs and native cultures in the North has been evident in a high dropout rate of native students. Students who managed to adapt to the education offered often found that they had increased difficulties in communicating with their families, for instance. Forfeiting the northern family culture, however, did not necessarily guarantee acceptance in a southern setting. Usher has noted that relatively few native students tend to obtain jobs in government and industry even though they have learned appropriate skills. On the other hand, it has been argued that native people will not even have the choice of entering into the economy of "mainstream" Canada if they are not exposed at all to the kind of education offered other Canadians (Canada, 1977b, 40).

The only attempt in the northern curriculum to retain a measure of formal education relevant to contemporary Inuit society is that of "cultural inclusion," an attempt to inject some appreciation of the Inuit heritage into the overall curriculum. But the program has not been well supported. In Pangnirtung in 1972-73, it received only \$2,000 (1%) of a total operations

and maintenance budget for education of \$205,204 (Weaver, 1973; Northwest Territories, 1974).

Local government has suffered first from the same ethnocentrism that has plagued other government activities in the Arctic: as the result of what Hughes (1965, 27) terms a "lack of concepts," there has never been any understanding displayed by government administrators that community decision making could take other than the western democratic/representative form. Second, and more especially, local government has suffered from an overdose of paternalism. Rowley recently stated:

Policies and administrative actions...not only must be good but also must appear good, with nothing about them that could arouse credible, even if unjustified, suspicion of any kind of coercion, either physical or psychological (Rowley, 1972, 205).

The most important action apparently taken to ensure that government activity in the North was good was the setting up of a system of local government based on community councils. In practice, the action was cosmetic, to ensure that the government looked good. As described in a handbook written for northern administrators, these councils

...are the nucleus of future settlement government. The normal concepts of municipal government and its evolution usually fall down in most northern communities, perhaps in large part because of our failures in the past to understand that the problems local residents feel are important may not be those considered to be of importance by the administration....

Local groups are generally concerned with local matters...time spent on discussion of things other than the solution of local problems can prove to be time wasted....

With the gradual evolution of councils, of people expressing their feelings and desire about the community, will come the desire for some degree of control.... (Canada, 1962, 8-9).

The handbook defined control as responsibility for money expenditures (Ibid.).

The interests, values, and goals of any group are always the result of experience and environment. The Inuit experience of, and their access to information about, western society have been severely limited (see pages 361-62

Consequently, their interest in local matters should not have been equated, as it has been, with an inability to cope with other matters. The attitude that dealing with external matters can be "time wasted" perpetuates the "need" for many decisions to be made by outsiders, and for "control" to rest with them as well.

To date, most decisions continue to be made externally, although indigenous interest in local initiative and self-determination clearly existed at an early date: in 1966, for instance, the Igloolik council asked that the administration of welfare be the responsibility of the local people (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 15 Eliz. II, vol. 10 (1966), 10097); in 1967, the Frobisher Bay council asked for the power "to do more than just sit around and talk" (Ibid., 16 Eliz. II, vol. 2 (1967), 1368). Manuel and Posluns (1974, 125), writing about Indian councils which are also subject to control by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, emphasize that the role of the councils is in fact limited to "...a band council resolution approving of the [externally decided] facts, after they had been accomplished." This process can have an extension. When councils approve the decisions already made by government, they are commended. When they do not, they are either manipulated into compliance, or simply ignored (Ibid., 177). Seemingly, therefore, government embraced only part of Rowley's warning (some years before he made it), that is, the idea that the form of their activity should appear progressive and be acceptable to the general Canadian public. The other part of the warning does not appear to have been heeded, because the content of government activity continues to be almost perfectly paternalistic: all important decisions are made by the national government, not the local people. Whether this constitutes an overt attempt to deceive, or

is rather a well-meaning but misleading attempt to inform the public is an open question. In any case, Rowley's "credible suspicion" is aroused.

Finally, and most importantly, the western ideological outlook is supported by western wealth. Money is, of course, the best measure of power in western society. The Inuit have little power because they have little money. The federal government has been extremely reticent to give up its power to spend the tax dollars it collects on the grounds that it is responsible for this money; quite reasonably it does not wish to give up its authority to spend and yet remain accountable for the actions of others. The policy for giving up control to the local councils of communities without or with only a tiny tax base has therefore been gradualist: Inuit are given more bits of control as their reward for increasingly assimilating themselves. Control is given as confirmation of government's belief that the Inuit will make the "right" decisions, that is, the same ones that westerners would have made. The alternative, never considered, is

...to put the decision-making authority, and the economic resources that go with it, into their own hands. Only then will there be a line clearly drawn between the evils of external control and our own normal human errors (Manuel and Posluns, 1974, 246).

With respect to public servants, all available evidence indicates that the great majority did their utmost to perform their duties to the best of their ability, that is, they put political policy into local practice as effectively as possible. To an extent administrators have been successful in their endeavor, and herein lies their collective failure. First, one must again question the entire notion of forcing Inuit assimilation into western society. Preceding chapters have dealt with westernization, showing it to be a long established precept of our society to recreate non-westerners in our own image. Politicians and senior administrators based in Ottawa at least have an understandable, if not forgivable, reason for this view:

their lives suffered none of the disabilities afflicting the Inuit, so what better strategy could there be than to extend their good fortune to others less fortunate. But local and regional administrators had no such excuse: they were resident in the Arctic, and had a direct and continuing view of Inuit society. This latter group should have recognized that wholesale westernization was not an appropriate strategy of change, and they should have said so. But of the local administrators posted to Cumberland Sound, only the first welfare teacher left any evidence of arguing that forced westernization might be unsuitable.

Part of the explanation for this behavior is that local administrators were as ethnocentric as their superiors: philosophically, they were incapable of seeing alternatives. An excellent example of this attitude is provided by A. F. Flucke, who was a government administrator resident in the eastern Arctic:

If the Eskimo is to play an important role in the development of the Arctic...then many of his old habits and customs must suffer drastic changes. Traditional ways must be discarded....(Flucke, 1963, 17).

Another part of the explanation is that although the local administrators did their jobs to the best of their ability, their abilities were limited. Many simply do not appear to have been intelligent and/or well educated enough to have generated any alternatives on their own initiative: the "imaginative" development envisioned by the area economic survey certainly was not provided by the local administrators. This is a rude proposition, but not without foundation: the record shows only rare instances in which local officials either proposed innovative programs or argued with their superiors that programs or projects devised by Ottawa were inappropriate. The group resident in Pangnirtung in 1973 is representative of this phenomenon: they were unable to articulate observed problems in the

community in more than the vaguest fashion (see page 189). However, they were willing to express strong opinion on several subjects about which they had no concrete knowledge (see the Appendix, questions 31 and 32, for example).

Other evidence supports the contention of limited ability. One industrial development officer was virtually illiterate. While this may not have impaired his ability to deal orally with the Inuit, he was undoubtedly incapable of communicating any useful ideas he had to his superiors. The police corporal posted to Pangnirtung in 1961 when the epidemic of disease broke out among the dogs showed, at the least, rather limited powers of observation, and at the most nearly criminal negligence. The evidence from Cumberland Sound conforms to the more general picture of northern public servants. Schultz-Lorentzen (1976), in a fictional account based on his experience as a public servant in the Arctic, depicts many of his fellows as outright simpletons. Brody (1975) and Vallee (1967) both describe various examples of insensitivity among westerners, especially in their cross-cultural relationships. The then Bishop of the Arctic, Donald Marsh, offered in 1961 this further comment:

If the man is successful from the Departmental point of view, it seems to be the policy of the Department that such a man is henceforth transferred to Ottawa. Increasingly, we find that these people...make the North serve as a stepping stone to an Ottawa job and, consequently, with their wives stay in the North for as short a time as possible (Anglican Archives, Marsh letter, unaddressed, November 10, 1961).

Without reference to the suggestion of placing ambition above service, which is presumably not a usual aspect of becoming a "public servant", one must acknowledge that the practical effect of the process Marsh describes is to remove the most capable people from the area where they can do the most immediate good. Such has been the case in Cumberland Sound which has witnessed the promotion to Ottawa of the two most sensitive and intellectually

capable area administrators. An important corollary of this kind of movement is that the most incapable people are left in the Arctic to put government policy into practice. Another corollary is that administrators not successful from the government point of view (that is, those who do not implement government policy exactly, as a result of sensitivity to the Inuit view) may be forced out of public service; a well publicized case of this occurred in 1972.

A rather obvious, if damning, conclusion may be drawn from all of this. A senior administrator, R. A. J. Phillips, offered that Canada's northern administrators "...had the advantage of coming late on the scene and of being able to profit from the errors of earlier administrations around the world" (Phillips, 1967, 171). However, there is not a shred of evidence not only that Canada's government learned from the others, but that it even wanted to try to learn. In the early 1950s, the most obvious and appropriate example of an administration that dealt with a non-western population that constituted a national minority group was provided by the Danish administration of Greenland. For two centuries, Greenland had been controlled by Denmark, under the principle that "...welfare of the Eskimos should receive the highest possible consideration, even override when necessary the interests of trade itself" (Jenness, 1967, 30). Though this idea was first interpreted as a preservation of the "noble savage" it has more recently become one of achieving a harmony between the Inuit and the western, rather than permitting the Inuit to be swamped by the majority western society. In 1953, the disparity between the well-being of Canadian Inuit and Greenlanders was glaring, the consequence of allowing the former to be the pawns of privately owned frontier resource extractors, while the latter had their best interest at least considered, if not always properly appreciated and/or responded to,

by their national government. The lesson would have been obvious to anyone willing to see it, but Canadian administrators were blind. Government greatly expanded its authority in the Arctic by creating a massive bureaucracy, and it replaced private industry as the direct ruler of the region and its people, but the effect was to intensify the historical process of utilizing the Inuit to extract wealth from the region: the well-being of the people themselves was never seriously considered. The measurable effects of this approach are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS OF POLICY: CUMBERLAND SOUND IN 1972-73

"Strangers at the Feast"

From an article on regional
development in The Economist,
January 25, 1975

In Chapter One, the suggestion was made that the Inuit of Canada have been substantially westernized as a consequence of historical events and recent government policy. Indirectly, population size and distribution have been altered; directly, economic activity and standard of living, and quality of life, particularly as reflected in health and education, also have been changed. This chapter describes these outcomes of policy and its implementation, as discussed in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. Insofar as possible time series of data begin in 1961 just before the epidemic of disease among the dog population instigated rapid urbanization and a major government presence in Cumberland Sound.

Population

Numbers

The major changes visible to the recent observer of the Cumberland Sound landscape are the centralization in Pangnirtung of the Inuit population and the substantial increase in the number of people living in the area. Figures describing the population of inhabited places in Cumberland Sound are presented in Table 5-1; the places are shown in Map 5-1. Between 1961, just

TABLE 5-1

THE INUIT POPULATION OF CUMBERLAND SOUND

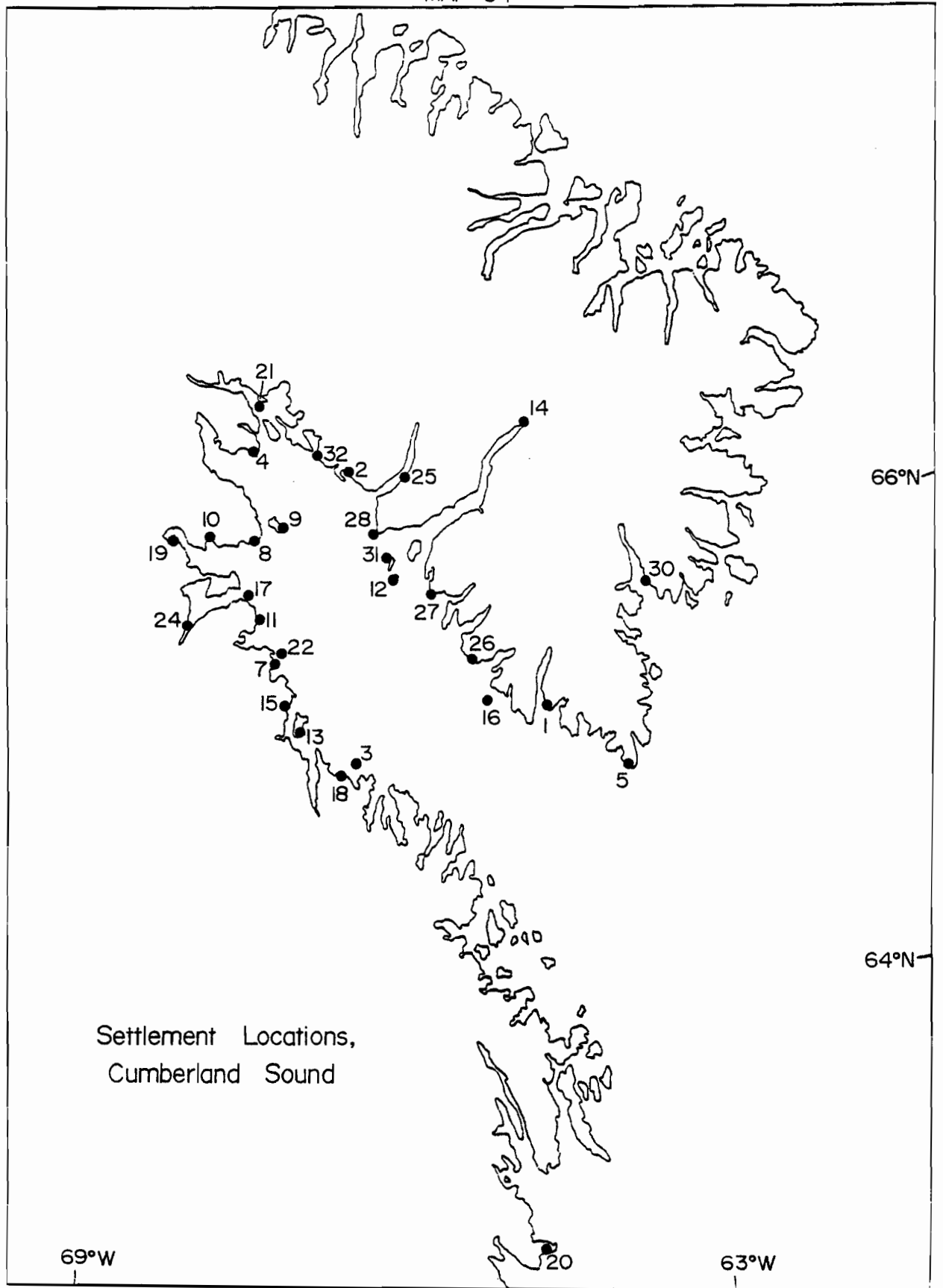
Place	Date: 1840	c.1851	1857-58	1877-78	1883	1894	1897	1900	1902	1904	1911	1924	1925	1927	1931	1938	1944	1951	1955	1956	1961	1962	1963	1964	1966	1967	1969	1970	1971	1973
1. Atraham Bay																	13													
2. Avatuktu																	23				44	43	42	33						
3. Blacklead Island (Umaragtuag)					20	171	260	194	194		102	10fam.		25	13															
4. Bon Accord (Anarnitung)					43							6fam.					66	56		66	52	51	62	46	35					
5. Cape Mercy																		23												
6. Ejujuajuin																														
7. Igloodalik																	19	16			30	36	44	27	13	21				
8. Ikaloalik (Qarussuit)					29												40	31			41	30	34	30	20	7				
9. Imigen					17							10fam.		20		40-50	39	46		40	39	36	52	42	37					
10. Karneatookjuak/ Livingston Fiord												5fam.																		
11. Keemee																									25	21	4			
12. Kekerten Island					62		140				109						26													
13. Kingmiksoon (Kamesuit)					11									41		70	18	9		42	51	45	44	50	28	6				
14. Kingnit																	31	4												
15. Kipisa																	33	37			46	43	46	33	35	33	25	40	28	28
16. Middlejuacktuak Islands																														
17. Newboyant																														
18. Niantilik																														
19. Nuvyabik																	19	11		28	18	28	32							
20. Nugumeute/Sinyah (New Gummiute)																														
21. Nunata																	39	31		38	30	14	11							
22. Nuvuyen					26																									
23. Oosoodluin																														
24. Opernavik (Olitivik)																	21	12												
25. Pangnirtung												20men			54-66		45	40-75	c.80	94	96	138	183	206	317-342	403	564	597	626	712
26. Shaumeer																														
27. Sukpeewasuktoo																					32	21								
28. Tesseralik																		16					17	28						
29. Toolooakjuak's camp												8fam.																		
30. Tuakjuak (Ukladliling)					40												20				25	22								
31. Twapine																					31	30	32	29	30	21				
32. Ushualik																	14	32												
Cumberland Sound	1000	1500-1600	300-350	under 400	245					380			350/ 65fam.	400			454	426-461			559	552	572	587	578-603	606	599	637	654	740

SOURCES: see next page.

TABLE 5-1, *Continued*

- SOURCES:
- 1840. Holland, 1970, 40.
 - c.1851. Boas, 1888, 17.
 - 1857-58. Holland, 1970, 40.
 - 1877-78. Kumlien, 1879, 12.
 - 1883. Boas, 1888, 18.
 - 1894. Lewis, 1904, 216.
 - 1897. Canada, 1967, 157.
 - 1900. Lewis, 1904, 304.
 - 1902. Canada, 1967, 157.
 - 1904. Canada, 1906, 137.
 - 1911. Canada, 1912, vol. 1, 511.
 - 1924. Canada, 1967, 157; Canada, 1930b, 54, 63-65.
 - 1925. Canada, 1967, 157.
 - 1927. Canada, 1967, 157; Canada, 1934, 85.
 - 1931. Canada, 1967, 157; Canada, 1934, 163-65.
 - 1938. Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Annual Report, 1938, 103.
 - 1944. Canada, 1967, 150.
 - 1951. Canada, 1967, 150.
 - 1955. Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 1. Report of the Officer in Charge, Eastern Arctic Patrol, September 16, 1955.
 - 1956. Canada, 1967, 157.
 - 1961. Canada, 1967, 150.
 - 1962. Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Letter, Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. Corporal to Officer in Charge, Frobisher Bay, March 8, 1962.
 - 1963-1971. Files in Pangnirtung. Eskimo Identification Disc List, District E6--Pangnirtung. Annual, compiled by the Pangnirtung R.C.M.P. detachment. 1966. Canada, 1967, 150.
 - 1973. Mayes, 1973a. Census conducted in March.

MAP 5-1



NOTES: See next page.

NOTES for Map 5-1:

1. Numbers refer to the list of places presented in Table 5-1.
2. Ejujuajuin and Oosooadluin are mentioned by Kumlien (1879) but cannot be located.
3. Toolooakjuak's camp is reported in Southern Baffin Island (Canada, 1930b, 65) to have been, in 1924, forty miles south of "Kimetsuet" (Kingmilksoon) and that twenty miles farther to the south was Blacklead Island. The distances are impossible: the suggestion therefore is that the source has a typographical error and Toolooakjuak's camp *is* Kingmilksoon; it cannot be otherwise located.

before urbanization began, and 1973 the regional population grew by 32%. Two processes account for this change, a decline of the rates of births and deaths, and migration.

Birth rates for Canada, the Northwest Territories, and Inuit in the eastern Arctic are presented in Table 5-2 and in Figure 5-1; death rates for the same areas are presented in Table 5-3 and in Figure 5-2.¹ Inuit birth rates in the early 1960s were nearly double the 35/1000 annual rate for Inuit in the period 1936-40 reported by Robinson (1944, 140). But between 1961 and 1973, the birth rate among Inuit in the eastern Arctic fell by about 42%, returning to about the level of forty years earlier. Death rates in the early 1960s were identical to the 23/1000 annual rate reported by Robinson (Ibid., 142) for Inuit in the period 1936-40. Subsequently, the rate of Inuit deaths in the region fell by about 70%. Crude natural increase in 1936-40 was 12; in 1961 it was 42, attributable entirely to the rise in the birth rate; in 1973, the rate was 30.9, a decrease from 1961 of approximately 27%.

In general, industrialization is accompanied by a now familiar demographic process of four stages. In the first stage, both birth and death rates are high, resulting in relatively stable population numbers. In the second stage as a direct result of the introduction of improved medicine, the death rate declines while the birth rate remains high, leading to an increase in population numbers. It is important to note that in Europe and North America, medicine advanced as a part of overall change, in conjunction with improved housing, diet, etc. However, in other parts of the world,

1. The assumption is made that vital statistics for the eastern Arctic approximate conditions in Cumberland Sound, which itself has such a small population that any vital statistics for it alone are virtually meaningless.

TABLE 5-2
BIRTH RATE (PER 1000 POPULATION)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic Inuit</u>
1973	15.5	32.1	37.4
1972	15.9	32.5	35.4
1971	16.8	35.7	37.7
1970	17.4	40.5	
1969	17.6	38.0	48.8
1968	17.6	41.9	56.5
1967	18.2	41.7	60.0
1966	19.4	40.0	54.4
1965	21.4	46.8	59.8
1964	23.5	50.6	64.5
1963	24.6	48.4	59.8
1962	25.3	47.3	61.0
1961	26.1	48.6	64.0

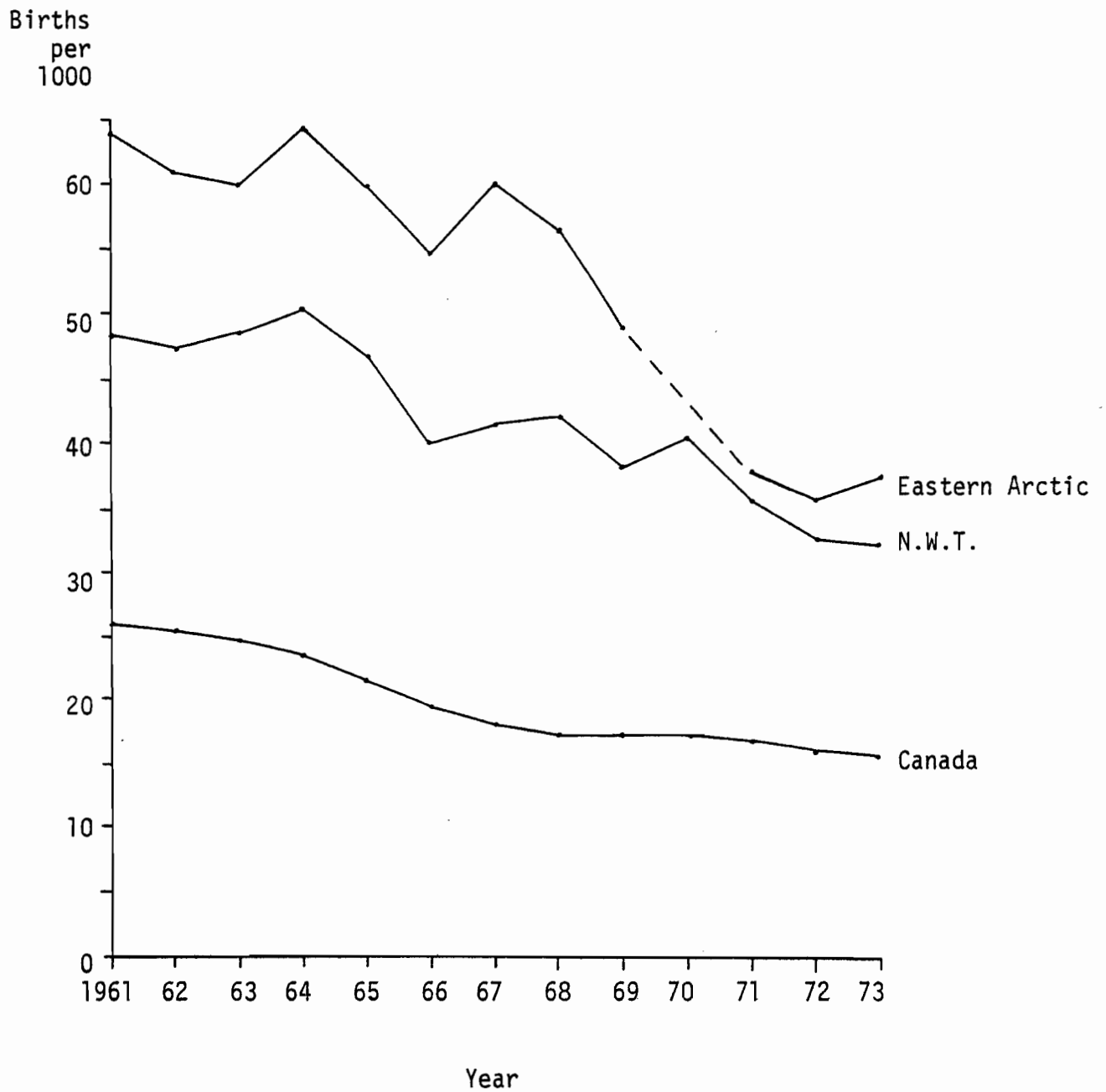
SOURCES: Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1963-1972.

Canada, Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics. Catalogue 84-202. Canada Yearbook, 1974, 171; 1975, 174.

Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1973, 1974.

- NOTES: 1. Eastern Arctic, 1966 and earlier, figures for all Inuit.
2. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-1
BIRTH RATE



SOURCE: Table 5-2.

TABLE 5-3
DEATH RATE (PER 1000 POPULATION)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic Inuit</u>
1973	7.4	6.0	6.5
1972	7.4	6.9	8.8
1971	7.3	8.5	8.0
1970	7.3	7.7	
1969	7.3	6.8	9.9
1968	7.4	7.4	10.9
1967	7.4	7.5	10.5
1966	7.5	7.7	12.6
1965	7.6	7.2	11.1
1964	7.6	8.8	14.8
1963	7.8	11.1	17.4
1962	7.7	13.0	23.0
1961	7.7	11.0	22.0

SOURCES: Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1963-1972.

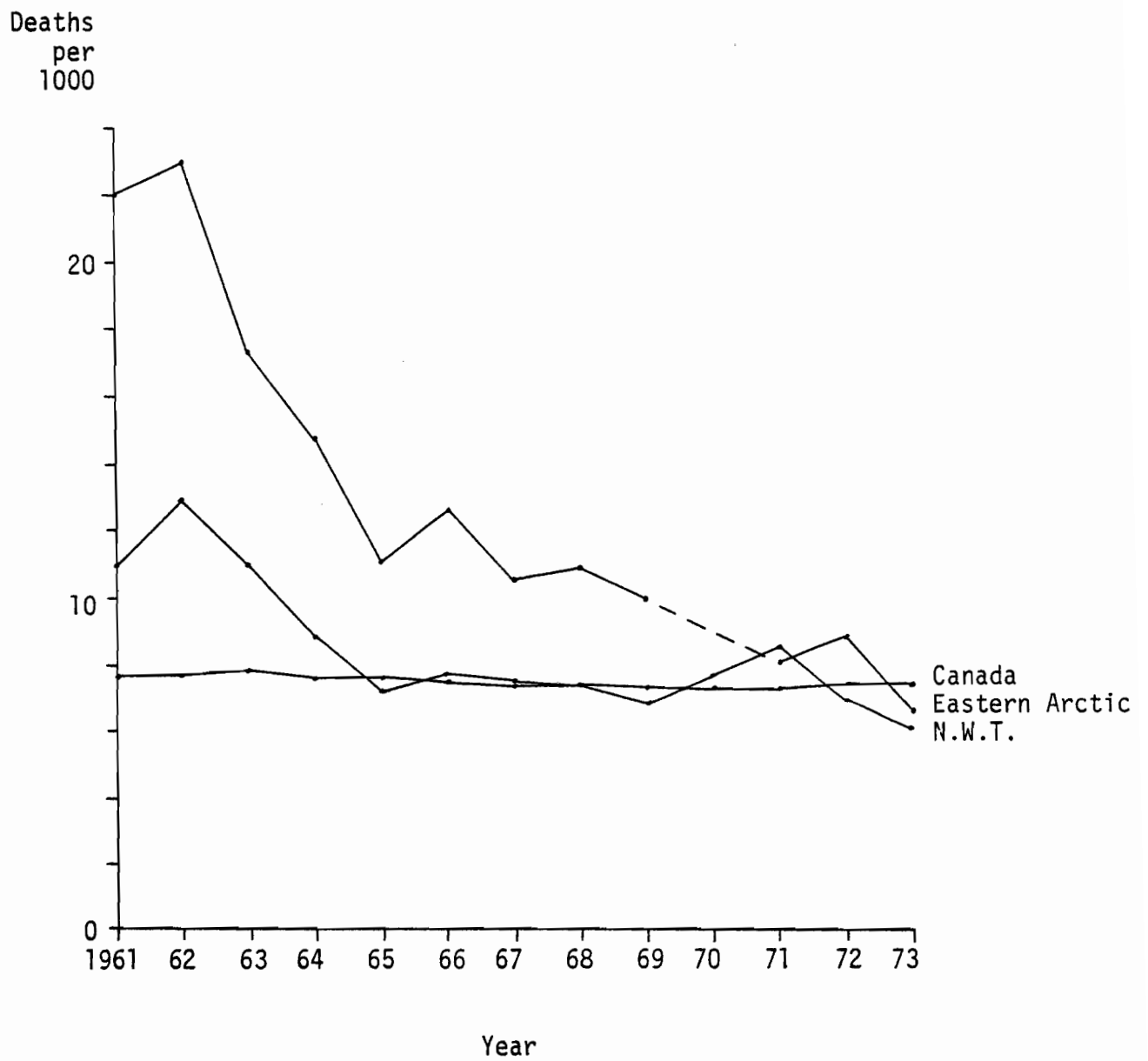
Canada, Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics. Catalogue 84-202. Canada Yearbook, 1974, 171; 1975, 174.

Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1973, 1974.

- NOTES: 1. Eastern Arctic, 1966 and earlier, figures for all Inuit.
2. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-2

DEATH RATE



SOURCE: Table 5-3.

including the Northwest Territories, modern medicine, followed by the associated decline in death rates, was introduced independent of other economic and social change. The third stage is characterized by a decline in the birth rate; as the need for many children as a basis for social security disappears, and as individual material aspirations increase, voluntary family limitation tends to spread. Again, in Europe and North America this was one of many coincidental changes in economy and society. But in areas such as the Northwest Territories, where modern medicine was simply transferred from the external world, recent research indicates that visible economic improvement must precede a drop in birth rates. Birth rates will not drop, in spite of increased individual material aspirations, until a new productive system is demonstrably secure enough to preclude the need for many children. In the fourth stage, death and birth rates are both at low levels, but the number of people in the again stable population is much higher than in the first stage as a consequence of death rates falling in advance of birth rates. The Inuit of the eastern Arctic now appear to be in the third stage: the death rate is stable at a bit below the overall Canadian rate, and the birth rate is falling, though it is still as high as it was reported to be forty years ago. One may speculate that, *ceteris paribus*, the birth rate, which soared between 1936-40 and 1973, has reflected the availability of family allowances after 1946 which made children economically valuable, and more recently the declining relative importance of this source of income for most Inuit.

From the foregoing, one would expect to find that the population of the study region has increased significantly since 1961. This has in fact occurred, but perhaps not at the rate it might have, due to out migration, termed by Schaefer (1966, 47) as "large scale", especially from the western

Cumberland Sound camps, to Frobisher Bay. In 1966, for instance, at least seventy-nine people from the study region were resident in Frobisher Bay, but over how long a period of time they moved there is impossible to determine (Files in Pangnirtung. Eskimo Identification Disc List, District E7A--Frobisher Bay, 1966). During the period between approximately spring, 1973, and autumn, 1974 ($1\frac{1}{2}$ years), thirty-four people moved into the study region, while sixty-seven moved out, a net loss by migration of thirty-three. During the same period, some two dozen people moved between Pangnirtung and Broughton Island. No more accurate information than this is available, but the suggestion is one of out migration at some indeterminate but probably low rate.

Structure

Age and sex figures for Cumberland Sound are shown in Table 5-4 and Table 5-5 for the years 1966 and 1973, respectively. These figures are presented as pyramids in Figure 5-3 and Figure 5-4. In 1966, 50% of the Cumberland Sound population was under the age of fifteen; by 1973, this figure was 49%, an insignificant drop. If birth rates continue to fall regularly, as they have over the past few years, one would expect to see a reduction in the number of children; this will show as a narrower base on the pyramids.

The large number of children of non-productive age is important in that they create an economic burden for the rest of the population: they, and usually those few people over about age sixty-five, must be supported by the working adult population. Children are expensive: they consume food, clothing, and housing. When families are large, expenditures for essentials tend to be relatively high, and on non-essentials and amenities relatively low. Overall economic growth is impaired if increased production and

TABLE 5-4
POPULATION STRUCTURE, 1966

<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Cumberland Sound</u>
0-4	M	62
	F	60
5-9	M	52
	F	50
10-14	M	38
	F	38
15-19	M	35
	F	37
20-24	M	18
	F	17
25-29	M	20
	F	16
30-34	M	25
	F	18
35-39	M	20
	F	20
40-44	M	9
	F	13
45-49	M	11
	F	8
50-54	M	3
	F	2
55-59	M	5
	F	6
60-64	M	4
	F	3
65 and over	M	3
	F	6
Total		599

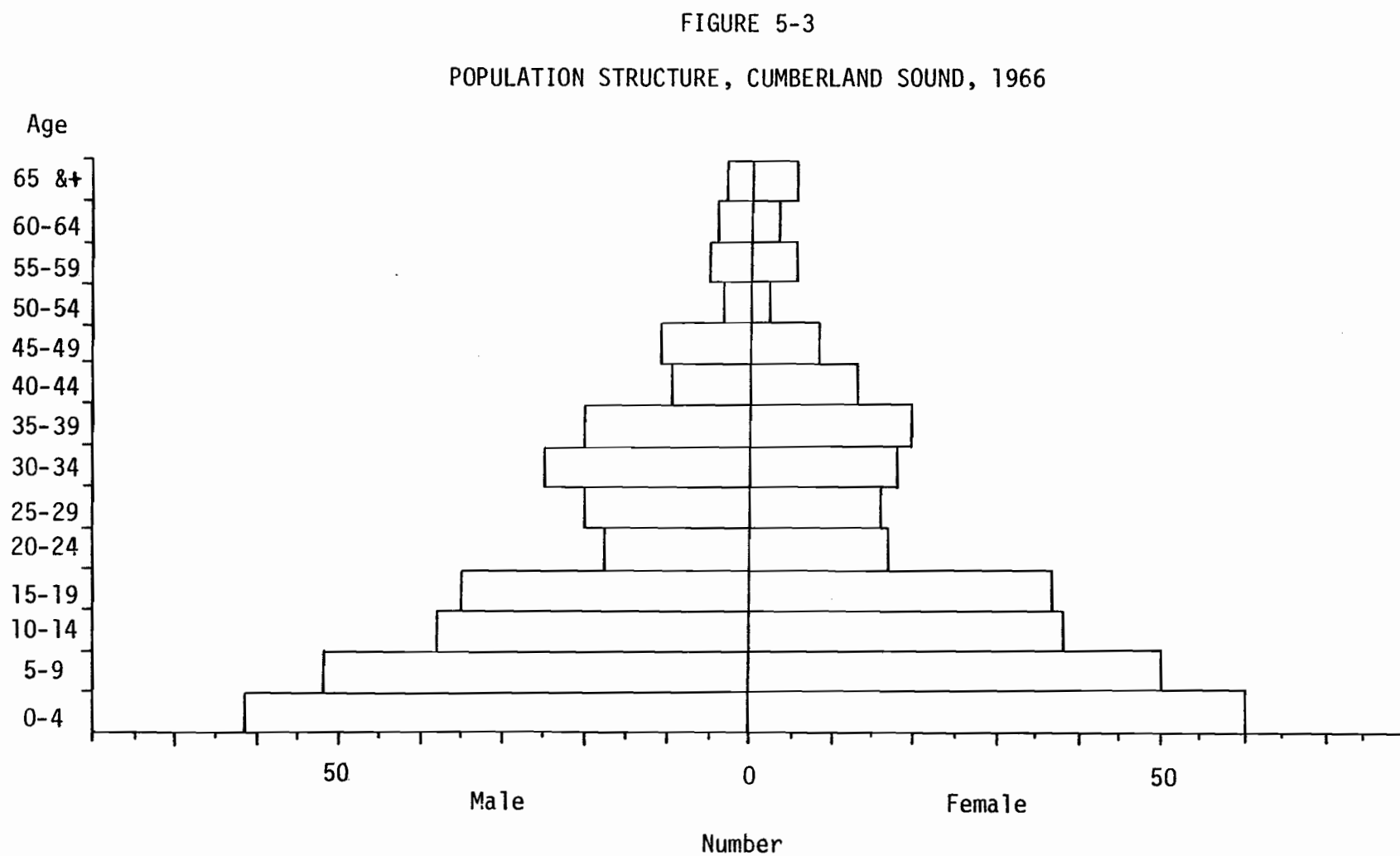
SOURCE: Canada, 1967, 155.

NOTE: The figure of 599 given here does not match that of 594 given on page 154 of the area economic survey due to an addition error. Neither does 599 agree with the figures given for the year 1966 in Table 5-1; the R.C.M.P. count was made in January, that of the area economic survey in August.

TABLE 5-5
POPULATION STRUCTURE, 1973

<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>+ Kipisa</u>	<u>= Cumberland Sound</u>
0-4	M	63	1	64
	F	52	3	55
5-9	M	51	3	54
	F	78	1	79
10-14	M	57	1	58
	F	46	4	50
15-19	M	40	-	40
	F	38	3	41
20-24	M	36	4	40
	F	33	1	34
25-29	M	21	1	22
	F	16	1	17
30-34	M	21	-	21
	F	18	-	18
35-39	M	17	-	17
	F	14	1	15
40-44	M	20	-	20
	F	16	-	16
45-49	M	9	1	10
	F	10	-	10
50-54	M	-	-	7
	F	12	1	13
55-59	M	9	1	10
	F	2	-	2
60-64	M	6	-	6
	F	3	-	3
65 and over	M	5	1	6
	F	8	-	8
N. A.		4	-	4
Total		712	28	740

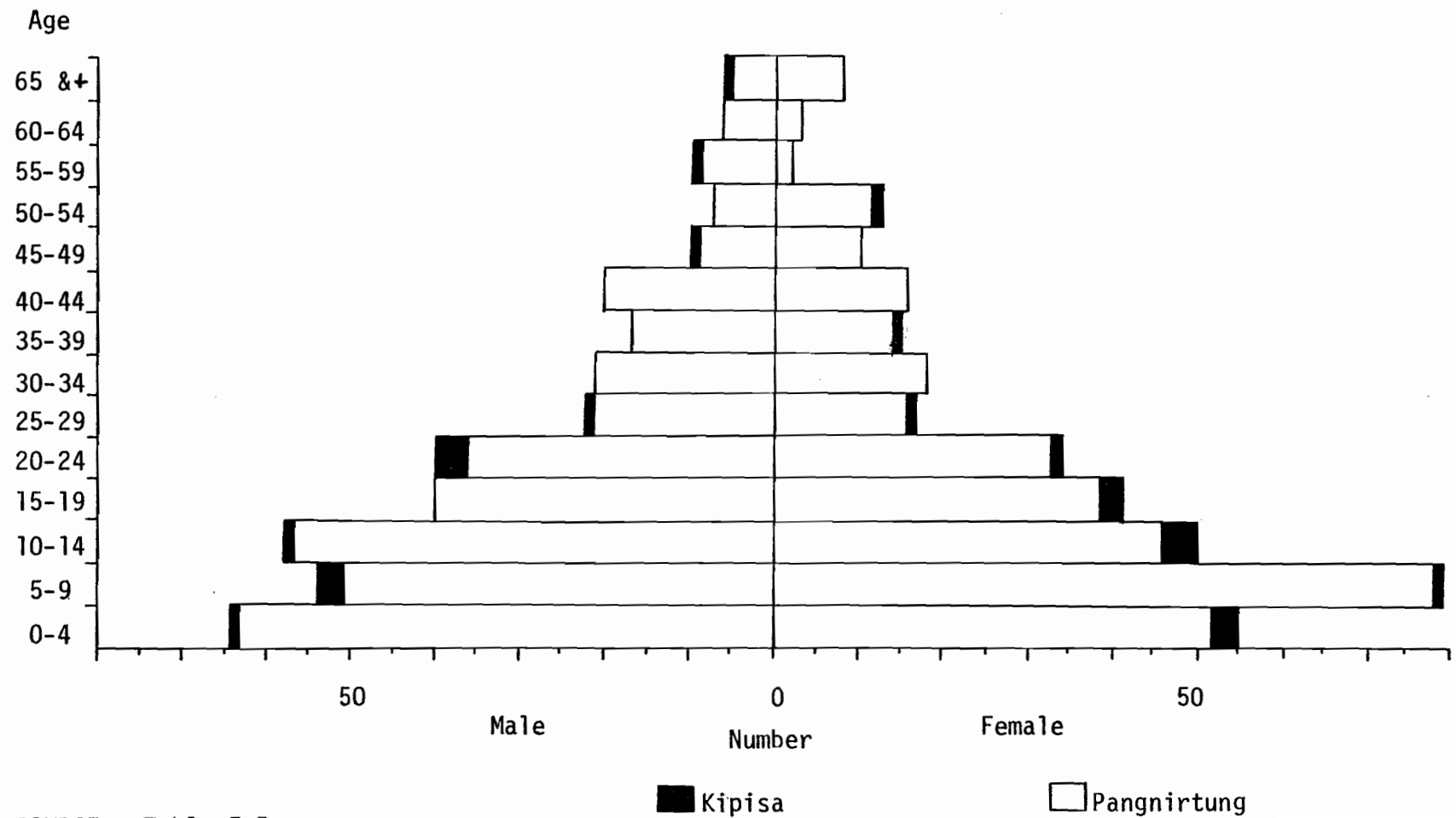
SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.



SOURCE: Table 5-4.

FIGURE 5-4

POPULATION STRUCTURE, CUMBERLAND SOUND, 1973



SOURCE: Table 5-5.

investment must be used to maintain a given standard of living for more people before it can act to raise the overall standard. As well, at about age fifteen, people enter the labor market. If the number of such people each year is large, jobs are less likely to be available for them, and unemployment and/or underemployment will necessarily result. Large numbers of young people competing for jobs may also serve to reduce the overall wage level and thereby help perpetuate conditions of poverty.

A discussion of family size suffers from variations among the sources in the method used to define "family." A household (those people resident in one house) is used in this study, and apparently in the area economic survey (Canada, 1967) and in the 1911 census (Canada, 1912). The Baffin Island Manpower Survey (Canada, 1972b, 9) considers only those persons who are related as being in families, which results in a larger number of families being counted than would have been the case using the one house definition. What method was used in the 1956 settlement survey (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956), by Christensen (Canada, 1953), and Schaefer (1966) is impossible to determine. Nonetheless, the average number of persons per family appears to be slowly increasing, as shown in Table 5-6. This assertion would be further supported if the manpower survey's average figure was slightly higher, which it would be if they had used households as defined here, rather than related persons.

Settlement Pattern

The most notable characteristic of population distribution in Cumberland Sound over the past ten years is urbanization, a process linked to the increasing adoption of sedentary occupations. Only a very few hunting camps of any significance were abandoned prior to 1965, but only five years later,

TABLE 5-6
FAMILY SIZE

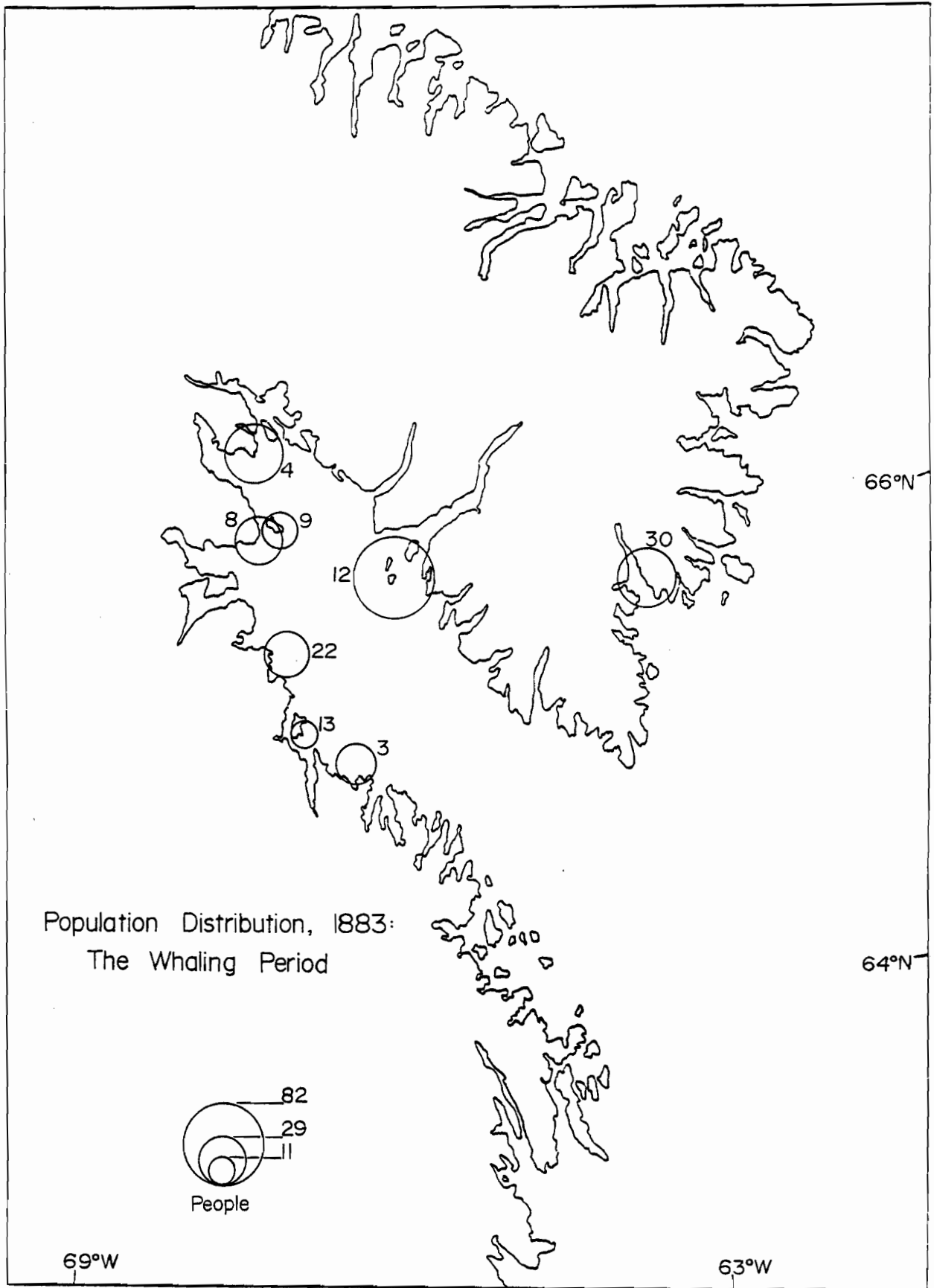
<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>People per Family</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	6.6
1969	Pangnirtung	5.6
1966	Pangnirtung	5.0
1966	Cumberland Sound camps	5.6
1964	Cumberland Sound	5.0
1956	Cumberland Sound	5.3
1951	Baffin Island	4.7
1911	Blacklead Island	4.3
1911	Kekerten Island	3.5

SOURCES: Canada, 1912.
 Canada, 1953.
 Canada, 1967, 153.
 Canada, 1973a.
 Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements,
 Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.
 Mayes, 1973a.
 Schaefer, 1966, Table I.

in 1970, the process of centralization in the region was essentially complete. Map 5-2 through Map 5-4 show the shift in distribution between the whaling period, 1883, and the urban period, 1973, as enumerated in Table 5-1.

As noted in Chapter Four, several events precipitated the migration into Pangnirtung that began in Cumberland Sound in 1961-62. In that winter, an epidemic of disease killed most of the dog population. At the same time, the first civil administrator arrived in Pangnirtung, and a school was built. As well, the first autoboggan was imported in 1962, providing a technology to replace the decimated dog population. The result of these events was to make a subsistence livelihood based on hunting both difficult and less desirable at the same time that indirect pressure was placed on the Inuit to move from hunting camps into the settlement: education and health care facilities were provided only in that location. As explained elsewhere (see pages 134 and 276), however, only in 1965 did substantial permanent migration occur. Further, even as late as 1966 the area administrator, although noting that the "poorer" camps had recently come into Pangnirtung due to "deteriorated" hunting, still hoped to keep people out of the settlement because there was so little chance to secure employment there (Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 2. Letter, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, May 15, 1966). Whether through overt encouragement, the attraction of an easier life with western amenities and facilities, or some combination of these factors, essentially all Cumberland Sound people had migrated to Pangnirtung, or to Broughton Island or Frobisher Bay, by 1970. Almost without exception the settlements that grew up in the eastern Arctic in this period, including Pangnirtung, had no economic base; they were simply expanded administrative centers originally

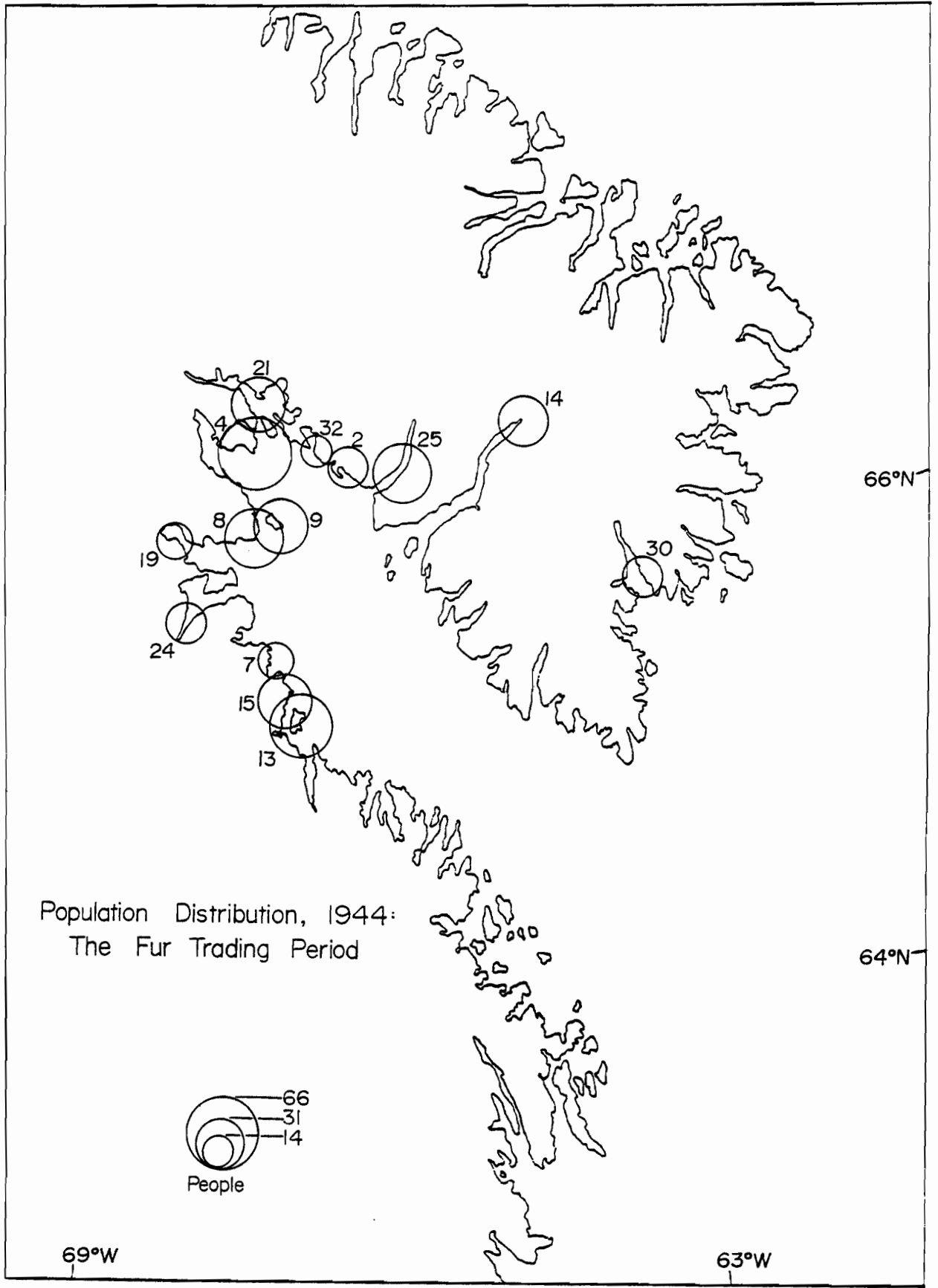
MAP 5-2



SOURCE: Table 5-1.

NOTE: Numbers refer to Table 5-1.

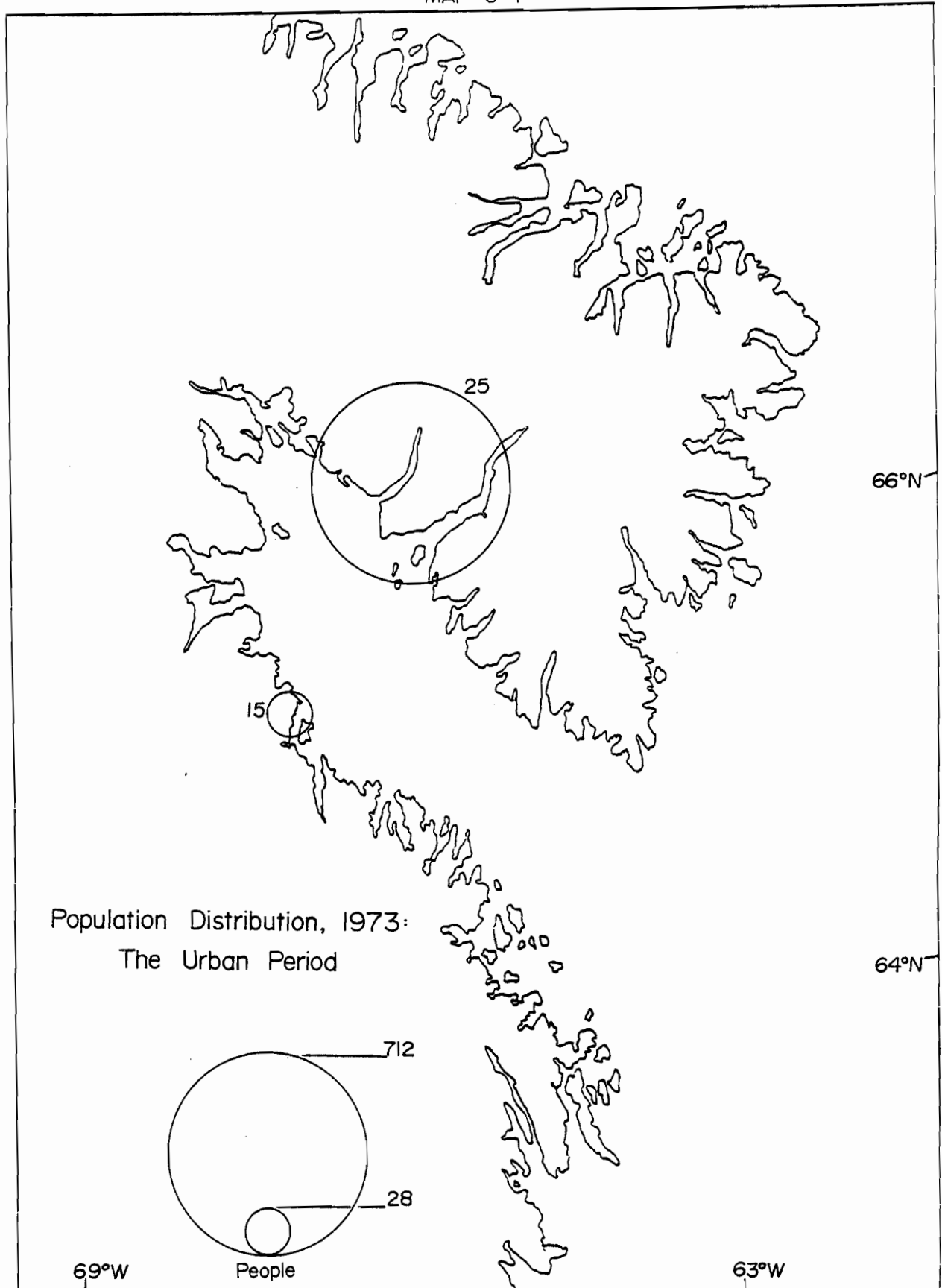
MAP 5-3



SOURCE: Table 5-1.

NOTE: Numbers refer to Table 5-1.

MAP 5-4



SOURCE: Table 5-1.

NOTE: Numbers refer to Table 5-1.

developed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the missions, the police, or the military, a situation that was to create problems in the years ahead.

One should note that one Inuit hunting camp, Kipisa, has remained inhabited during the period of urbanization. That it has is attributable almost wholly to the leadership of one man, Nowyook. At least as early as 1964, although he was described as a "Dictator," the area administrator noted that he was responsible for a higher than average standard of living, that the tents were clean and in good condition, and that the camp had several fine hunters; all of this at a time of increasing poverty in the Cumberland Sound camps (Files in Pangnirtung. Camp patrol--Pangnirtung, August 21, 1964). The location of the camp is a further factor in its favor: caribou are common just inland (Ibid.; see also page 134, note 6) and the floe edge in winter is generally closer to Kipisa than to most other campsites (Haller, 1967, 118). The camp is also located, in terms of travel time, almost exactly midway between Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung. Several trips yearly are made to each place for provisioning and visiting: the camp, organized around Nowyook and his children, has relatives in each place.

Economy

As was pointed out in Chapter Three, the creation of new economic activity to replace hunting has been the first priority of the federal government's administration of the Inuit in the postwar period. The most recent declaration of this objective was made in 1972, when government stated its primary goal in the North:

To provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations (Canada, 1972e, 10).

Within this general objective, the alleviation of poverty is considered the "most pressing problem" (Ibid.).

The government outlook is consistent with the ideas of economic development current in the western nations after World War II. A well known economic development textbook confirms this:

If our interest in the development of a poor country arises from our desire to remove mass poverty, then we should...emphasize as the primary goal a rise in per capita real income....(Meier, 1970, 7).

The belief implicit in this approach is that if material betterment takes place, various social improvements will follow.

Economic Status of Individuals and Families

Individuals

Per capita income is accepted and used as an indication of economic well being by most economists. Though the measure has shortcomings it gives the best idea of what power the average individual has to purchase goods and services in the marketplace. Recent per capita personal incomes for Canada and Cumberland Sound are listed in Table 5-7 and shown graphically in Figure 5-5. Between 1948 and 1972, Canadian per capita income rose by 406%; per capita income in Cumberland Sound rose 1348% in approximately the same period. The substantial increase in the Arctic is, of course, in large part a consequence of the very small absolute figure in 1948-51. It is nevertheless obvious that there has been a great increase in personal income during the twenty-four year period. However, while much progress is visible, recent incomes are still much smaller in the study region than in Canada generally; Inuit per capita income in 1972 was only about 26% of the Canadian average.

Statistics Canada indicates the 1973 cost differential between Montreal and Pangnirtung was substantial: if an index of 100 is attributed to Montreal,

TABLE 5-7

PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOMES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Per Capita Income</u>	<u>Per Capita Income, Canada</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	\$970	3751
1969	Pangnirtung	578	2912
1965-66	Cumberland Sound	415	2151
1964	Cumberland Sound	412	1932
1956	Cumberland Sound	76	1365
1948	Baffin Island	72	923

SOURCES: Canada, Statistics Canada. Canadian Statistical Review,
Catalogue 11-003.

Canada, 1953.

Canada, 1967.

Canada, 1973a.

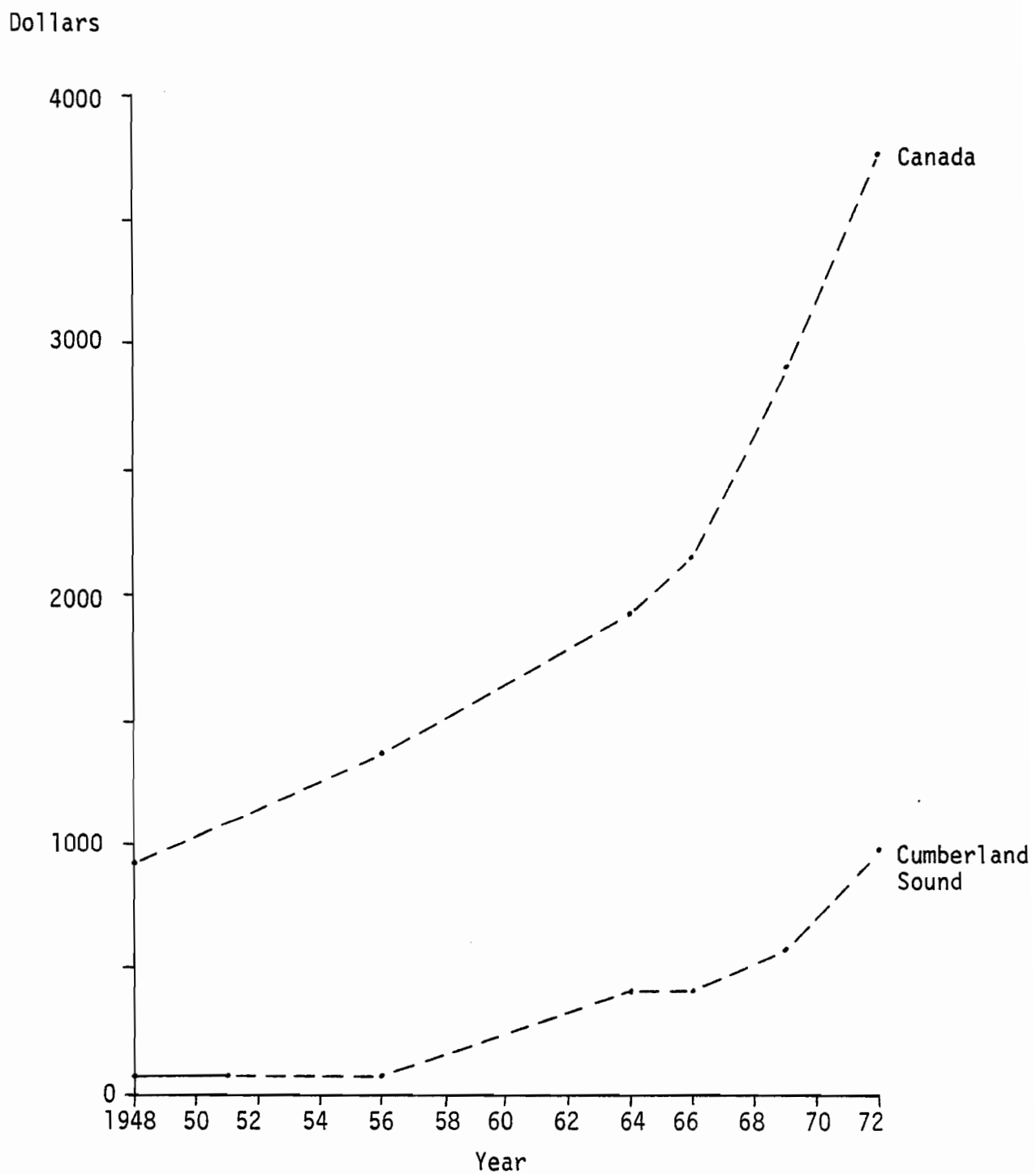
Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements,
Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.

Mayes, 1973a.

Schaefer, 1966, Table 1, and page 50.

NOTE: The 1948 Baffin Island figure is the annual average for 1948-51.

FIGURE 5-5
PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOMES



SOURCE: Table 5-7.

Pangnirtung's index is in the range 150-159.9 (Canada, 1975a, 164; the range reflects the imprecision of the measure). If, for discussion, Pangnirtung's index is taken to be 155, the per capita income had a purchasing value of only 65% of that of Montreal. This reduces real per capita income from \$970 to \$630, or only 17% of the Canadian average.

In 1973, an economic survey was conducted among five families in Pangnirtung (see page 242). The forty-one people involved in this survey had an estimated per capita income of \$1,189. This compares with a per capita income, for the same group, of about \$733 for the year 1972, an increase of about 60%.² Other than the missing handicraft information,² the increases are the result of substantial salary increases for the heads of two families and the acquisition of fairly regular wage employment by two other people, one in each of two additional families.

The \$1,189 per capita income of the survey families compares with an estimated \$970 for the community as a whole. This difference is considered spurious and probably is accounted for by the survey families' recent wage increases and acquisition of new wage employment; the average of the families' 1972 and 1973 incomes is \$961 per capita, almost exactly the 1973 village figure. Averaging 1973 and 1974 incomes likely would produce a similar result, in relation to some hypothetical 1974 village average, as any fluctuation in income will always be more noticeable in the smaller of two groups.

Families

The Inuit family has been considerably larger than the recent Canadian average of about 3.9 (1941) or 3.7 (1971) (Canada, 1972d, 23). The large

2. Based on Government of the Northwest Territories fur records, and information provided by the informant families. Figures for 1972 do not include income from handicrafts.

number of people in an Inuit family, presently about 6.6, acts to raise Inuit family incomes relative to the Canadian average. In spite of this, Inuit family incomes in Cumberland Sound, presented in Table 5-8 and in Figure 5-6, were only 46% of the Canadian average in 1972. Between 1948 and 1972, Canadian family income increased by about 395%, while the increase in the study region was about 1917%. As with per capita income, the large increase in the Arctic is substantially attributable to the low absolute figure in 1948-51.

Of considerable interest is the changing nature of Inuit family income, shown in Table 5-9 and Table 5-10. Although the data utilized are only generally consistent one can see that the general trend has been one of declining hunting income associated with movement to a settlement. This process is particularly noticeable if one compares nearby Broughton Island, where the initial attraction was the DEWline site with its wage employment, with the Cumberland Sound region where wages in 1956 comprised a very small part of income. Wage income, including proceeds from handicraft production, has increased in importance in Cumberland Sound since 1965-66, when major urbanization was only beginning, until it accounted for 65% of income in 1972-73. As the relative importance of wages has increased, the importance of traded furs and transfer payments has, of course, decreased. The relative value of furs in 1972-73 was one-half what it was in 1956 though the absolute value of furs at the latter date was much greater; similarly, the relative importance of transfers has been halved over the nearly two decades.

As noted above, a detailed economic survey of five Inuit families in Pangnirtung was conducted over a period of thirty-one weeks (January 2-August 8) in 1973, the objective being to clarify the economic status of Inuit families at differing levels of westernization. The composition of the

TABLE 5-8

FAMILY PERSONAL INCOMES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Income, Canada</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	\$6404	13879
1969	Pangnirtung	3250	11357
1965-66	Cumberland Sound camps	1737	8389
1965-66	Pangnirtung	2473	8389
1964	Cumberland Sound	2060	7456
1956	Cumberland Sound	403	5187
1948	Baffin Island	334	3507

SOURCES: Canada, Statistics Canada. Canadian Statistical Review,
Catalogue 11-003.

Canada, 1953.

Canada, 1967.

Canada, 1973a.

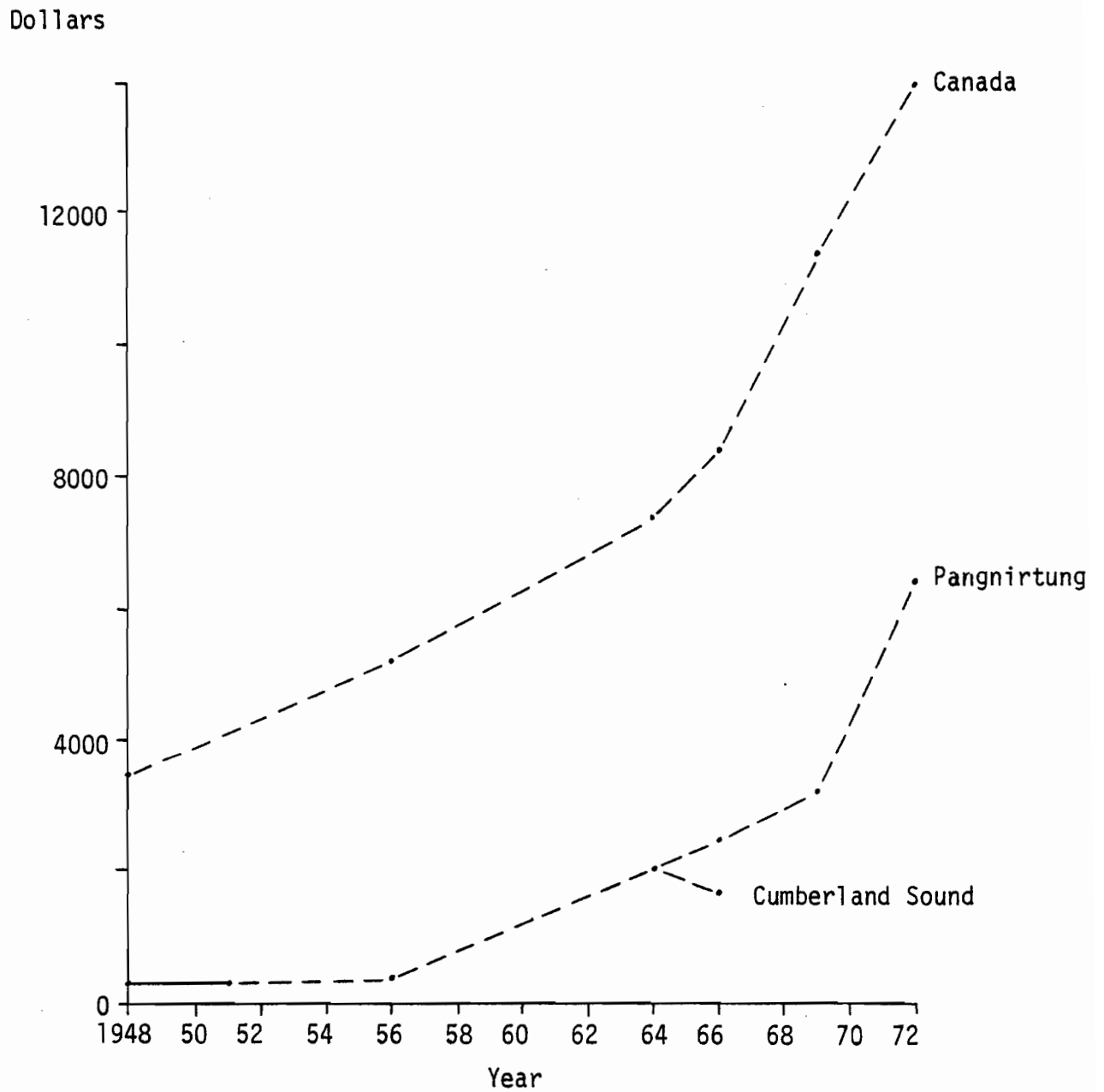
Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements,
Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.

Mayes, 1973a.

Schaefer, 1966, Table 1, and page 50.

NOTE: The 1948 Baffin Island figure is the annual average for 1948-51.

FIGURE 5-6
FAMILY PERSONAL INCOMES



SOURCE: Table 5-8.

TABLE 5-9
SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Fur Trade</u>	<u>Handi- crafts</u>	<u>Trans- fers</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	\$3372	912	796	1316	-	6396
1969	Pangnirtung	1698	505	289	385	372	3249
1969	Broughton Island	2538	59	109	266	111	3083
1965-66	Pangnirtung	1353		443	677	-	2473
1965-66	Cumberland Sound camps	193		910	634	-	1737
1965-66	Broughton Island	1884		573	437	-	2894
1956	Cumberland Sound	27	115	-	177	83	402
1948	Baffin Island	70	81	-	183	-	334

SOURCES: Canada, 1953, 22b.
Canada, 1967, 196.
Canada, 1973a.
Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements,
Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.
Table 5-31.

NOTES: 1. The 1948 Baffin Island figure is the annual average for 1948-51.
2. The 1972-73 total does not agree with the \$6404 shown in Table 5-8 due to rounding. There were 108 Inuit families in 1973.
3. The 1965-66 handicraft figures are included with fur trade income.
4. The 1956 miscellaneous figure includes all transfer income except that from family allowances.

TABLE 5-10
SOURCES OF FAMILY INCOME (PERCENTAGES)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Fur Trade</u>	<u>Handi- crafts</u>	<u>Trans- fers</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	52.7	14.3	12.5	20.6	-	100.1
1969	Pangnirtung	52.2	15.5	8.9	11.6	11.5	99.7
1969	Broughton Island	82.3	1.9	3.5	8.6	3.6	99.9
1965-66	Pangnirtung	54.7	17.9		27.4	-	100.0
1965-66	Cumberland Sound camps	11.1	52.4		36.5	-	100.0
1965-66	Broughton Island	65.1	19.8		15.1	-	100.0
1956	Cumberland Sound	6.8	28.6	-	44.0	20.6	100.0
1948	Baffin Island	21.0	24.3	-	54.8	-	100.1

SOURCE: Table 5-9.

NOTES: 1. The 1948 Baffin Island figure is the annual average for 1948-51.

2. The 1965-66 handicraft figures are included with fur trade income.

3. The 1956 miscellaneous figure includes all transfer income except that from family allowances.

families is presented in Table 5-11. Information concerning incomes and expenditures was collected from the families on a weekly basis through a questionnaire completed by them.

Incomes and expenditures for seven months, as reported by the five families, are presented in Table 5-12. That the families reported an average of 83% of incomes (generally few and large sums) as expenditures (generally many and small sums) is remarkable given that they had not previously kept similar records. Unfortunately, not all income was reported by the five families, as verified with Hudson's Bay Company fur trade records, employers' payroll records, etc. Only bingo winnings, by their nature, and income from handicrafts, due to the unavailability of co-operative records, could not be checked for accuracy of reporting.

Verified incomes, along with reported incomes, both for the seven month period, are shown in Table 5-13; reported account for 79.9% of verified incomes. Because verified incomes are higher than reported incomes, reported expenditures account for an average of 67% of verified incomes, compared with 83% of reported incomes, as shown in Table 5-14.

While a small sum of unreported money undoubtedly was expended as church offerings, there is no reason to believe virtually all of the expenditures unaccounted for should be other than of the same nature and proportions as the reported expenditures. No large purchases, for instance a snowmobile, went unreported, but only telephone and house rental expenditures can be verified with other records. Accordingly, the difference between verified incomes and reported expenditures, as given in Table 5-14, has been distributed among the categories of expenditures in the same proportions as the reported expenditures, yielding adjusted seven month expenditure figures; these are shown in Table 5-15.³

3. Rent and telephone payments were deducted from both verified income and reported expenditures prior to the distribution of unaccounted funds. Because these expenditures could be verified, no additional money could be attributed to them.

TABLE 5-11
THE SURVEY FAMILIES

	January, 1973			August, 1973			Occupation of Head of Household:
	<u>A</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Family 1	3	6	9	2	5	7	Full time wage
Family 2	5	5	10	5	6	11	Full time hunter
Family 3	4	1	5	5	2	7	Full time wage Part time carver
Family 4	2	6	8	2	6	8	Part time hunter Part time carver
Family 5	2	6	8	3	7	10	Full time wage
	16	24	40	17	26	43	

Key: A: Adults, age 18 and over
C: Children, age 17 and under

For computational purposes, the average number of people per family is:

Family 1: 8
Family 2: 10
Family 3: 6
Family 4: 8
Family 5: 9

Total: 41

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

TABLE 5-12
FAMILIES' REPORTED INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES

	<u>Incomes</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Expenditures/ Incomes</u>
Family 1	\$6909.58	6011.16	87%
Family 2	3372.22	2954.01	88
Family 3	4285.46	3879.95	91
Family 4	3404.50	2696.69	79
Family 5	<u>4980.12</u>	<u>3609.24</u>	<u>72</u>
	22951.88	19151.05	83%

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: Information is based on 31 weeks data for Families 1-4, 29 weeks for Family 5.

TABLE 5-13
INCOMES, BY SOURCE (7 MONTHS)

	<u>Head wages (net)</u>	<u>Other wages (net)</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>Traded Furs</u>	<u>Carving</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1							
Reported	\$6029.88	484.35	236.00	117.00	-	42.35	6909.58
Verified	7788.04	484.35	236.00	214.00	-	246.35	8968.74
Family 2							
Reported	44.64	-	110.00	1491.00	15.00	1711.58	3372.22
Verified	44.64	-	110.00	1771.00	15.00	1743.58	3684.22
Family 3							
Reported	2517.56	-	504.50	95.00	1152.00	16.40	4285.46
Verified	2880.42	-	504.50	2654.00	1152.00	96.80	7287.72
Family 4							
Reported	1135.57	88.37	-	688.00	1051.50	441.06	3404.50
Verified	1135.57	88.37	-	1024.00	1051.50	509.06	3808.50
Family 5							
Reported	3779.68	654.00	81.00	-	-	465.44	4980.12
Verified	3779.68	654.00	81.00	-	-	465.44	4980.12
Total							
Reported	13507.33	1226.72	931.50	2391.00	2203.50	2691.83	22951.88
Verified	15628.35	1226.72	931.50	5663.00	2203.50	3076.23	28729.30

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: "Other" category includes all transfer payments.

TABLE 5-14
 VERIFIED INCOMES AND REPORTED EXPENDITURES (7 MONTHS)

	<u>Verified Incomes</u>	<u>Reported Expenditures</u>	<u>V.I. - R.E.</u>	<u>R.E./V.I.</u>
Family 1	\$8968.74	6011.16	2957.58	67%
Family 2	3684.22	2954.01	730.21	80
Family 3	7287.72	3879.95	3407.27	53
Family 4	3808.50	2696.69	1111.81	71
Family 5	<u>4980.12</u>	<u>3609.24</u>	<u>1370.88</u>	<u>72</u>
	28729.30	19151.05	9578.25	67

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

TABLE 5-15
EXPENDITURES, BY CATEGORY (7 MONTHS)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Tele- phone</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>General Merch.</u>	<u>Gas and Hunting Equip.</u>	<u>Snow- mobile Parts</u>	<u>Enter- tainment</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>Savings</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1											
Reported	\$1266.64	378.96	63.14	391.50	1561.05	1054.57	663.55	71.75	560.00	-	6011.16
Adjusted	1961.67	585.99	63.14	607.40	2418.75	1634.26	1027.33	110.20	560.00	-	8968.74
Family 2											
Reported	554.10	275.60	97.38	221.95	708.30	637.94	261.74	61.00	136.00	-	2954.01
Adjusted	703.06	349.35	97.38	281.83	898.15	808.81	331.84	77.80	136.00	-	3684.22
Family 3											
Reported	600.53	240.82	59.22	452.50	1083.43	967.52	205.43	30.50	240.00	-	3879.95
Adjusted	1173.04	469.14	59.22	881.88	2115.98	1887.62	399.67	61.17	240.00	-	7287.72
Family 4											
Reported	657.42	267.56	47.68	9.50	645.76	592.66	276.11	64.00	136.00	-	2696.69
Adjusted	948.71	385.41	47.68	13.94	931.50	855.05	398.41	91.80	136.00	-	3808.50
Family 5											
Reported	710.28	218.92	52.54	191.50	1421.82	197.08	1.10	96.00	560.00	160.00	3609.24
Adjusted	1035.18	318.99	52.54	279.24	2072.98	287.56	1.10	139.87	560.00	232.66	4980.12
Total											
Reported	3788.97	1381.86	319.96	1266.95	5420.36	3449.77	1407.93	323.25	1632.00	160.00	19151.05
Adjusted	5821.66	2108.88	319.96	2064.29	8437.36	5473.30	2158.35	480.84	1632.00	232.66	28729.30

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

The verified incomes and adjusted expenditures, shown in Table 5-13 and Table 5-15, respectively, are shown as percentages in Table 5-16 and Table 5-17, respectively. For discussion purposes, all of the figures for seven months have been extrapolated to one year estimates in Table 5-18, Table 5-19, Table 5-20, and Table 5-21. The important attributes of the families' economies are these:

1. Average family income was \$9,751, compared to the village average of about \$6,400 (see Table 5-8 and Table 5-9).
2. Wages accounted for almost exactly one-half of all income.
3. Traded furs accounted for about one-quarter of all income.
4. The head of Family 2 was a competent, full-time hunter, but traded furs brought in only 50% of the income required by the family.
5. The head of Family 3 provided through full-time wage employment almost exactly the same income as his son through full-time hunting.
6. Expenditures for food constituted about the same percentage of income for all five families, roughly 20%.
7. Expenditures for tobacco were about one-third of the expenditures for food.
8. Family 5 did not hunt. Family 1 hunted only on weekends.
9. Family 5 did not operate a snowmobile.

Two of the families had a nearly "average" income, while the other three were above the village average. Each of these latter families had at least two people earning money full time, whether by hunting, carving, or working for wages, while a number of Pangnirtung households had no one or (including the two "average" survey families) only one such person. The wages of the families (not including income from handicrafts) provided almost exactly the same percentage of income as the village average (50.8%

TABLE 5-17

ADJUSTED EXPENDITURES, CATEGORIES AS PERCENTAGES (7 MONTHS)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Tele- phone</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>General Merch.</u>	<u>Gas and Hunting Equip.</u>	<u>Snow- mobile Parts</u>	<u>Enter- tainment</u>	<u>House Rent</u>	<u>Savings</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	21.9	6.5	0.7	6.8	27.0	18.2	11.5	1.2	6.2	-	100.0
Family 2	19.1	9.5	2.6	7.6	24.4	22.0	9.0	2.1	3.7	-	100.0
Family 3	16.1	6.4	0.8	12.1	29.0	25.9	5.5	0.8	3.3	-	99.9
Family 4	24.9	10.1	1.3	0.1	24.5	22.5	10.5	2.4	3.6	-	99.9
Family 5	20.8	6.4	1.1	5.6	41.6	5.8	-	2.8	11.2	4.7	100.0
Average of Five Families	20.6	7.8	1.3	6.4	29.3	18.9	7.3	1.9	5.6	0.9	100.0

SOURCE: Table 5-15.

TABLE 5-18
INCOMES, BY SOURCE (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Head Wages (net)</u>	<u>Other Wages (net)</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>Traded Furs</u>	<u>Carving</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	\$13060.54	812.25	395.77	358.88	-	413.13	15040.57
Family 2	74.86	-	184.47	2969.97	25.16	2923.98	6178.44
Family 3	4830.46	-	846.05	4450.76	1931.90	162.33	12221.50
Family 4	1904.35	148.20	-	1717.25	1763.37	853.69	6386.86
Family 5	<u>6776.97</u>	<u>1172.62</u>	<u>145.23</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>834.53</u>	<u>8929.35</u>
Total	26647.18	2133.07	1571.52	9496.86	3720.43	5187.66	48756.72

SOURCE: Derived from Table 5-13.

NOTE: "Other" category includes all transfer payments.

TABLE 5-19
EXPENDITURES, BY CATEGORY (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Tele- phone</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>General Merch.</u>	<u>Gas and Hunting Equip.</u>	<u>Snow- mobile Parts</u>	<u>Enter- tainment</u>	<u>House Rent</u>	<u>Savings</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	\$3289.72	982.71	105.89	1018.61	4056.24	2740.65	1722.83	184.81	840.00	-	14941.46
Family 2	1179.03	585.86	163.31	472.63	1506.20	1356.37	556.50	130.47	204.00	-	6154.37
Family 3	1967.19	786.75	99.31	1478.91	3548.50	3165.54	670.25	102.58	360.00	-	12179.03
Family 4	1590.99	646.33	79.96	23.38	1562.13	1433.92	668.13	153.95	204.00	-	6362.79
Family 5	<u>1856.08</u>	<u>571.95</u>	<u>94.20</u>	<u>500.68</u>	<u>3716.85</u>	<u>515.60</u>	<u>1.97</u>	<u>250.79</u>	<u>840.00</u>	<u>417.16</u>	<u>8765.28</u>
Total	9883.01	3573.60	542.67	3494.21	14389.92	9212.08	3619.68	822.60	2448.00	417.16	48402.93

SOURCE: Derived from Table 5-15.

TABLE 5-20
INCOMES, SOURCES AS PERCENTAGES (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Head Wages</u>	<u>Other Wages</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>Traded Furs</u>	<u>Carving</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	86.8	5.4	2.6	2.4	-	2.8	100.0
Family 2	1.2	-	3.0	48.1	-	47.7	100.0
Family 3	39.5	-	6.9	36.4	15.8	1.3	99.9
Family 4	29.8	2.3	-	26.9	27.6	13.4	100.0
Family 5	75.9	13.2	1.6	-	-	9.3	100.0
Average of Five Families	46.6	4.2	2.8	22.8	8.7	14.9	100.0

SOURCE: Table 5-18.

NOTE: "Other" category includes all transfer payments.

TABLE 5-21
EXPENDITURES, CATEGORIES AS PERCENTAGES (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Tele- phone</u>	<u>Bingo</u>	<u>General Merch.</u>	<u>Gas and Hunting Equip.</u>	<u>Snow- mobile Parts</u>	<u>Enter- tainment</u>	<u>House Rent</u>	<u>Savings</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	22.0	6.6	0.7	6.8	27.2	18.4	11.5	1.2	5.6	-	100.0
Family 2	19.2	9.5	2.7	7.7	24.5	22.0	9.0	2.1	3.3	-	100.0
Family 3	16.2	6.5	0.8	12.1	29.1	26.0	5.5	0.8	3.0	-	99.9
Family 4	25.0	10.2	1.3	0.1	24.6	22.6	10.5	2.4	3.2	-	99.9
Family 5	21.2	6.5	1.1	5.7	42.4	5.9	-	2.9	9.6	4.7	100.0
Average of Five Families	20.7	7.9	1.3	6.5	29.6	19.0	7.3	1.9	4.9	0.9	100.0

SOURCE: Table 5-19.

versus 52.7%). At the same time, traded furs were substantially more important (22.8% versus 14.3%), handicrafts and transfer payments were less important than the village average (8.7% versus 12.5%, and 14.9% versus 20.6%, respectively). These variations undoubtedly evidence nothing more than that family income variations are hidden within any generalization about village activity.

None of the figures above take into account the value of harvested game that is not exchanged in a market, and that, therefore, has no monetary value attached. Unquestionably, however, this food makes a large contribution to the overall Inuit standard of living. Game harvested in the seven month survey period by the five families is listed in Table 5-22. Food shared out with other individuals and families is assumed to equal food shared in.

Given the nutrient properties of the game involved, to replace it with any western food would be effectively impossible. If, however, one imputes a replacement value to the game of \$1.50 per pound (\$3.30/kg), a reasonable figure in 1973, one finds the monetary value of the harvest to be \$12,429, or by extrapolation, about \$20,850 in one year. This sum, when added to the calculated annual income figure of \$48,757, results in an annual income in cash and kind of \$69,607, the game comprising 30% of the total. Per capita income rises to \$1,698 (from \$1,189), family income to \$13,921 (from \$9,751); the latter figure approximates the 1972 Canadian family average (\$13,879). Further, by adding the imputed value of the game to the estimated annual expenditure for food of \$9,883, the monthly per capita expenditure for food rises from \$20.08 to \$62.47, indicating that store food purchases would have to approximately triple to replace all country food, should it become unavailable.

TABLE 5-22

SURVEY FAMILIES' GAME HARVESTS

<u>Harvest</u>		<u>Weight Edible lb. (kg.)</u>		<u>Total Edible lb. (kg.)</u>		<u>Imputed Value at \$1.50/lb. (\$3.30/kg.)</u>
Family 1:	10 caribou	975	443			
	132 lb. caribou	132	60			
	11.5 seal	414	188			
	15 lb. seal meat	15	7			
	1ujuk	204	93			
	10 char	27	12			
	2 rabbit	2.8	1.3			
	.5 white whale	85	39	1854.8	843.3	\$2782.20
Family 2:	47.5 seal	1710	776			
	82 char	221.4	101	1931.4	877	2897.10
Family 3:	3 caribou	292.5	133			
	35 lb. caribou	35	16			
	38 seal	1368	621			
	1ujuk	204	93			
	18 char	48.6	22			
	143 lb. char	143	65			
	1 rabbit	1.4	.6			
	5 ptarmigan	7	3			
	20 lb. muktuk	20	9	2119.5	962.6	3179.25
Family 4:	20 lb. caribou	20	9			
	36.25 seal	1305	592			
	54 char	145.8	66			
	8 duck eggs	1.8	.8	1472.6	667.8	2208.90
Family 5:	1 caribou	97.5	44			
	120 lb. caribou	120	54			
	6.5 seal	234	106			
	150 lb. seal meat	150	68			
	58 char	156.6	71			
	28 lb. char	28	13			
	50 lb. harp	50	23			
	50 lb.ujuk	25	11			
	31.5 lb. muktuk	31.5	14			
	3 rabbit	4.2	2			
	1 ptarmigan	1.4	.6			
	4 ducks	9.5	4	907.7	410.6	1361.55
Total:				8286.0	3761.3	\$12429.00

The above discussion is based on categories of income and expenditure that are oriented to contemporary Inuit society. For comparative purposes, incomes and expenditures can be categorized differently, using a southern Canadian point of view. Incomes for the five families categorized in this manner are presented as percentages in Table 5-23. The differences in sources of income are striking: Canadians in general are 82% dependent on wage income, with the remainder of their income spread more or less evenly between self-employment, transfer payments, and investment income. The five survey families received only 50% of their income from wages, relying on self-employment and transfers to a much greater extent than Canadians generally. The figures serve to emphasize that, while the Inuit economy is being rapidly westernized, it is still much more dependent on individual and family enterprise and on direct external subsidies than is the overall Canadian economy, which is characterized by a more extensive application of advanced technology and by more expansive producing organizations.

Comparable expenditure data for the survey families are presented in Table 5-24 and, as percentages, in Table 5-25. This information is compared to figures for Canadians in Table 5-26 and in Figure 5-7. In contrast to the substantial differences found between Inuit and Canadian sources of income, this information shows that the basic pattern of spending in the average Pangnirtung household in 1973 was not remarkably different from that of other Canadian households. Certain differences are easily explained. More was spent on travel and transportation because of the higher cost of gasoline in the Arctic and the constant use of the snowmobile in commuting to hunting areas. Hunting and fishing, primarily important as a means of earning one's livelihood in the Arctic, have been placed in a separate

TABLE 5-23

INCOMES

	<u>Five Families</u>	<u>Canadian Families</u>
Wages and Salaries	50.8%	81.7
Self-employment	31.5	5.9
Transfer Payments	14.9	6.1
Investment Income	-	4.3
Miscellaneous	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: Canada, 1974d, 172.
Table 5-16 and Table 5-18.

NOTES: Five families' figures are the average of their incomes.
Canadian figures apply to 1972.

TABLE 5-24
EXPENDITURES, BY CATEGORY (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Household Operation</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Personal Care</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Tobacco/ Alcohol</u>	<u>Trans- por- tation</u>	<u>Re- creation</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Security</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Hunting and Fishing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	\$3289.72	840.00	940.53	2146.01	39.83	23.16	982.71	3081.35	2095.61	491.93	-	3.50	1007.11	\$14941.46
Family 2	1179.03	204.00	333.91	645.58	48.38	16.02	684.10	1575.43	775.18	350.26	-	3.14	339.34	6154.37
Family 3	1967.19	360.00	823.22	644.12	-	-	786.75	2153.75	1648.71	2386.76	-	1.41	1407.12	12179.03
Family 4	1590.99	204.00	544.89	822.35	10.08	-	646.33	1770.24	257.27	176.10	-	9.51	331.03	6362.79
Family 5	<u>1856.08</u>	<u>840.00</u>	<u>689.24</u>	<u>1664.29</u>	<u>11.28</u>	<u>31.05</u>	<u>571.95</u>	<u>238.66</u>	<u>1172.35</u>	<u>1205.79</u>	<u>417.16</u>	<u>10.54</u>	<u>56.89</u>	<u>8765.28</u>
Total	9883.01	2448.00	3331.79	5922.35	109.57	70.23	3671.84	8819.43	5949.12	4610.84	417.16	28.10	3141.49	48402.93

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

TABLE 5-25
EXPENDITURES, CATEGORIES AS PERCENTAGES (ONE YEAR)

	<u>Food</u>	<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Household Operation</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Personal Care</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Tobacco/ Alcohol</u>	<u>Trans- por- tation</u>	<u>Re- creation</u>	<u>Misc.</u>	<u>Security</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Hunting and Fishing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	22.0	5.6	6.3	14.4	0.3	0.2	6.6	20.6	14.0	3.3	-	-	6.7	100.0
Family 2	19.2	3.3	5.4	10.5	0.8	0.3	11.1	25.6	12.6	5.7	-	-	5.5	100.0
Family 3	16.2	3.0	6.7	5.3	-	-	6.5	17.7	13.5	19.6	-	-	11.5	100.0
Family 4	25.0	3.2	8.6	12.9	0.2	-	10.2	27.8	4.0	2.8	-	0.1	5.2	100.0
Family 5	21.2	9.6	7.9	19.0	0.1	0.4	6.5	2.7	13.4	13.8	4.7	0.1	0.6	100.0
Average of Five Families	20.7	4.9	7.0	12.4	0.3	0.2	8.2	18.9	11.5	9.0	0.9	-	5.9	99.9

SOURCE: Table 5-24.

TABLE 5-26
PATTERNS OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE

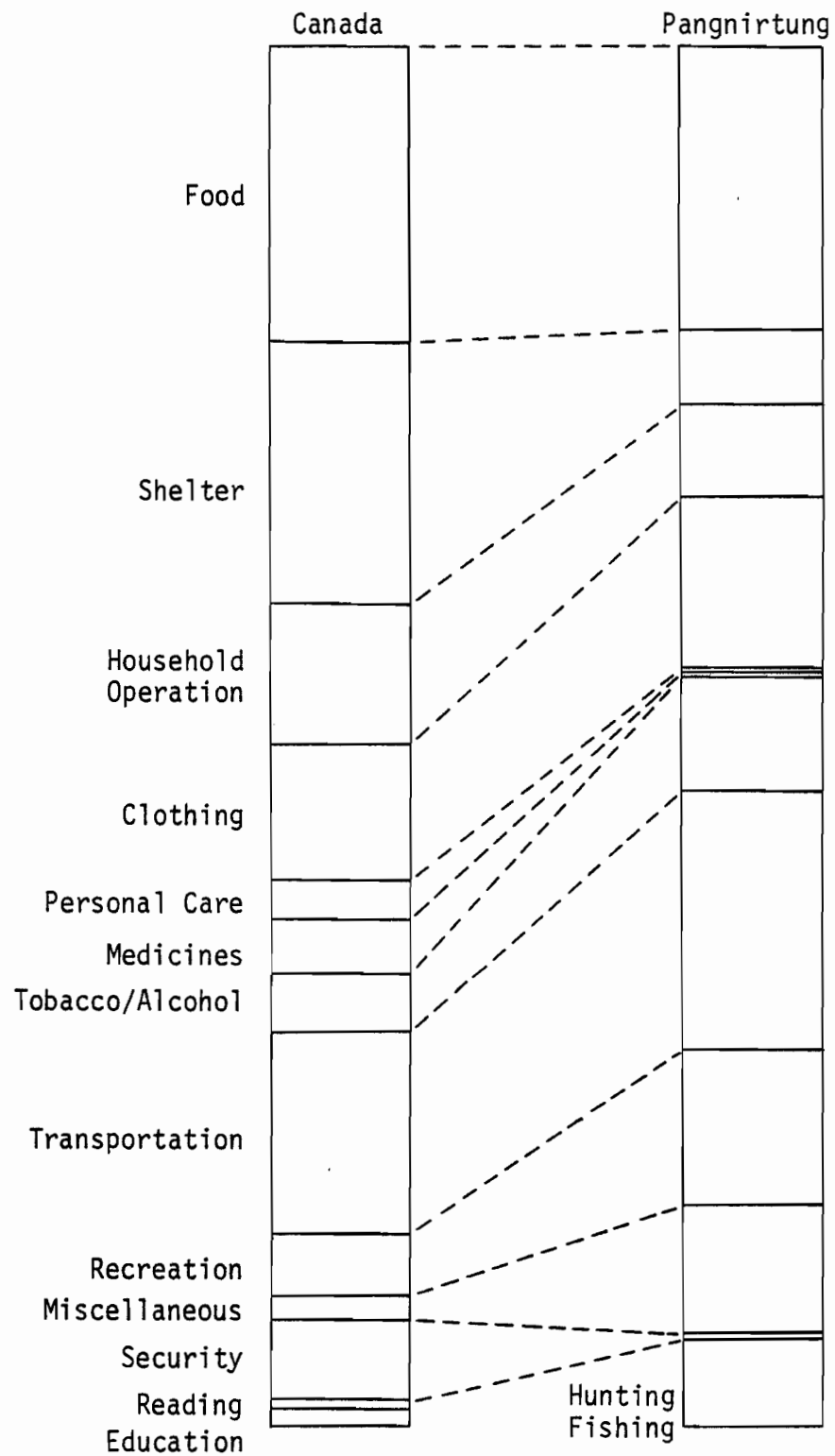
	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Five Families</u>
Food	21.4%	20.7%
Shelter	19.0	4.9
Household Operation	10.2	7.0
Clothing	9.9	12.4
Personal Care	2.8	.3
Medicines	3.9	.2
Tobacco/Alcohol	4.4	8.2
Transportation	14.7	18.9
Recreation	4.4	11.5
Miscellaneous	1.7	9.0
Security	5.7	.9
Reading	.7	-
Education	1.2	-
Hunting and Fishing	<u>-</u>	<u>5.9</u>
	100.0	99.9

SOURCE: Canada, 1974d, 185.
Table 5-25.

- NOTES: 1. Expenditures do not include taxes and gifts.
2. Canada expenditures for 1969; five families for 1973.
3. Five families' figures are the average of their expenditures.

FIGURE 5-7

PATTERNS OF FAMILY EXPENDITURE



SOURCE: Table 5-26.

category, though they are considered recreation for most Canadians. Less was spent in Pangnirtung for shelter, education, and medical care as a consequence of extensive government support. The Inuit spent more for recreation, both because of their lesser expenses for necessities, and because a changed lifestyle now provides more free time than was available in the past: the women's days and the men's evenings are no longer spent making clothes or repairing dog harnesses. Radios, record players, movies, and, above all, bingo have taken the place of these tasks. Other differences in expenditures, such as that for tobacco, reflect societal preferences that should not be overlooked.

Family Income Distribution

A recent government study, "A Study of Income and Income Distribution in the Arctic Coast and Baffin Regions of Northern Canada," presents information about trends in the distribution of family incomes in the eastern Arctic (Canada, 1973b). This section closely follows the discussion presented in that study.

The study states:

The dispersion of family incomes can be measured by the standard deviation from the average family income. We can see from [Table 5-27] that the dispersion of family incomes varied the most, in absolute terms, for Frobisher Bay and the least for Port Burwell and Grise Fiord. However, if the coefficient of variation is used, the larger the coefficient, the more dispersed is the family income in the community (Ibid., 12).

Of thirteen settlements in the eastern Arctic, dispersion in 1969 was tenth highest in Pangnirtung. When the coefficient of variation is used, Pangnirtung was twelfth among thirteen. Further:

Eskimo families in all the settlements, with the exception of Resolute Bay, had a positively skewed income distribution. Resolute Bay (-0.1091) and Grise Fiord (0.2261) had the lowest coefficient of skewness. This indicates that the family income distributions of

TABLE 5-27

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOMES BY INDICATORS, 1969

Region and Settlement	Mean (a)		Median (b)		Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Coefficient of Skewness	Inequality Index	
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank				Index	Rank ^A
Baffin Region									
1. Arctic Bay	2,307	12	1,867	12	1,875	0.8127	0.7040	0.4012	9
2. Broughton Island	3,540	5	2,227	10	3,305	0.9336	1.1918	0.4773	13
3. Cape Dorset	2,778	10	2,237	9	2,248	0.8092	0.7220	0.4372	11
4. Clyde River	2,707	11	2,125	11	2,567	0.9483	0.6802	0.4678	12
5. Frobisher Bay	6,004	1	5,627	1	3,640	0.6063	0.3107	0.3411	5
6. Grise Fiord	3,294	6	3,168	4	1,672	0.5076	0.2261	0.2669	1
7. Hall Beach	4,671	3	3,669	3	3,202	0.6855	0.9388	0.3779	6
8. Igloolik	3,165	8	2,833	6	1,975	0.6240	0.5043	0.3355	4
9. Lake Harbour	3,708	4	2,717	7	3,101	0.8363	0.9587	0.4032	10
10. Pangnirtung	3,270	7	2,940	5	1,889	0.5777	0.5241	0.2994	2
11. Pond Inlet	2,949	9	2,248	8	2,217	0.7518	0.9486	0.3849	7
12. Resolute Bay	4,709	2	4,830	2	3,326	0.7063	-0.1091	0.3988	8
13. Port Burwell	1,849	13	1,550	13	1,161	0.6279	0.7726	0.3346	3
Sub-total	3,802	--	2,867	--	3,018	0.7938	0.9234	0.4223	--

Sources: (a) Computed from Appendix F

(b) Computed from Appendix G

^a The higher the ranking is, the more unequal is the distribution of income.

SOURCE: Reproduced from Canada, 1973b, Appendix H.

these two communities were relatively symmetrical when compared with those in the rest of the communities. The highest coefficient of skewness was in Broughton Island (1.1918), which indicates that a few families were in a relatively high incomes bracket compared with other families (Ibid.).

Pangnirtung's coefficient of skewness was relatively low (.5241), indicating a more even distribution of incomes than in the eastern Arctic (.9294).

Under the heading "Inequality of Family Income Distribution," the study states:

Both the Lorenz Curve and the inequality index...are used to measure the degree of spreads of income distribution in this study. The Lorenz Curve is drawn within a square box. The horizontal axis measures the cumulative percentages of families ranked from the poorest up, while the vertical axis measures the corresponding cumulative percentages of incomes the families receive. The area between the Lorenz Curve and the diagonal line measures the degree of inequality of income distribution. The greater the area is, the more unequal is the income distribution. In other words, the further away the Lorenz Curve is from the diagonal line, the more unequal is the distribution of income.

The family incomes are divided into nine classes, that is \$1-499, \$500-999, \$1,000-1,999, \$2,000-2,999, \$3,000-3,999, \$4,000-4,999, \$5,000-5,999, \$6,000-9,999, and \$10,000 and over. [Table 5-28] shows the percentages of families and their incomes by income groups. The corresponding cumulative percentages of families and their incomes are extracted from [Table 5-28] and are shown in [Table 5-29]" (Ibid., 13-14).

Lorenz Curves for Canadian individuals and families, the eastern Arctic, and Pangnirtung are presented in Figure 5-8; Pangnirtung is shown to have had a very equitable distribution of family incomes, especially when compared to Canadians generally. Also:

The index of inequality of the income distribution can be computed as the ratio of the area between the Lorenz Curve and the diagonal line to the area of the lower triangle in the square box.... The index can have a value ranging from 0 to 1. The greater the index is, the more unequal is the income distribution (Ibid., 14).

The inequality indices are shown in Table 5-27: Pangnirtung had one of the lowest. These results confirm the findings obtained from the Lorenz Curves.

If one community has a higher average income and a more equal distribution of income than some other, then other factors being equal, it will have a

TABLE 5-28

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND THEIR INCOMES BY INCOME GROUPS, 1969

Region and Settlement	Percentage of Families and their Incomes	\$1-499	\$500-999	\$1,000-1,999	\$2,000-2,999	\$3,000-3,999	\$4,000-4,999	\$5,000-5,999	\$6,000-9,999	\$10,000-20,000 ^a
Baffin Region										
1. Arctic Bay	Families (Z)	12.50	10.42	31.25	25.00	8.33	4.17	2.08	6.25	--
	Incomes (Z)	1.44	3.75	20.31	27.09	12.64	8.13	4.97	21.67	--
2. Broughton Island	Families (Z)	7.02	14.04	24.56	19.30	8.77	1.75	1.75	15.79	7.02
	Incomes (Z)	0.69	2.82	10.41	13.61	8.67	2.25	2.73	35.66	23.14
3. Cape Dorset	Families (Z)	15.31	11.22	19.39	17.35	11.22	10.20	6.12	9.19	--
	Incomes (Z)	1.56	3.10	10.47	15.62	14.15	16.53	12.12	26.45	--
4. Clyde River	Families (Z)	14.89	14.89	17.02	25.53	12.77	2.13	--	8.51	4.26
	Incomes (Z)	1.69	4.13	9.43	23.58	16.50	3.54	--	25.15	15.98
5. Frobisher Bay	Families (Z)	5.79	3.16	8.42	8.42	6.84	8.42	14.21	29.47	15.27
	Incomes (Z)	0.28	0.41	2.10	1.51	3.99	6.31	13.02	39.27	31.11
6. Grise Fiord	Families (Z)	--	--	29.41	17.65	17.65	29.41	--	5.88	--
	Incomes (Z)	--	--	13.39	13.39	18.75	40.18	--	14.29	--
7. Hall Beach	Families (Z)	4.55	6.82	13.64	20.44	6.82	6.82	4.55	31.81	4.55
	Incomes (Z)	0.34	1.19	4.38	10.95	5.11	6.57	5.35	54.49	11.62
8. Igloolik	Families (Z)	1.11	6.67	31.11	13.33	18.89	13.33	7.78	7.78	--
	Incomes (Z)	0.09	1.61	14.74	10.53	20.89	18.96	13.52	19.66	--
9. Lake Harbour	Families (Z)	--	13.79	13.79	31.04	10.34	13.79	3.45	6.90	6.90
	Incomes (Z)	--	2.98	5.58	20.92	9.76	16.74	5.11	14.88	24.03
10. Pangnirtung	Families (Z)	1.90	1.90	23.81	23.81	23.81	11.43	5.71	6.67	0.96
	Incomes (Z)	0.26	0.50	10.92	18.21	25.49	15.73	9.61	16.31	2.97
11. Pond Inlet	Families (Z)	5.41	6.76	32.43	21.62	13.51	4.05	4.05	12.17	--
	Incomes (Z)	0.64	1.76	16.49	18.33	16.04	6.19	7.56	32.99	--
12. Resolute Bay	Families (Z)	12.00	16.00	--	4.00	8.00	12.00	16.00	24.00	8.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.47	2.21	--	2.12	5.95	11.47	18.69	40.77	18.32
13. Port Burwell	Families (Z)	3.70	25.93	37.04	14.81	11.11	7.41	--	--	--
	Incomes (Z)	0.50	10.32	30.06	20.04	21.04	18.04	--	--	--
Sub-total	Families (Z)	6.58	7.99	20.45	17.27	12.34	8.70	6.82	14.92	4.93
	Incomes (Z)	0.52	1.60	8.07	11.36	11.36	10.29	9.86	31.40	15.54

Sources: Computed from Table 42 of Arctic Coast Manpower Survey and Baffin Manpower Survey.

^aIncomes in this column are obtained from individual questionnaires.

SOURCE: Reproduced from Canada, 1973b, Appendix F.

TABLE 5-29

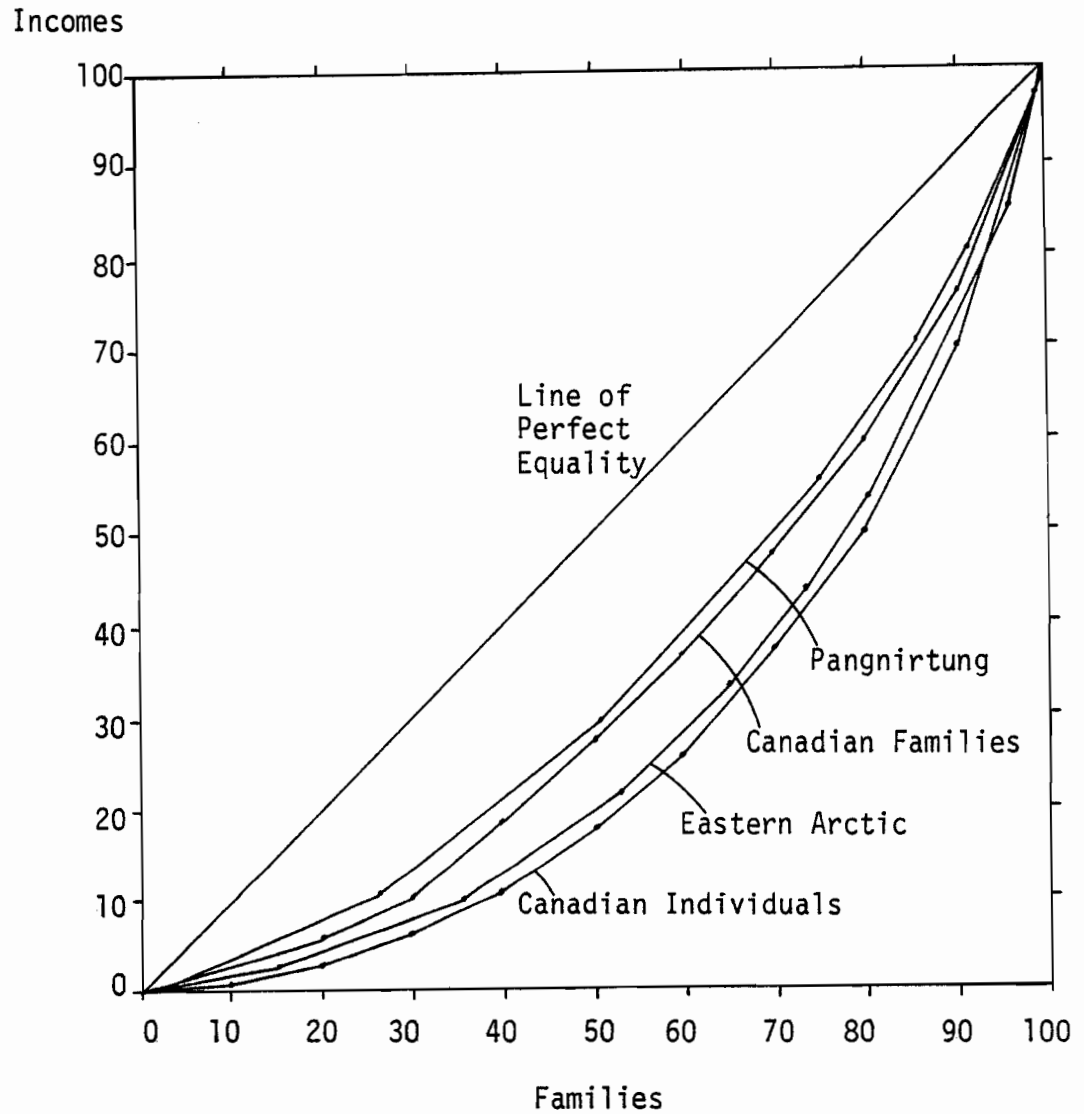
CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND THEIR INCOMES BY INCOME GROUPS, 1969

Region and Settlement	Cumulative Percentages of Families and their Incomes	\$1-499	\$1-999	\$1-1,999	\$1-2,999	\$1-3,999	\$1-4,999	\$1-5,999	\$1-9,999	\$1-20,000
Baffin Region										
1. Arctic Bay	Families (Z)	12.50	22.92	54.17	79.17	81.50	91.67	93.75	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	1.44	5.19	25.50	52.59	65.21	73.36	78.33	100.00	100.00
2. Broughton Island	Families (Z)	7.02	21.06	45.62	64.92	73.69	75.44	77.19	92.98	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.69	3.51	13.92	27.55	36.22	38.45	41.18	76.86	100.00
3. Cape Dorset	Families (Z)	15.31	26.53	45.92	63.27	74.49	84.69	90.81	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	1.56	4.66	15.13	30.75	44.90	61.43	73.55	100.00	100.00
4. Clyde River	Families (Z)	14.89	29.78	46.80	72.33	85.10	87.23	87.23	95.74	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	1.69	5.82	15.25	38.83	55.33	58.87	58.87	84.02	100.00
5. Frobisher Bay	Families (Z)	5.79	8.95	17.37	25.79	32.63	41.05	55.26	84.73	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.28	0.69	2.79	6.30	10.29	16.60	29.62	68.89	100.00
6. Grise Fiord	Families (Z)	--	--	29.41	47.06	64.71	94.12	94.12	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	--	--	13.39	26.78	45.53	85.71	85.71	100.00	100.00
7. Hall Beach	Families (Z)	4.55	11.37	25.01	45.45	52.27	59.09	63.64	95.45	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.34	1.53	5.91	16.86	21.97	28.54	33.89	88.38	100.00
8. Igloolik	Families (Z)	1.11	7.78	38.89	52.22	71.11	84.44	92.22	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.09	1.70	16.44	26.97	47.86	66.82	80.34	100.00	100.00
9. Lake Harbour	Families (Z)	--	13.79	27.58	58.62	68.96	82.75	86.20	93.10	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	--	2.98	8.56	29.48	39.24	55.98	61.09	75.97	100.00
10. Pangnirtung	Families (Z)	1.90	3.80	27.61	51.42	75.23	86.66	92.37	99.04	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.26	0.76	11.68	29.89	55.38	71.11	80.72	97.03	100.00
11. Pond Inlet	Families (Z)	5.41	12.17	44.60	66.22	79.73	83.78	87.83	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.64	2.40	18.89	37.22	53.26	59.45	67.01	100.00	100.00
12. Resolute Bay	Families (Z)	12.00	28.00	28.00	32.00	40.00	52.00	68.00	92.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.47	2.68	2.68	4.80	10.75	22.22	40.91	81.68	100.00
13. Port Burwell	Families (Z)	3.70	29.63	66.67	81.48	92.59	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.50	10.82	40.88	60.92	81.96	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Sub-total	Families (Z)	6.56	14.57	35.02	52.29	64.63	73.33	80.15	95.07	100.00
	Incomes (Z)	0.52	2.12	10.19	21.55	32.91	43.20	53.06	84.46	100.00

Source: Computed from APPENDIX F.

SOURCE: Reproduced from Canada, 1973b, Appendix G.

FIGURE 5-8
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOMES



SOURCES: Canada, 1973b; Canada, 1974d, 160.

NOTE: Pangnirtung and eastern Arctic figures are for 1969, Canadian figures for 1971.

greater purchasing power. Pangnirtung's 1969 average income was seventh highest of thirteen, and second of thirteen in equality, so that one would expect Pangnirtung residents to have had a slightly higher overall standard of living than eastern Arctic residents taken as a group.

The government study on incomes also provides information on the change in equality of family income distribution over time. Figures presented in Table 5-27 (1969) and Table 5-30 (1964) show that between 1964 and 1969 income distribution became somewhat more unequal in the eastern Arctic. In Pangnirtung, there was a slight absolute change away from equality, but the settlement maintained its number two ranking of relative equality within the region. The effect of this change was to concentrate spending in progressively fewer hands throughout the region, including Pangnirtung. The question as to whether this increasingly restricted distribution of wealth is related to kinship (i.e., whether certain families are becoming "rich") is of some interest. Research on kinship and camp residence in Cumberland Sound indicates this is probably not the case. The majority of organizations in Pangnirtung have employees who are not to any significant extent related, either through kin or residential linkages.⁴ There are exceptions: most of the co-operative, hamlet, and housing association employees are related to at least one other person in the organization. However, such linkages do not carry between organizations. For instance, the family that dominates the co-operative does not dominate the housing association, and vice versa; though there may be a linkage based on kin or residence between two organizations, they are not significant. That these findings are preliminary should be emphasized; considerably more research would have to be conducted before one could accurately describe patterns of kin-linked wealth.

4. Quasi-kinship relations cannot be considered due to a lack of data.

TABLE 5-30

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOMES BY INDICATORS, 1964

Region and Settlement	Mean		Median		Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation	Coefficient of Skewness	Inequality Index	
	Value	Rank	Value	Rank				Index	Rank
Baffin Region (1964)									
1. Arctic Bay	926	13	761	13	712	0.7689	0.6952	0.3513	7
2. Broughton Island	1,601	7	1,572	4	981	0.6127	0.0887	0.3340	5
3. Cape Dorset	1,741	4	1,536	5	1,318	0.7570	0.4666	0.4180	12
4. Clyde River	2,035	2	1,875	2	1,356	0.6663	0.3540	0.3731	10
5. Frobisher Bay	2,029	3	1,592	3	1,599	0.7881	0.8199	0.4309	13
6. Grise Fiord	1,075	11	1,000	11	708	0.6584	0.3178	0.3558	9
7. Hall Beach	1,708	5	1,400	7	1,163	0.6809	0.7945	0.3515	8
8. Igloodik	1,010	12	811	12	792	0.7842	0.7538	0.3848	11
9. Lake Harbour	1,419	8	1,333	8	882	0.6216	0.2925	0.3068	3
10. Pangnirtung	1,665	6	1,508	6	900	0.5405	0.5233	0.2709	2
11. Pond Inlet	1,365	9	1,183	9	930	0.6813	0.5871	0.3300	4
12. Resolute Bay	2,513	1	2,500	1	1,177	0.4684	0.0311	0.2563	1
13. Port Burwell	1,076	10	1,033	10	698	0.6487	0.1848	0.3490	6
Sub-total	1,615	--	1,293	--	1,246	0.7715	0.7753	0.4147	--

Sources Computed from: (A) Eskimo Housing Survey, Arctic District, N.W.T., Compiled by Public Housing Section, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, (Jan. - April, 1965).

(B) D. Bissett, Resolute - An Area Economic Survey, Industrial Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1967), p. 96.

(C) Eskimo Housing Survey, District of Mackenzie, N.W.T., Compiled by Northern Housing Section, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, (1967).

SOURCE: Reproduced from Canada, 1973b, Appendix J.

Settlement Economy

Various studies have examined settlement economies from the perspective of community income, which in this study is defined as the aggregate of individuals' incomes. Pangnirtung's community income is presented in Table 5-31 and Table 5-32. While the data are not entirely consistent from year to year, certain trends are apparent. First, though the 1964 and 1965-66 total income figures are almost identical, the sources of income differ substantially, for two reasons. The most important is that for most of 1963 and 1964, subsequent to the outbreak of disease among the dogs, there was a "return to normalcy" in the sound. In calendar 1965, however, substantial permanent migration to Pangnirtung took place; the increase in 1965-66 in wage and "government" income reflect this shift from a reliance on hunting.⁵ The second, and related, reason is that sealskin prices were high in 1963 and 1964; by 1965 they had declined substantially, not only contributing to the migration to Pangnirtung, but causing the drop in regional fur income.

The second trend apparent from the figures is that there has been a general shift toward economic dependence on wage employment. Further, in conjunction with the increase in wage income, there has been a relative decline in the importance of all other forms of income: fur trading, handicrafts, and transfer payments. In Pangnirtung the percentage of income that is earned (i.e., income from other than transfers) has risen from 69.7% in 1965-66 to 76% in 1969 and to 79.4% in 1972-73, a notable increase.

The income figures, however, disguise various attributes of the economy. The first of these is the number and nature of wage positions available in

5. The population data in Table 5-1 do not show the events of 1962-1965 as clearly as they might: through 1964, the population lists were prepared in December, but beginning in 1966 in January. Therefore, no 1965 list exists.

TABLE 5-31
COMMUNITY INCOME

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Fur Trade</u>	<u>Crafts</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Family Allowances</u>	<u>Other Govt.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	\$98541	86021	364170	38000	104146	690878
1969	Pangnirtung	53050	30394	178299	25968	53511	341222
1965-66	Cumberland Sound	66042	5000	100725 74593	246360
1964	Cumberland Sound	163573	-	38863	1976	28540	232952
1956	Cumberland Sound	14526	-	3468	22326	10453	50773

SOURCES: Canada, 1967.
Canada, 1973a.
Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.
Mayes, 1973a.
Schaefer, 1966, Table 1, and page 50.

NOTES: The 1972-73 figure for crafts includes \$39,000 garments, weaving, and prints, \$47,021 carving.
The 1956 figure for other government includes \$3,400 "other."

TABLE 5-32
COMMUNITY INCOME (PERCENTAGES)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Fur Trade</u>	<u>Crafts</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Family Allowances</u>	<u>Other Govt.</u>	<u>Total</u>
1972-73	Pangnirtung	14.3	12.5	52.7	5.5	15.1	100.0
1969	Pangnirtung	15.5	8.9	52.3	7.6	15.7	100.0
1965-66	Cumberland Sound	26.8	2.0	40.9	... 30.3 ...		
1964	Cumberland Sound	70.2	-	16.7	0.8	12.3	100.0
1956	Cumberland Sound	28.6	-	6.8	44.0	20.6	100.0

SOURCE: Table 5-31.

NOTE: 1956 "other government" figure includes 6.7% "other."

the community. In 1956 there was "...no employment available here except for those already employed by R.C.M.P., H.B.C., or Anglican Mission and Hospital" (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956). While there were twenty-three full and part time jobs in Pangnirtung in 1956, this number had risen to only twenty-nine, ten years later. This is not unexpected, given the slow rate of urbanization and the low level of government activity in that period. Between 1965-66 and 1972-73, the number of full and part time positions in Pangnirtung doubled, but the amount of money produced by wages nearly quadrupled; the average wage, therefore, also nearly doubled. Data are presented in Table 5-33.

Second, while the relative amount of money paid into Pangnirtung as economic assistance had declined in 1972-73 to 24% of its 1965-66 level, the dollar value had only declined from at most \$36,410 (Canada, 1967, 181) to \$23,376 (see Table 5-37), or to 64% of its earlier level.⁶ Although the relative level of all transfer payments has declined, the number of people receiving economic assistance (welfare), and the absolute amount paid, in a year remained high: 147 people per month in 1966, 158 people per month in 1972 (see Table 5-34 and Figure 5-9), and a doubling of the dollar value of payments (see Table 5-9 and Table 5-31). To restate the situation, there was a higher overall level of money income in the settlement in 1972-73 than in 1965-66, but a somewhat greater number of people still needed public

6. The area economic survey (Canada, 1967, 181) says "welfare" from August, 1965, to July, 1966, was \$36,410, or 14.8% of 1965-66 community income. The figures shown in Table 5-37 indicate that the November, 1965-October, 1966, figure was \$21,889, or 8.9% of 1965-66 community income. Using the second figure, economic assistance payments actually rose in the period to 1972-73, by \$1,487 (6.8%). One should also note that, whatever the 1965-66 figure, it is substantially greater than the \$9,708 paid in 1962-63, a year that was regarded as disastrous for the local economy.

TABLE 5-33
WAGE POSITIONS IN PANGNIRTUNG

<u>Date</u>	<u>Government</u>		<u>Non-Government</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Full</u>	<u>Part time</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Part time</u>	<u>Full</u>	<u>Part time</u>
1973	25	5	13	9	38	14
1965-66	8	5	10	6	18	11
1956	7	10	5	1	12	11

Wage earnings from these positions were as follows:

Pangnirtung, 1973: Government: \$222,554 (61.1%)
Private: 141,616 (38.9%)
Total: 364,170 (100.0%)

Pangnirtung, 1965-66: Government: \$72,650 (72.1%)
Private: 28,075 (27.9%)
Total: 100,725 (100.0%)

SOURCES: Canada, 1967, 183.
Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements,
Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956.
Mayes, 1973a.

TABLE 5-34

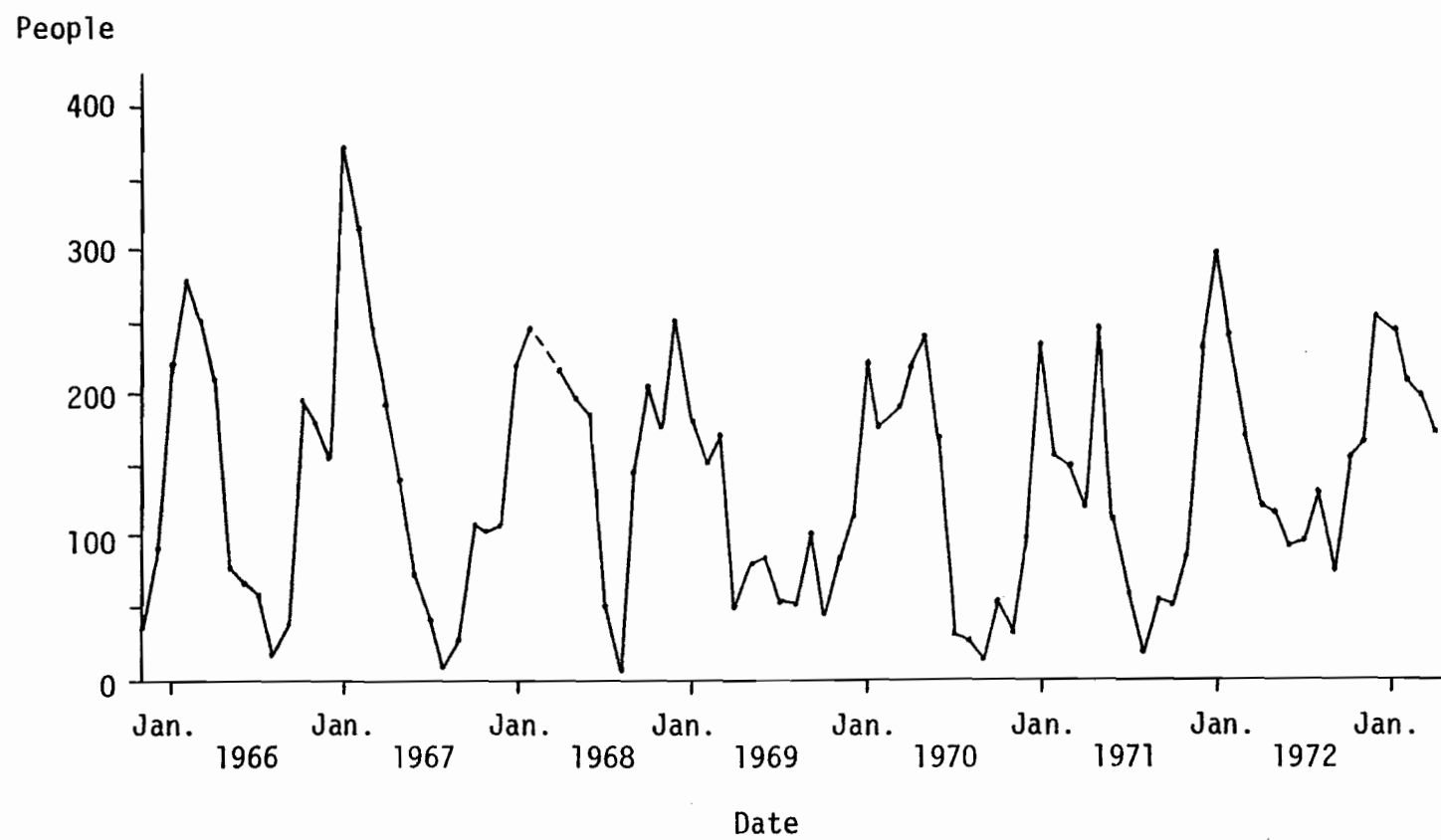
NUMBER OF PEOPLE RECEIVING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
January		221	371	220	180	221	232	293	242
February		279	313	247	148	174	157	241	206
March		251	247		169	187	149	169	195
April		221	193	217	48	217	118	122	138
May		80	142	196	82	238	243	116	
June		68	76	186	85	169	112	91	
July		59	44	51	55	33	61	94	
August		17	10	10	53	28	19	131	
September		36	31	143	103	14	56	74	
October		195	110	205	44	56	51	152	
November	40	180	106	176	83	33	86	164	
December	93	156	108	249	114	102	232	252	

SOURCE: Files in Pangnirtung. Monthly Report-Welfare Payments;
Monthly Report of Social Assistance Payments.

NOTE: Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-9
NUMBER OF PEOPLE RECEIVING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE



SOURCE: Table 5-34.

assistance to maintain a subsistence standard of living; this is compatible with the suggested slowly increasing inequality of family incomes and the still small absolute number of permanent wage positions. Also, the monetary value of all transfer payments increased between 1965-66 and 1972-73 from \$74,593 to \$142,146.

Seasonality of non-wage income is the third hidden factor. Large numbers of furs are traded in summer, few in winter (Table 5-35, Figure 5-10), yielding a seasonal pattern of fur income. At least in 1972, the only year for which data are available, purchases of carvings followed a similar pattern; intuitively, one would expect carving to be a significant activity in the colder winter months but the figures do not bear this out (see Table 5-36). Economic assistance payments do follow the intuitively expected pattern: they are low in summer, high in winter (Table 5-37, Figure 5-11).

What emerges for families without wage income is a pattern in which, at the village scale, hunting and carving and economic assistance payments together provide a fairly evenly distributed year-round subsistence income. In the early 1970s this pattern was extended to include Local Initiatives Projects and Winter Works Grants, both of which have been used to create short-term wage employment opportunities in the winter. Again, at the village scale, if the number of people willing and/or able to hunt should decline,⁷ either wage employment or economic assistance will have to replace lost hunting income. It is unlikely that carving could act as a replacement for reasons given below (see page 294).

In 1956, 74% of full and part time wage positions in Pangnirtung were provided by government. By 1965-66, this had dropped to 45%, but had risen

7. This may occur. See pages 298-99.

TABLE 5-35

NUMBER OF SEALSKINS TRADED AT PANGNIRTUNG

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
January	485	91	753	1079		618
February	391	582	395	801		496
March	564	472	548	678		398
April	198	601	682	962		457
May	238	923	695	1164		726
June	607	872	1295	2410		1591
July	826	2370	2852	2795	842	
August	743	797	1119	630	1070	
September	433	587	732	470	391	
October	1098	910	1372	810	362	
November	234	108	170	76	nil	
December	469	490	758	467	116	

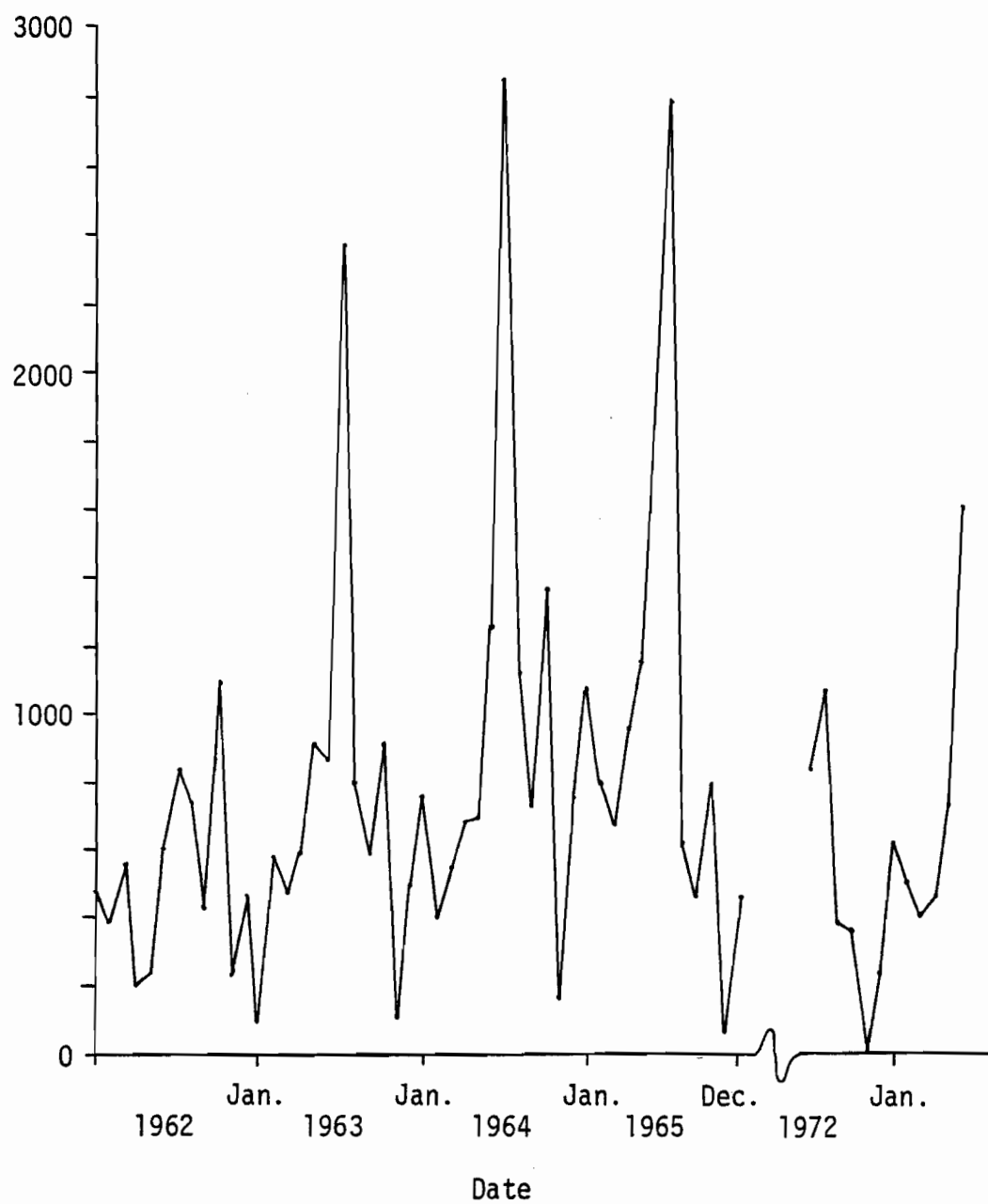
SOURCES: Canada, 1967, 143.
Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-10

NUMBER OF SEALSKINS TRADED AT PANGNIRTUNG

Sealskins



SOURCE: Table 5-35.

TABLE 5-36

HANDICRAFT PURCHASES, PANGNIRTUNG CO-OPERATIVE, 1972

January	\$ 1352.75
February	2524.05
March	3219.50
April	4734.00
May	8586.50
June	6830.00
July	3865.00
August	3064.00
September	3891.50
October	2159.00
November	2833.50
December	<u>391.40</u>
Total	\$43,451.20

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: \$43,451.20, the figure given here, and \$47,021.00, in Table 5-39, are ostensibly the same figure. The first is derived from counter slips provided by the co-operative; the second is derived from the annual financial statement. The difference is presumably attributable to accountant's reconciliation.

TABLE 5-37
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
January		1095.00		2279.40	3824.81	2731.75	1644.05	1120.93	2470.51	3629.12	3071.50
February		2529.00		3261.65	3714.58	3064.54	947.42	1054.67	1295.50	2729.00	2584.36
March	\$ 620.00			3375.40	4120.82		1191.68	1053.45	789.58	2495.85	2597.94
April	320.00			3468.30	2755.36	2292.72	396.75	1329.15	998.39	1858.75	1881.25
May	378.00			1306.93	1914.18	1728.71	667.88	2479.42	2515.40	1497.25	
June	324.00			1464.70	811.86	1687.18	782.73	1359.75	1407.10	1176.00	
July	320.00			1163.05	706.30	485.85	671.25	465.90	487.63	1200.95	
August	415.00			363.20	196.80	110.55	396.00	324.95	224.00	1700.50	
September	381.00			679.40	591.40	1782.17	801.50	191.95	440.50	1024.75	
October	384.00			2893.40	2028.69	2553.50	302.76	711.35	366.75	1871.45	
November	1377.00		320.45	2220.59	1392.66	1962.05	722.11	258.80	1038.25	2053.98	
December	1565.00		1312.71	1422.10	1131.31	3613.40	578.24	1516.15	2521.05	2716.35	

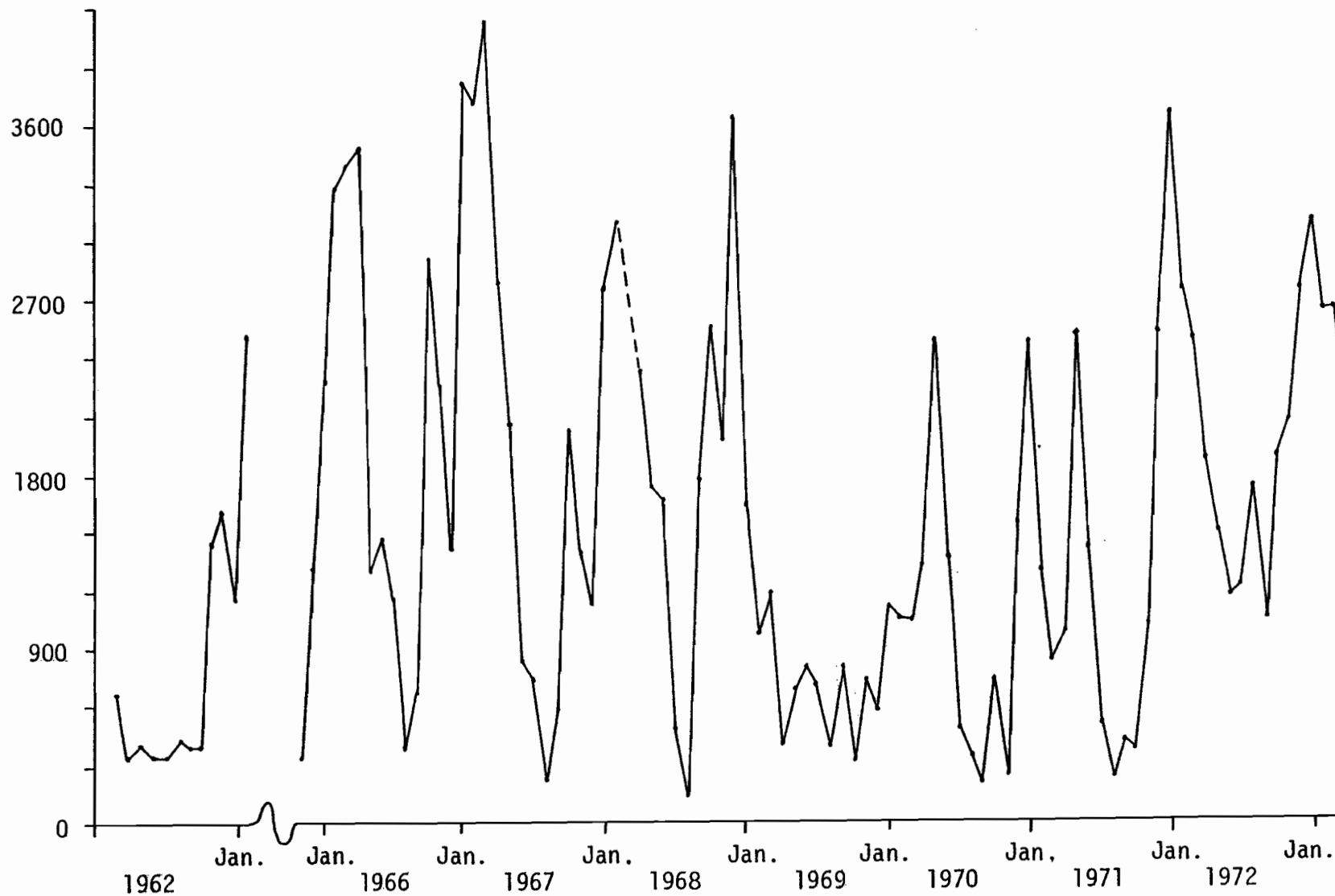
SOURCES: Public Archives, File A-1000, vol. 1. Report, Pangnirtung area administrator to Frobisher Bay regional administrator, April 18, 1963.
Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-11

Dollars

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS



288

SOURCE: Table 5-37.

Date

again, to 58%, by 1972-73. While the government jobs provided an inordinate share of wage income in 1965-66, the proportion of government jobs (58%) and the proportion of wage income from government (61%) in 1972-73 were almost identical, indicating some equalization of public and private wage scales over time, within the trend of overall wage increases (see Table 5-33).

The 39% of wage income that came from private industry had five main sources: Hudson's Bay Company, Nordair, Ross Peyton's hotel, Ken Brown (a fishing camp operator), and the co-operative. Table 5-38 shows the estimated minimum level of earnings by source for all agencies, public and private, operating in Pangnirtung in 1972-73.⁸ Table 5-39 shows the estimated amount and nature of money paid to Inuit by these agencies. The money received by Inuit was, in turn, almost wholly spent on house rent (\$26,312) and on food and merchandise at the Hudson's Bay Company (\$792,563, less expenditures by westerners). Four of the private agencies directly returned only a small proportion of their estimated earnings to individuals in the communities:

Hudson's Bay Company	14.5%
Nordair	1.5
Ross Peyton	17.0
Ken Brown	6.3

While this appears to be a small direct return, one must keep in mind that the nature of the businesses involved may well preclude further local wage expenditures. Nordair, while providing a critical service, had its maintenance facilities and most of its staff located in Frobisher Bay. Hudson's Bay Company and Peyton's hotel both had considerable operational expense, but most of this, for instance the wholesale purchase of food

8. Tax revenue is unknown, but obviously exists. This is also the case for church offerings/donations.

TABLE 5-38

AGENCIES OPERATING IN PANGNIRTUNG: INCOME, 1972-73

<u>Received by:</u>	<u>Received from:</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>Local residents</u>	<u>G.N.W.T.</u>	<u>Furs</u>	<u>Tourists & Transients</u>	<u>Carvings</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Hamlet	\$ 488	156,741				1,458	158,687
Co-operative		67,680			61,185	47,265	176,130
Peyton hotel				114,700			114,700
Ken Brown				28,557			28,557
Nordair				237,375			237,375
G.N.W.T.	26,312						26,312
Federal govt.							-
Anglican mission							-
McGill Univ.						4,933	4,933
H.B.C.	<u>792,563</u>	<u> </u>	<u>98,541</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>891,104</u>
Total	819,363	224,421	98,541	380,632	61,185	56,656	1,637,798

290

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

- NOTES: 1. G.N.W.T. received money from local residents as house rent.
 2. H.B.C. fur income is a minimum figure.
 3. Nordair's income is an estimate of payments made for air tickets by tourists and transients only; local residents obviously contributed to their income, but the extent of this is impossible to estimate. Charter and freight income similarly are not calculable.
 4. The "other" figure for the co-operative includes fish, "sundry," and soapstone.
 5. Part of the co-operative's income for carvings and "other" is from tourists; see page 148.

TABLE 5-39

AGENCIES OPERATING IN PANGNIRTUNG:
EXPENDITURES TO INDIVIDUALS, 1972-73

<u>Spent as or for:</u>					
<u>Spent by:</u>	<u>Wages</u>	<u>Furs</u>	<u>Carvings</u>	<u>Transfers</u>	<u>Total</u>
Hamlet	\$ 73,575.47				73,575.47
Co-operative	114,336.00		47,021.00		161,357.00
Peyton hotel	19,500.00				19,500.00
Ken Brown	2,100.00				2,100.00
Nordair	3,120.00				3,120.00
G.N.W.T.	91,175.00			78,146.00	169,321.00
Federal govt.	57,803.32			64,000.00	121,803.32
Anglican mission	9,200.00				9,200.00
McGill Univ.	1,555.55				1,555.55
H.B.C.	<u>30,804.37</u>	<u>98,541.00</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>129,345.37</u>
Total	403,169.71	98,541.00	47,021.00	142,146.00	690,877.71

SOURCE: Mayes, 1973a.

NOTES: 1. Federal government includes Northern Canada Power Commission.
 2. G.N.W.T. transfer figure includes all payments except those for unemployment insurance.
 3. Federal transfer figure comprises unemployment benefits only.
 4. Co-operative figure for wages includes \$39,000 paid for "crafts": garments, weaving, prints.

supplies, could not by its nature be local spending. Brown, the fishing camp operator, incurred all his costs, except local labor, elsewhere than in Pangnirtung. The notable exception was the co-operative, which returned 92% of its income to residents of the community. This high rate of return reflects the innate structure of the co-operative, that of distributing its earnings to its suppliers-owners. All of these figures reflect a situation prevalent throughout the Arctic:

Capital flows are typically from south to north, while cash flows are greater from north to south. In other words, a large amount of the money invested in northern Canada actually goes to buy the equipment and other materials from southern Canada needed for northern projects (Canada, 1977b, 39).

In 1972-73, primary (hunting) production accounted for some 18% of earned income; handicrafts (15.7%) were the only sort of secondary production; wage employment (66.3%) in the community was, without exception, in the tertiary (services) sector. As noted by Robertson (1955, 11) and later in the area economic survey (Canada, 1967, 100), the renewable resource industry is probably static, and at best offers scope only for limited expansion if char or whale fisheries can be developed. Mineral surveys conducted in the area to date have been negative. Secondary industry also is unlikely to become more significant than it is. Costs of production are such that, at least in the foreseeable future, communities in the eastern Arctic will be unable to compete financially in any but the small volume luxury markets in which they are already present. Both primary and secondary production will, in the long term, provide only supplements to locally derived income. The tertiary sector is the only one likely to expand. It is important to note that, in 1972-73, tertiary employment yielded 66.3% of Pangnirtung's earned income, and that government was responsible for 61% of that; therefore, the productive (earned) portion

of the village economy appears to have been approximately 40% dependent on government.

Most government jobs are of a public service nature: garbage removal, oil and water delivery, etc. As these services are now well provided for in the community it is not likely that any expansion of employment will occur in these services, other than increases made necessary by growth of the population. However, the tourist industry that may result from the exploitation of the region's tourist appeal could create the need for housekeepers, guides, cooks, etc. Although tourism is the industry most widely expected to be the local growth industry, as explained in Chapter Four, the obvious limitation to the benefits it brings is the extent to which the industry in fact develops. In this regard, and irrespective of possible social costs, prior experience indicates that any given industry will provide only a few jobs, given the limited ability of a small community to generate a demand for and/or locally supply it.

Development of a village economy characterized by several small industries is desirable for two reasons. First, it is the usual case that community public services are at least partially supported by local tax revenue. In Pangnirtung the only such local revenue is generated by a community service charge and fees for business licenses which produced an insignificant \$488 in 1973 (Northwest Territories, 1974, 3). Money with which to provide such services is presently provided by territorial government grants. The Government of the Northwest Territories in turn in 1973-74 received at least 60% of its revenues from the federal government (Northwest Territories, Annual Report, 1973, 87). Should the territorial and/or federal governments reduce the money that is, in essence, a subsidy used to maintain a standard of living that the community does not generate on its own, the standard of

living will, of necessity, drop. Given new and different sources of local revenue, reduced dependence on government and increased local economic independence will result.

Second, in the same manner in which the Inuit economy was dependent on external market demand for one commodity (fox pelts) twenty years ago, it is today dependent on only three: sealskins, handicrafts, and tourism. All of these are consumer non-essentials; in times of economic hardship in Canada or elsewhere, market demand for such commodities falls in advance of any reduction in demand for necessities thereby leaving the Inuit economy vulnerable to hardship as well. Mere changes in fashion also can have the same effect: the drastic fall in the price paid for sealskins in the winter of 1977-78 is a case in point. Expanding the number of economic activities, so that the economy is based on a greater number and variety of markets, would reduce the possibility of local economic hardship, should the demand of one or more markets decline.

While accepting the merits of these arguments, no evidence exists that any such small industries will emerge in the near future. No industries other than tourism and commercial fishing have at any time been proposed for the Cumberland Sound region. A char fishery is operating at, or near, what is apparently its biologically sustainable yield, and provides a small income from local sales to Frobisher Bay and other eastern Arctic settlements. Whales are now protected from further hunting. It might be possible to utilize for resale the meat from harvested seals that is now going to waste when hunters utilize only the skin as a source of income, but even if successful this would provide only limited additional income. As well, any significant expansion of the existing handicrafts industry may simply depress prices, thus reducing unit returns. This is the case in any luxury/prestige market, where scarcity plays a significant role in

the determination of product value. A westerner employed in Pangnirtung by the local government recently suggested that perhaps houses could be prefabricated in the community during the winter, rather than in southern Canada. This would appear to be feasible, but would need to be implemented by the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation as part of their overall construction program.

Work

Throughout this chapter, continuing reference has been made to increasing wage employment in Cumberland Sound. This increase is due largely to the emphasis government has placed on creating wage employment opportunities for the Inuit over the past two decades, and the concurrent lack of attention to improving the viability of hunting as a livelihood. The provision of wage positions for the Inuit has been an integral part of government policy for two reasons: it would provide Inuit with a stable source of income alternative to hunting, which was regarded as an anachronism after the collapse of the fox fur trade economy, and allow the Inuit some hope of "adjusting to" and "participating meaningfully in" northern "development" (Canada, 1972e, 34-36); and it would provide southern based industry operating in the North with a pool of trained local workers to fill jobs that would otherwise require that southerners be brought in at a higher cost (see pages 74 and 76). While emphasis has been placed on the provision of wage employment, government has always recognized, at least formally, that coercing Inuit to accept such employment is not tolerable; the illusion, at least, of freedom of choice was to be maintained (Ibid., 24).

Table 5-40 and Figure 5-12 show labor force participation rates in all occupations for Canada in 1973, and for the eastern Arctic and Pangnirtung

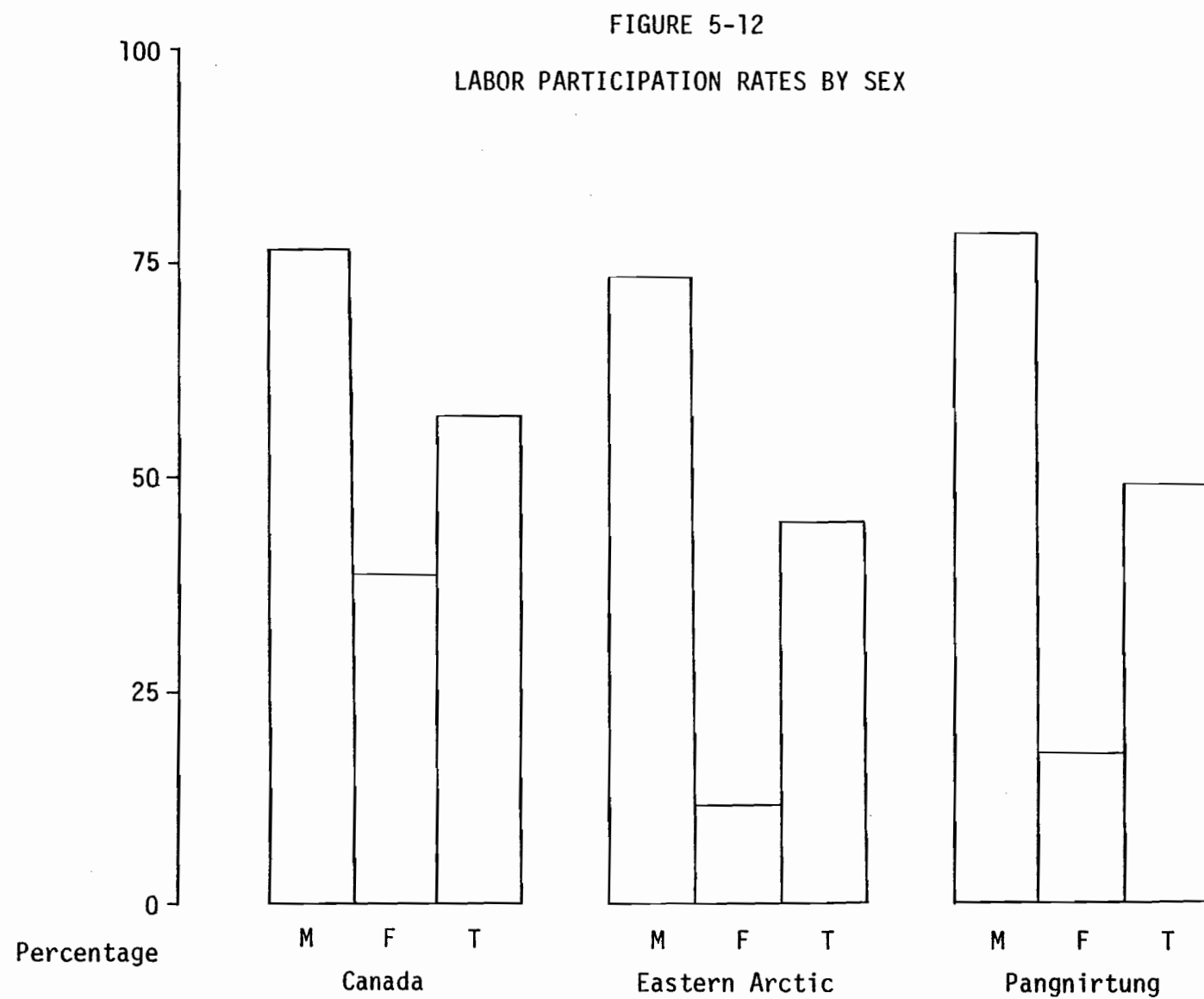
TABLE 5-40

LABOR FORCE BY SEX, SHOWING PARTICIPATION RATES

	Population 14 Years Old and Over			Labor Force			Participation Rate (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Canada (1973)	7978000	8146000	16125000	6127000	3152000	9279000	76.8	38.7	57.5
Eastern Arctic (1969)	1241	1104	2345	911	127	1038	73.4	11.5	44.3
Pangnirtung (1969)	155	146	301	122	25	147	78.7	17.1	48.8

SOURCES: Canada, 1973a.
Canada, 1974d, 119.

NOTE: Figures for the eastern Arctic and Pangnirtung are for the Inuit population only.



SOURCE: Table 5-40.

in 1969. The notable similarity is in the male participation rates, which are virtually identical for all areas. The notable dissimilarity is in the female participation rates. While the increase in female participation has been one of the most marked changes in the Canadian labor force over the past fifty years, female participation in the wage labor market in 1969 in the eastern Arctic as a whole and in Pangnirtung in particular was low.

McElroy (1971, 1) notes that throughout most of the urbanization period

...it was the male Eskimo who took the lead in seeking employment, learning to speak English, and participating in the development of local government and economic cooperatives. While women were not excluded from membership on the community councils or from wage-earning opportunities, the majority of Eskimo women limited themselves by choice to the more traditional instrumental roles within the home and kinship group.

This pattern has changed in the past few years: men are still primarily employed in municipal services, machine maintenance, or construction, but an increasing number of females find employment as secretaries, store clerks, domestics, or in specialized crafts, such as weaving. In 1973 in Pangnirtung, of fifty-two full and part time positions, nineteen were held by females, thirty-three by men. McElroy attributes this pattern to changing role aspirations among Inuit. High esteem is still accorded males who are hunters able to provide their families with country food. However, young settlement-raised females are now esteemed, not for subsistence oriented skills, but for

...wearing the most modern and attractive styles of clothing, being a good dancer, having traveled in the south, and having a pleasant, "public-visibility" kind of job.... (Ibid., 10).

Demand for wage rather than subsistence employment among both sexes will most likely increase in the future: McElroy indicates that subsistence/traditional occupations were the least preferred potential occupations of nine to seventeen year old males and females in Pangnirtung in 1971 (Ibid., 13)

similar findings apply to Frobisher Bay (Ibid., 15). Other research conducted in Frobisher Bay in 1970 supports McElroy's findings (Canada, 1974c). These job preferences among young people probably indicate an overall shift toward western values and attitudes. Certainly no one would argue that the traditional Inuit life was an easy one: one had to work long and hard for food, there were few medicines, creature comforts were unknown. Such "stern realities" offer much of the reason why Inuit were willing to abandon their hunting camps during and after World War II for the amenities and employment believed to be a constituent of settlement life. For those who have secured wage employment, there can be no question that per unit of time expended more money income is obtained than through either hunting or handicrafts (see Figure 5-13). However, hunting provides not only money and food, but is part of a cultural heritage that has nothing to do with any sort of productive activity. For these reasons to equate units of effort expended on hunting and wage earning is not appropriate, but to argue that settlement wage employment undoubtedly requires that less effort be made to provide for human necessities would seem justifiable. Insofar as this situation is true, and/or is believed to be true by Inuit, one may expect young people to attempt to move away from the traditional occupations. To what extent this is possible will be determined by the availability of wage positions. As early as 1967, the area administrator in Pangnirtung believed that tension existed as a result of limited wage employment opportunities (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, June, 1967). One may expect increased social tension to develop if the desired wage positions continue to be unavailable.

An attempt to measure overall level of work, in all occupations, is presented in Table 5-41 and Figure 5-13. In weeks, the figures show that

TABLE 5-41

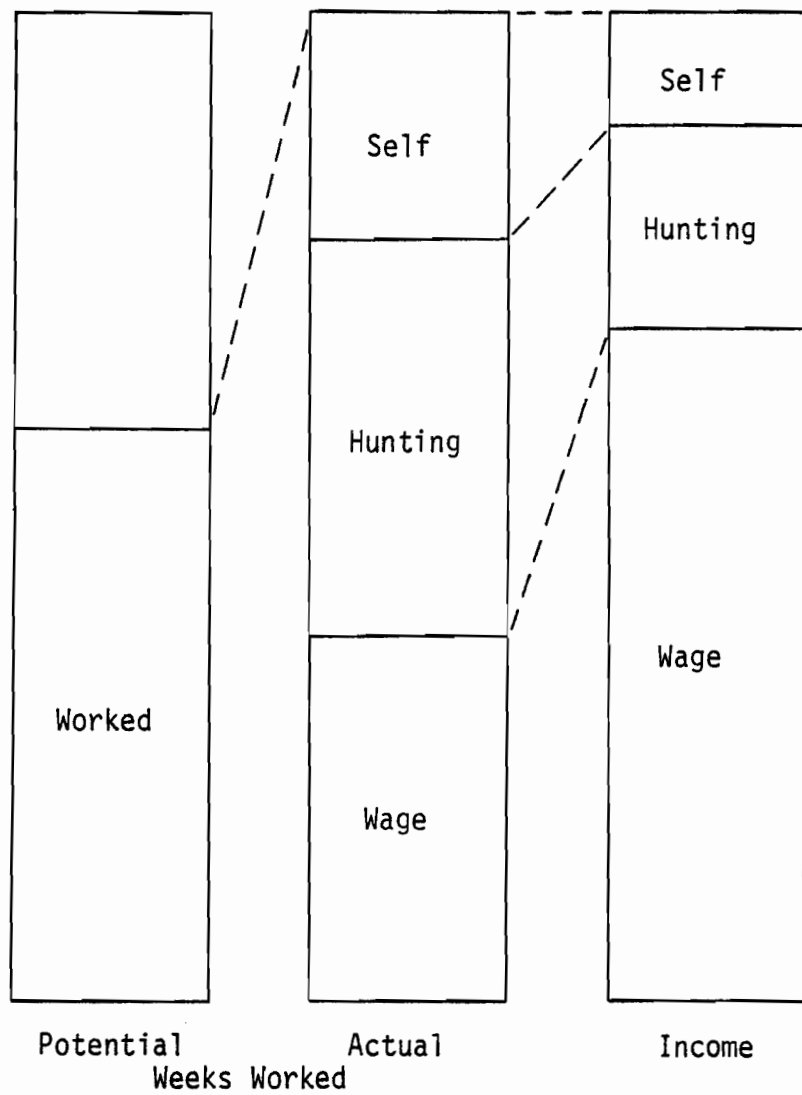
POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL WEEKS WORKED IN PANGNIRTUNG,
BY CATEGORY (1969)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Wage/Salary	1866	876	2742
Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing	2870	70	2940
Self employment	<u>1110</u>	<u>605</u>	<u>1706</u>
Weeks Worked	5837	1551	7388
Potential Weeks of Work	7176	5564	12740
Worked/Potential	81.3%	27.9	58.0

	<u>Weeks Worked as Percentages</u>		
Wage/Salary	32.0	56.5	37.1
Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing	49.2	4.5	39.8
Self employment	<u>18.9</u>	<u>39.0</u>	<u>23.1</u>
Weeks Worked	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Derived from Canada, 1973a.

FIGURE 5-13
WORK AND INCOME



SOURCES: Table 5-10 and Table 5-41.

the labor force of Pangnirtung worked about 58% of all the potential weeks they could have worked had all members of the labor force worked a full fifty-two weeks. Phrased another way, one might say that the real combined unemployment/underemployment rate in the village was 42%.

Society

Introduction

Although the elimination of material poverty has been the primary goal of government policy in Arctic Canada, the overall objective has been westernization. Government recognizes that a distinction between economic and social change exists, and that successful westernization implies change in both spheres (see pages 81-82). As with "economic development," such an attitude finds support in the literature. For instance, Dalton, following Myrdal, states:

Development is a dynamic and complicated process which takes place over time. If sufficient improvements in the several spheres of activity that comprise development can be successfully initiated, these improvements will...be mutually reinforcing. Development is a cumulative process upward: improvements in income make improvements in health, education, and technology easier, and vice versa (Dalton, 1971, 5).

The necessity, then, is to attempt some measurement of social change. While changes in per capita and family income allow measurement of economic change in terms of a neutral commodity, money, social change is much more difficult to measure, especially as it affects a non-western society. The social indicators movement that has developed in the last few years evidences attempts to measure social change as rigorously as economic change has been measured for decades. Social indicators only allow, however, for measurement relative to western values, which may not be comparable to Inuit values. But insofar as the goal of government policy has been to westernize the Inuit, the examination of Inuit "social accounts" is worthwhile.

Social indicators suffer from certain definitional and operational problems stemming from the value considerations with which they are inextricably linked. In the context of the Canadian North, a first problem may be found in the government statement of policy quoted on page 237 (To provide for a higher standard of living, quality of life and equality of opportunity for northern residents by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations). The statement offers us an abstract ideal of what is good and desirable (higher quality of life), but this is not given a specific identity as a definable goal. For example, "good health" is generally regarded as desirable; a specific goal might be that people are sufficiently healthy to enjoy life. Here again, however, "sufficiently" and "enjoy" are vague, value-laden terms, but upon which improvement may be impossible. Assuming definable goals, one must then be capable of measuring progress toward them in some operational way. Continuing with the example of good health, Statistics Canada offers that:

...there is still a great deal of controversy over whether it is possible to *measure* positive health statistically, especially if one includes the concept of positive mental health. Although it is feasible to measure certain aspects of physical health (e.g., eyesight, hearing, teeth, and endurance), it is quite another matter to relate these physiological characteristics to the more abstract notion of general physical health (Canada, 1974d, 27).

In other words, do the measures offer an indication of how fit (able to enjoy life) people are? Further measurement difficulties occur if one considers changes in values over time; extending life expectancy traditionally has been considered the primary goal of health care, but in recent years there has been more interest in making life healthier, rather than longer (Ibid., 28). Finally, one must assign quantitative values to the selected operational measurements. It is here that one encounters deficiencies in data, particularly with respect to time series and spatial comparability.

Statistics Canada (and its predecessor, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics) has collected very little data from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory. What have been collected are, as often as not, aggregated to such an extent that one can make little use of them. By turning to alternate sources, one can generate sufficient data to make some comparison between conditions in Cumberland Sound and the Northwest Territories and/or Canada over about the past ten or fifteen years. These data, given that many were not originally collected for comparative purposes, are somewhat inconsistent, and because many were not collected on a regular basis, there are gaps in time series.

The purpose of this section is to present some indication of social change in Cumberland Sound in the period 1961-1973, especially as manifested in health and education, the two main fields of government interest. In several cases, the data refer to the eastern Arctic, not Cumberland Sound; there is, however, no reason to suppose they are not analogous, but use of data from the larger area partially overcomes problems associated with tiny absolute changes in small populations creating large relative changes.

Health

Physical Health

Average life expectancy has traditionally been interpreted as an indicator of general health conditions, and any gains have thus been viewed as evidence of improved health of the population. Lately, however, additional gains in [Canadian] life expectancy have been small. Most of the increases in the past 35 years can be attributed to the drop in infant mortality and the virtual elimination of infectious diseases as a cause of death, rather than to people living to an older age (Ibid.).

While the overall death rate in the eastern Arctic is as low as in Canada generally, infant mortality rates in the region remain unacceptably high, roughly three times the national average (see Table 5-42 and Figure 5-14).

TABLE 5-42
 INFANT MORTALITY RATE (PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic Inuit</u>
1973		27.8	48.3
1972	17.1	48.6	52.6
1971		58.5	86.5
1970	18.8	68.1	
1969	19.3	55.9	73.2
1968	20.8	64.7	85.2
1967	22.0	62.0	99.2
1966	23.1	79.9	108.8
1965	23.6	59.5	95.4
1964	24.7	68.1	92.1
1963	26.3	104.0	157.0
1962	28.0	120.0	194.0
1961	27.0	108.0	185.0

SOURCES: Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1963-1972.

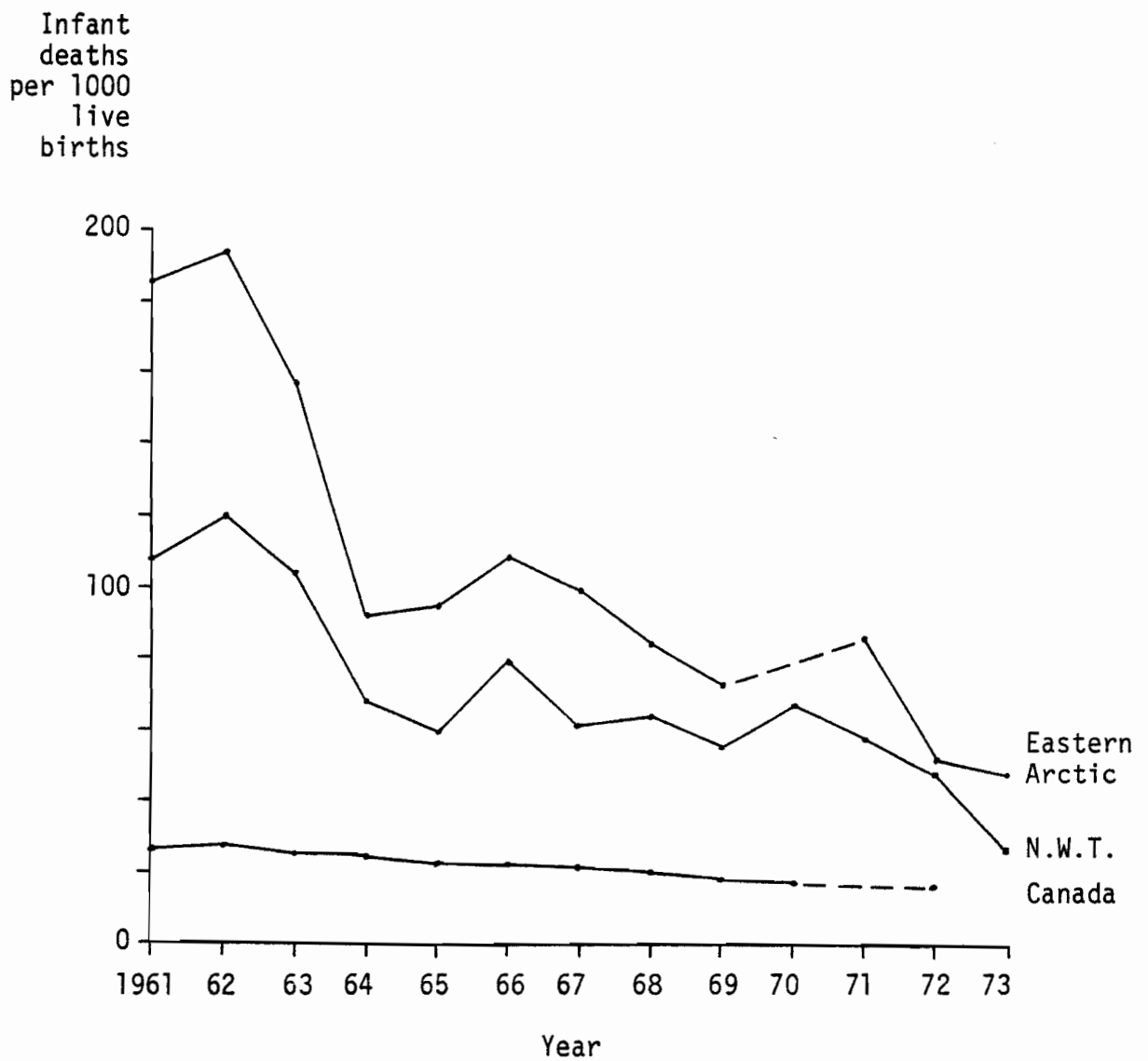
Canada, Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics. Catalogue 84-202. Canada Yearbook, 1974, 171; 1975, 174.

Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories." 1973, 1974.

- NOTES: 1. Eastern Arctic, 1966 and earlier, figures for all Inuit.
 2. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-14

INFANT MORTALITY RATE (PER 1000 LIVE BIRTHS)



SOURCE: Table 5-42.

Rates in the early 1960s approximated those of twenty to thirty years earlier: Robinson (1944, 142) states that in the period 1927-1943 the annual average Inuit infant mortality rate was 170/1000. However, the past several years have witnessed a considerable drop in infant mortality rates, approximately 74% in the period 1961-1973. For the most part, the decline in infant mortality is attributed to an improved standard of living, primarily the provision of adequate water supply and waste disposal associated with the movement of people from hunting camps into settlements (Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories", 1974, 9). Further, infant mortality is considered to be "...associated with high birth orders and that the babies of young mothers with several small children are particularly vulnerable" (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories", 1972, 8). As 42% of Inuit women have four or more children, while the comparable 1972 Canadian rate was only 13%, Inuit are obviously more susceptible to high rates of infant mortality than the general population. The Department of National Health and Welfare considers that no further decline of any consequence in the infant mortality rate will occur without continued improvement in the Inuit standard of living. As in 1960 (see pages 162-63) they are still particularly concerned to relate large numbers of children and inadequate housing to the general consideration of economic well-being:

Mothers in substandard overcrowded houses with poor sanitation, must find it almost impossible to put any health teaching into practice (Ibid., 9).

One should note that, while no recent figures are available for Inuit life expectancy, given comparable Inuit and Canadian death rates, but a much higher Inuit than Canadian infant mortality rate, Inuit probably have a shorter life expectancy than Canadians in general.

Cause of death traditionally has been used as an indicator of health, though contemporary use of this statistic is "...to focus attention on death prior to old age" (Canada, 1974d, 28). In the past several years, the practice in the eastern Arctic has been to remove to Frobisher Bay for treatment seriously ill patients except the very old. While it is therefore possible to state that sixty-three Inuit died in Cumberland Sound between 1961 and 1973 (Northwest Territories, Pangnirtung Sub-Registrar of Vital Statistics. Certificates of Registration of Death), to say how many residents of the region died in Frobisher Bay is impossible. The figures on cause of death must therefore be taken as incomplete, but to some unknown extent.

From the sixty-three known deaths, there was a loss of 2,634 potential years of life (age seventy is taken as old age (Canada, 1974d, 28)). This is an average loss of 41.8 years per person, and compares with 22.4 years per person for all Canadians in 1971 (Ibid., 38). The reason is directly related to the comparative rates of infant mortality: twenty-four Inuit deaths (38%) occurred among infants, while something less than ten percent of 1971 Canadian deaths were infant related (Ibid.).⁹ As with life expectancy the primary means by which to reduce the high number of lost years of life would appear to be to reduce infant mortality.

One reason for declining Canadian death rates is the elimination of infectious disease as a cause of death. This is also the case in Cumberland Sound. However, several contagious diseases are still to be found within the region, indicating that the local population may not be enjoying as healthy lives as the rest of Canadians. In 1973, for instance, infectious hepatitis broke out in Pond Inlet and Igloolik, a situation related directly to "...the absence of adequate water supplies for hand washing, or the

9. The sources are ambiguous: some infant deaths are classed under other headings such as "accidents."

failure to take advantage of what is available...." (Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories", 1974, 21). Jenness offers this assessment of communicable disease among Inuit:

Behind the present-day Eskimos...stretch many long centuries of isolated existence in an arctic waste where the climate prohibits the growth of many bacteria, fungi, and viruses that thrive in more temperate regions and occasion the influenza, malaria, and other diseases that afflict the human race. Climate combined with isolation preserved the Eskimos' ancestors from most of the widely spread diseases to which they may have been subject before they settled in arctic America, keeping them a wonderfully healthy people until the white man broke into their solitude.... Epidemics of influenza, diphtheria, measles, smallpox, and virus pneumonia seem to have been entirely unknown, and any immunity or resistance to those diseases which the Eskimos may have possessed in the remote past was not transmitted to their modern descendants.... In any case the arctic coast dwellers failed to escape the measles and other diseases that followed [European contact]...ravaged the natives unhindered, then retreated for a period while their victims struggled to recuperate.

One disease, tuberculosis, lingered and became endemic: by 1950 it was crippling from 15 to 20 per cent of the Eskimo population in Canada's Arctic (Jenness, 1964, 139-40).

The Department of National Health and Welfare made a sustained and intense effort to eradicate tuberculosis after it gained responsibility for health in the Arctic in 1945 (Ibid., 85). For many years, the treatment program was oriented toward diagnosis in the North, coupled with removal to southern sanatoria for treatment, a practice which often kept Inuit away from their homes for years. By the late 1960s, the health department indicated its desire to shift the focus of the treatment program away from extended hospitalization:

A recent report by Dr. Atcheson, Psychiatrist, stresses the fact that prolonged hospitalization in the south may be having adverse effects on the mental health of patients on their return home. Other Psychiatrists have also expressed similar fears.

The diagnosis and assessment of Tuberculosis is so specialized that it will always be necessary to evacuate many Tuberculosis patients for initial assessment and therapy but there is no valid reason why many of these patients cannot be returned to northern hospitals within a period of 3 to 6 months and there are many early cases which can be treated adequately in northern hospitals from the initial diagnosis.

It is therefore recommended that we use those institutions in the north when beds are available for the in-patient treatment of selected cases of Tuberculosis. We are already using Rae and Inuvik Hospitals for this purpose but we should also use Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, Chesterfield and Pangnirtung hospitals in order to avoid prolonged hospitalization in the south. Regular monthly attendance by a doctor and assessment at three-monthly intervals by a specialist is a prerequisite of this program but this can easily be arranged.

Our out-patient therapy program for this disease is progressing favourably and we have now over 200 patients receiving drugs at home (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories", 1969, 10).

The following year the department reported further progress:

In 1967 I reported that we had 200 patients on home chemotherapy or prophylaxis--this program has expanded and at the end of 1968 a total of 429 patients were being administered drugs at home. Generally speaking the patients are co-operating very well and this program will in the future considerably reduce the number of patients requiring hospitalization (Ibid., 1969, 10).

Although the emphasis of the treatment program has been changed from hospitalization to individual and community preventative care, the intensity of effort to overcome the disease has remained. The data, however, presented in Table 5-43 and Figure 5-15 show that while progress has been notable, the incidence of tuberculosis among Inuit is still roughly eleven times the national figure. The Department of National Health and Welfare is obviously aware that further effort is needed, and expects to maintain its emphasis on preventative treatment wherever possible:

It now appears that we have a continuing trend...of a reduction in the incidence of new and reactivated cases of tuberculosis--it seems that this is related to an aggressive surveillance by sputum surveys and x-ray surveys as well as a detailed contact follow-up of each new infectious case as it is found. With the continuation of the present surveillance it would appear that the most effective way of reducing the present "plateau" of new cases in the older age group is to expand in a selective way the preventative treatment program (Ibid., 1972, 34).

The continuance of the domiciliary drug program as a preventative measure continues to play an important role in the eradication of tuberculosis (Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories", 1974, 26).

TABLE 5-43
INCIDENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS (PER 100,000 POPULATION)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic</u>
1973	16.1	100.0	196.0
1972	17.9	136.1	421.0
1971	18.2	211.1	745.0
1970	18.3	254.5	
1969	21.1	500.0	1552.0
1968	23.3	503.2	
1967	22.5	569.0	1220.0
1966	22.6	393.1	
1965	24.5	484.0	
1964	23.6	532.0	
1963	34.9	1254.2	
1962	34.9	862.5	

SOURCES: Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1963-1972.

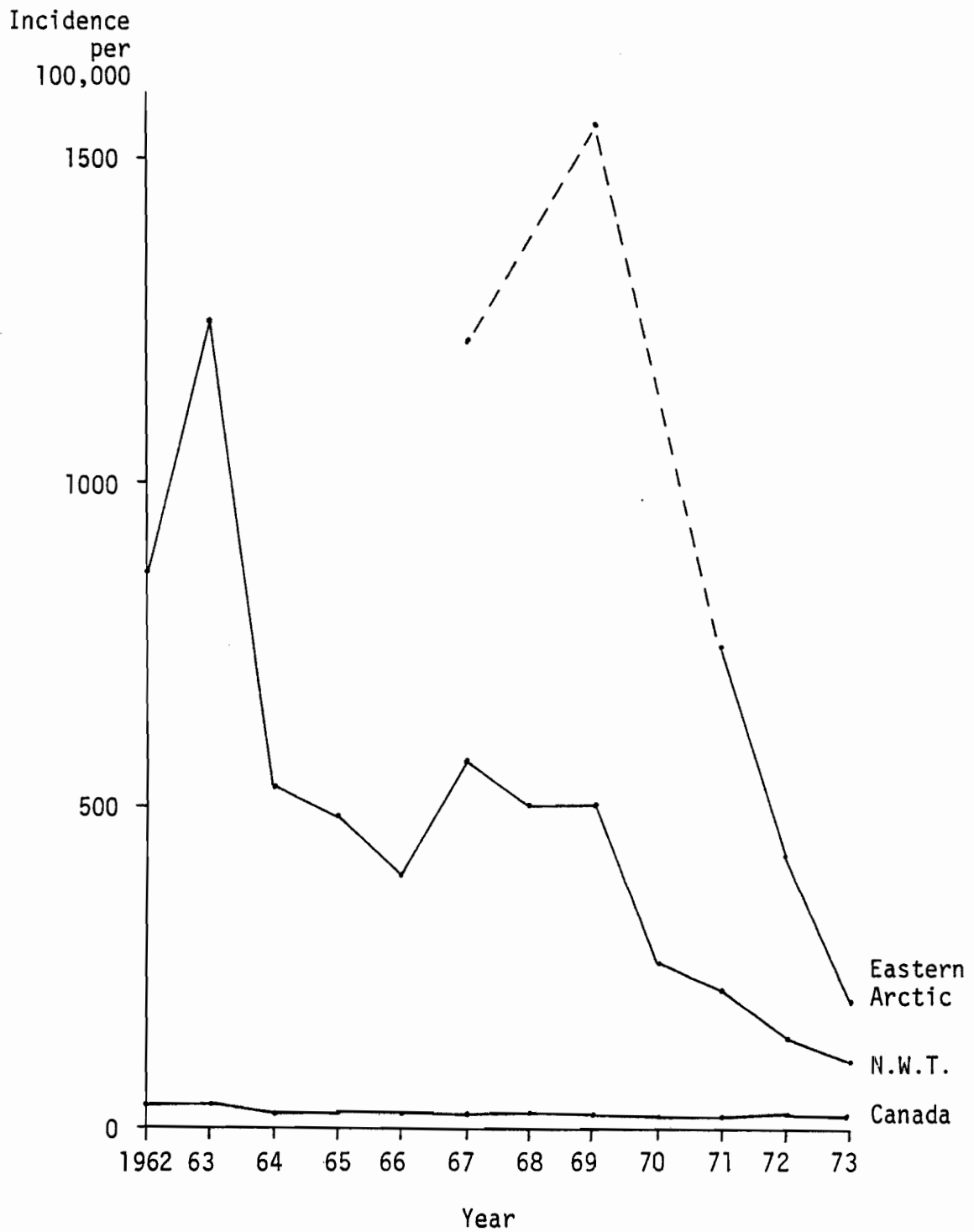
Canada, Statistics Canada. Incidence of Tuberculosis, Catalogue 82-001.

Canada, Statistics Canada. Annual Report of Notifiable Diseases, Catalogue 82-201.

Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1973, 1974.

NOTE: Eastern Arctic figures apply to the Inuit and western population. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-15
INCIDENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS



SOURCE: Table 5-43.

Perhaps noteworthy is that in 1974 a visiting Norwegian doctor expressed some shock that Canada still has a population suffering from tuberculosis. It was his contention that tuberculosis indicates two things: poor nutrition and inadequate housing. Given the presence of these two factors in the Arctic, one may only expect to treat the disease, not to eradicate it (Inukshuk, July 24, 1974, 15).

More disturbing perhaps than the persistence of an endemic disease is the introduction and spread of another, gonorrhoea. Jenness (1964, 148) reports that venereal disease was "...rampant in the Mackenzie delta in the days of the whaling-ships, and probably also in the Eastern Arctic, but...disappeared from our far north in the first decade of this century." By the 1960s gonorrhoea was again present in the Arctic, and over the past several years the incidence has soared. Although allowing for apparent gross underreporting, the spread of the disease in Canada, characterized in news reports as "rampant" (Montreal Star, July 27, 1974), is simply not of the same dimensions as in the Northwest Territories, nor as in the eastern Arctic, where the incidence is twice the Northwest Territories' rate, and fifty-five times the national rate (see Table 5-44 and Figure 5-16). To present these figures in other terms, one in every nine people in the eastern Arctic has gonorrhoea.

Several reasons may be put forward to explain this state of affairs. Jenness (1964, 148) suggests that the rapid spread results from a conjunction of three factors:

...the increasing number of white men who are visiting the region today; the freedom in sexual relations which the Eskimos condoned in earlier centuries, and probably still regard more lightly than we do; and the breakdown in the morale of the natives, visible in many small settlements but most apparent in the larger ones....

The Department of National Health and Welfare is aware of the critical nature of widespread gonorrhoea. The department used a vaccine against the

TABLE 5-44
INCIDENCE OF GONORRHOEA (PER 100,000 POPULATION)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic</u>
1973	205.2	6273.5	11155.0
1972	189.9	4794.4	9362.0
1971	158.7	5011.1	6582.0
1970	147.6	2839.4	3726.0
1969	129.0	1665.6	1159.0
1968	108.6	2038.7	1427.0
1967	109.5	2893.1	987.0
1966	107.3	2324.1	
1965	102.9	2644.0	
1964	107.2	1492.0	
1963	102.7	775.0	
1962	95.3	741.7	
1961	90.3	600.0	

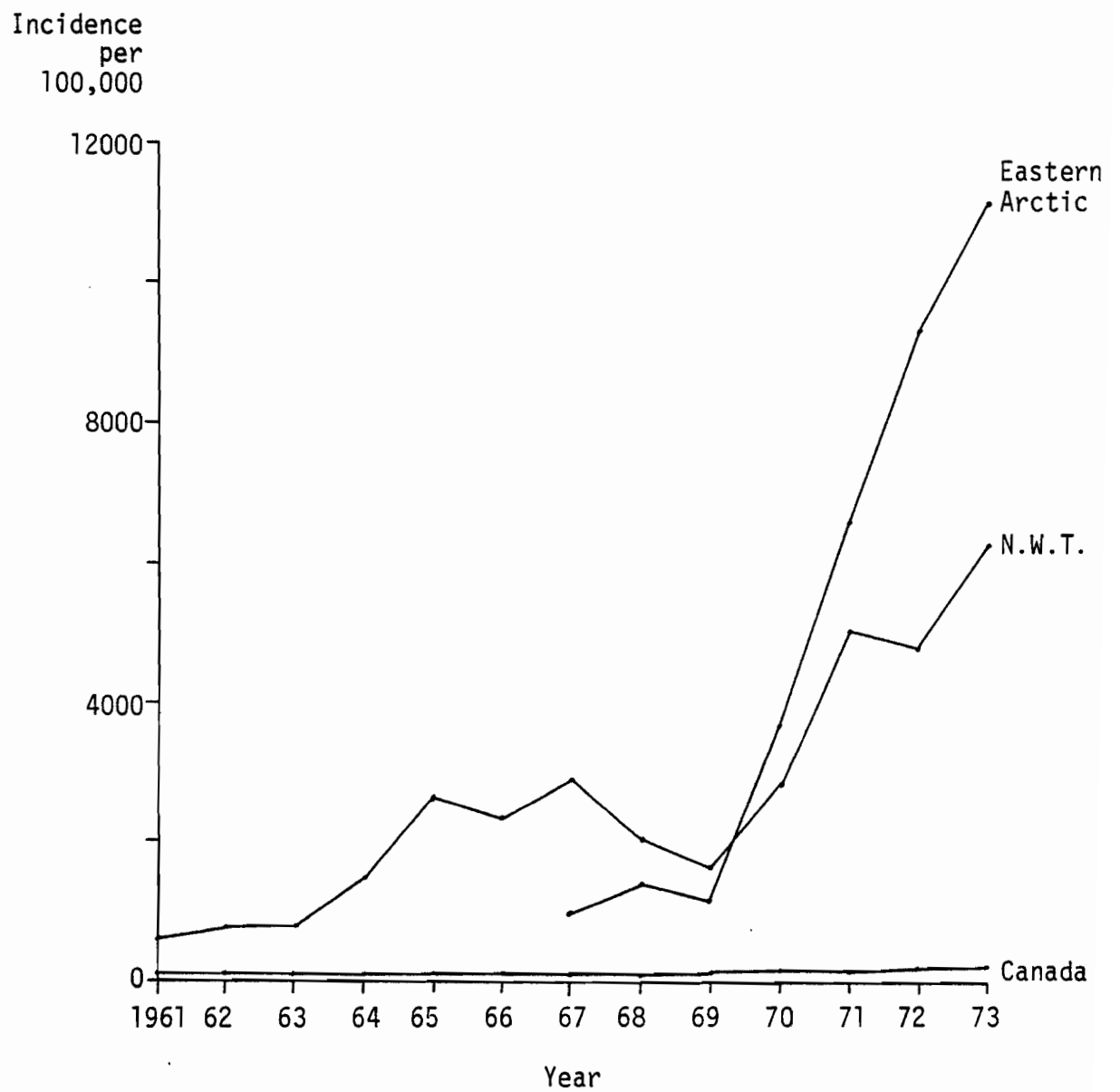
SOURCES: Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1963-1972.

Canada, Statistics Canada. Annual Report of Notifiable Diseases, Catalogue 82-201.

Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1973, 1974.

NOTE: Eastern Arctic figures apply to the Inuit and western population. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-16
INCIDENCE OF GONORRHOEA



SOURCE: Table 5-44.

disease on a trial basis in the Mackenzie area in the early 1970s (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Northern Health Service. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1972, 22), but as performance of the vaccine was considered unsatisfactory, the program was dropped in 1973 (Northwest Territories, Chief Medical and Health Officer. "Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories," 1974, 23). As a result, the emphasis is now placed on a preventative approach:

...a heavy emphasis is being given to our V. D. educational programme in 1974 with input from this department into the schools as a primary point of attack (Ibid., 24).

Nutrition

Nutrition Canada states that "...nutritional health is fundamental to normal general health and the prevention or reduction in the severity of disease" (Canada, 1973d, 1). Because nutrition is basic to health, most especially in the prevention of illness, the nutritional status of Inuit in Cumberland Sound is examined in some detail.

Nutritionists studying the Inuit of the Canadian Arctic have, over the years, depicted a more or less uniformly depressing situation with regard to the health and changed eating patterns of the residents. That these changes did not evolve slowly, but took place over a very short period of time, can explain, but does not justify, the contemporary degenerate nutritional habits. This is particularly true of Cumberland Sound where contact with westerners was limited until the establishment of the DEWline stations in the mid 1950s. Although starvation is no longer an important consideration, the acquisition of nutritious, healthy western foods presents a problem, as the data show. For example, data in Table 5-45 show the proportions of various kinds of foods consumed per person per day. On the average more sugar than flour is eaten, the amount of fresh fruit and

TABLE 5-45
DAILY PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION
OF SELECTED STORE FOOD ITEMS (GRAMS)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Average of Five Families</u>	<u>Average of Two Households</u>
Flour	70	171
Biscuits & Cookies	39	3
Sugar	76	26
Soft Drinks	22	46
Candy	5	15
Milk	36	37
Lard	12	23
Baking Powder	5	8
Rice, Noodles, Potatoes	3	
Tea	5	4
Fresh Fruit & Vegetables	10	4
Canned Fruit & Vegetables	6	7
Canned Meat & Spreads	16	11

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: Blank space indicates data not available.

vegetables is about half the amount of soft drinks consumed, and cookies and cake exceed by three times the amount of fruit and vegetables. This pattern does not stem from the non-availability of certain foods, but is purely a factor of uneducated choice.

Dr. Otto Schaefer (1971, 9) points out that in the rapid westernization to which the Inuit have been exposed so recently, "The greatest impact has been through changes in both the eating habits and type of foods consumed by the Eskimos." Store food is not bought communally, and is shared to a much lesser extent than products of the hunt. A former hunter who shared the hardships of the hunt with the other able males in camp, and the rewards with the other families in the community, now may spend a part or all of his time working for wages with which to buy store food for his family alone. These factors must inevitably result in a decreased interdependence among the individuals in a particular community.

Data on nutrition and food intake were gathered as part of the economic survey described on pages 242 and 247. The five survey families kept weekly accounts of food purchases and consumption. For comparative purposes data are presented from two traditional households in a hunting camp on the southern coast of Baffin Island; these were compiled by W. B. Kemp in a study he conducted in 1968 (Kemp, 1971). The time periods involved are as follows:

Mayes: Families 1-4: 217 days,
Family 5: 203 days,
Average of five families: 214 days.

Kemp: Household 1: 420 days,
Household 2: 365 days,
Average of two households: 392 days.

The United States National Academy of Sciences has assembled figures for recommended dietary allowances for a reference man and woman, which are

based on the height/weight relationship and factors of physical activity and climate (National Academy of Sciences, 1968, 2). The reference figures are both twenty-two years of age, weight 70 kilograms and 58 kilograms, respectively, have occupations involving light physical activity (with expenditures of between 120 and 240 kilocalories per hour), and live in an environment where the temperature averages 20°C. The reference man and woman are assumed to spend fifteen hours daily sleeping, reclining, or sitting, five hours daily standing, two hours daily walking, and two hours daily in "other" occupations which include intermittent light physical labor and sports. Although figures on the energy expenditure for the members of the Inuit families are not available, one may reasonably assume that the men, at least, due to hunting, would expend more energy, and therefore would require a higher caloric intake than the reference figure. Furthermore, an addition of 8.5% to the reference calorie allowance is necessary to compensate for climate: 5.0% for those living in a mean temperature below 14°C., and a 3.5% increase to adjust for the energy expenditure connected with the weight of clothing carried. Thus, the average daily per capita caloric intake needed for the survey Inuit is 2376 calories (see Table 5-46).

Table 5-47 shows the daily per capita caloric intake of the two households and the five survey families compared with the Canadian average for 1966-68. These figures show the caloric consumption for the members of the hunting camp households in 1968 to be 7% above the national average, whereas the average for Pangnirtung in 1973 was 18% below the national average of 1966-68.

In the past the Inuit diet has been observed to be high in protein due to the quantities of fish and game eaten. Rabinowitch, in his 1935-36 study, estimated that "...when food is abundant, the average daily diet of

TABLE 5-46

METHOD OF CALCULATION OF REQUIRED CALORIES

1. Infants require 110 calories/kilogram body weight.
2. Children to age 10 require 80 calories/kilogram body weight.
3. Males age 10-21 require 50 calories/kilogram body weight. Females age 10-17 require 35 calories/kilogram body weight.
4. Kilocalorie allowance for the reference male: 2800 calories/day, plus age adjustment. Kilocalorie allowance for the reference female: 2000 calories/day, plus age adjustment.
5.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Adjustment</u> (% of calorie allowance at age 22)
22 - 35	100 - 95
35 - 45	95 - 92
45 - 55	92 - 89
55 - 65	89 - 84
65 - 75	84 - 79
75 - 85	72
6. An added calorie allowance of 8.5% is necessary for cold climates.

SOURCE: Derived from Recommended Dietary Allowances (National Academy of Sciences, 1968).

TABLE 5-47
DAILY PER CAPITA CALORIE INTAKE

	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store Food</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Pangnirtung</u>			
Family 1	996	3031	4027
Family 2	560	1130	1690
Family 3	1112	2381	3493
Family 4	532	1773	2305
Family 5	341	1652	1993
Average of Five Families	677	1927	2604
<u>South Baffin Island</u>			
Household 1	2072	1145	3217
Household 2	2185	1411	3596
Average of Two Households	2146	1262	3408
<u>Canada</u>			
Canadian average			3200

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
Mayes, 1973a.
United Nations, 1972.

the adult Eskimo consists approximately of 30 to 40 grams of carbohydrate..., 250 to 300 grams of protein, and about 150 grams of fat....(Rabinowitch, 1936a, 493). This is, of course, an estimate, but it does serve to give an idea of the proportions of fat and protein to carbohydrate. Kemp (1971, 105) states that in his study region a minimum of twenty species of game were hunted and that "All marine and terrestrial food chains are exploited in the quest for food...." However, a comparison of the Pangnirtung figures with his shows that the average per capita intake of fat and protein has dropped considerably, while the intake of carbohydrates has more than doubled (see Table 5-48 and Table 5-49). The explanation for this can be found in the greatly increased quantities of store food consumed, and the attendant drop in the amount of game eaten. Schaefer (1971, 10-11) found that a comparison of the eating habits of Inuit in hunting communities with those in more urbanized centers showed the average daily per capita protein consumption to be 318 grams for the hunters and about 100 grams for the settlement dwellers. Although the total fat and carbohydrate intake appeared to be approximately the same, the total calorie intake of the more sedentary urbanized Inuit was less: 2097 calories per person per day opposed to as much as 2859 calories per person per day for the hunters. As a result, carbohydrates form a relatively greater part of the diet of the former, one-half of the calories consumed, compared with one-third for those in the hunting camps.

Kemp (1971, 113) maintains that "Except for the staples and tea, tobacco and candy, there is no strong desire for non-Eskimo foods." Table 5-50 compares the amounts of store food bought by his sample households in 1968 with the amounts bought by the Pangnirtung survey families five years later. These figures show that the trend has been reversed and that western

TABLE 5-48

DAILY PER CAPITA INTAKE OF PROTEIN, FAT, AND CARBOHYDRATE (GRAMS)

<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Protein</u>		<u>Fat</u>		<u>Carbohydrate</u>		<u>Protein</u>	<u>Total Fat</u>	<u>Carbohydrate</u>
	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>			
Family 1	125	61	49	91	11	498	186	140	509
Family 2	111	19	7	25	2	207	129	32	209
Family 3	191	52	29	71	5	381	243	100	386
Family 4	106	31	7	56	2	290	137	63	292
Family 5	59	28	7	49	2	278	87	56	280
Average of Five Families	114	36	18	56	4	322	150	74	326
<u>South Baffin Is.</u>									
Household 1	327	26	122	30	5	212	353	152	217
Household 2	353	33	89	56	6	237	386	145	243
Average of Two Households	342	29	105	43	6	225	371	148	231
<u>Canada</u>									
Canadian Average							96		

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
 Mayes, 1973a.
 United Nations, 1972.

NOTE: Canadian figure is the 1966-68 average.

TABLE 5-49

PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF FOODS (GRAMS)

<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Food</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Protein</u>		<u>Fat</u>		<u>Carbohydrate</u>		<u>Total</u>		<u>Carbohydrate</u>
	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>		<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Protein</u>	<u>Fat</u>	
Family 1	185g	650	835	67%	9	26	14	6	77	22	16	61
Family 2	120	251	371	92	7	6	10	2	83	34	9	56
Family 3	225	505	730	84	10	13	14	2	76	33	14	52
Family 4	115	377	492	92	8	6	15	2	77	27	13	59
Family 5	68	354	422	86	7	9	14	3	78	20	13	66
Average of Five Families	137	414	551	83	8	12	14	4	78	27	13	60
<u>South Baffin Is.</u>												
Household 1	454	269	723	72	9	27	11	1	79	49	21	30
Household 2	448	327	775	79	10	20	17	1	72	50	19	31
Average of Two Households	451	298	749	76	9	23	14	1	75	49.5	20	30.5

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: Weights are without water.

TABLE 5-50
DAILY PER CAPITA FOOD INTAKE (GRAMS)

<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Game</u>	<u>Store</u>	<u>Total</u>
Family 1	551	944	1495
Family 2	404	315	719
Family 3	736	756	1492
Family 4	385	556	941
Family 5	225	484	709
Average of Five Families	460	611	1071
<u>South Baffin Is.</u>			
Household 1	1177	358	1534
Household 2	1267	467	1736
Average of Two Households	1222	413	1635
<u>Canada</u>			
Canadian average			1470

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
Mayes, 1973a.
United Nations, 1972.

NOTE: Weights are with water. Canadian figure is for 1970.

foods have made a considerable gain in popularity, as evidenced by the consumption rates and the associated financial expenditures (see Table 5-51). The Inuk as wage earner no longer has the opportunity to feed himself and his family exclusively off the land. For example, in Family 1, where the head of the house is a full time wage earner, the family intake of seal during the study period was 11.5, ten caught by family members, the others received as gifts, a total of 414 pounds (188 kg.) of meat. For Family 2, on the other hand, where the head is a full time hunter, the seal intake was 47.5 (1710 pounds (776 kg.) of meat), all caught by members of the family. Kemp's 1968 data indicate that the average daily game intake for his two households was 2146 calories, which comprised 62% of their total caloric intake; the Pangnirtung families ate an average 677 game calories, or 26% of total intake. However, one must remember the difference in situation of the families concerned: one is a small hunting camp in southern Baffin Island, the other a more urban settlement in Cumberland Sound. The comparison does serve to point out that the people in the hunting camp in 1968 were receiving two-thirds of their calories as game and that they were generally very well fed. Similar hunting camps existed in Cumberland Sound. Available data show that in 1964 in Cumberland Sound the population ate more food than the five sample families in 1973 (1333 grams/person/day, versus 1071 grams/person/day, respectively). By weight 73% of all food (976 grams of 1333 grams) was from game; 99.5% of meat consumed (976 grams of 981 grams meat consumed/person/day) came from game (Schaefer, 1966, Table 5). Consumption of meat in the study region has declined dramatically, from 981 grams/person/day in 1964 to approximately 476 grams/person/day in 1973; 460 grams of the latter figure is from game, indicating that this decline has not been compensated for by the acquisition of significant amounts of store food of animal origin (see Table 5-52).

TABLE 5-51
EXPENDITURE FOR STORE FOODS

<u>Pangnirtung (1973)</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>
Family 1	\$ 1961.67
Family 2	703.06
Family 3	1173.04
Family 4	948.71
Family 5	1035.18
Average of Five Families	1164.33
 <u>South Baffin Is. (1968)</u>	
Household 1	932.25
Household 2	777.70
Average of Two Households	854.97
 <u>Canada (1969)</u>	
Canadian average	1835.00

SOURCES: Canada, 1974d, 186.
Kemp, 1968.
Table 5-15.

NOTE: Family and household figures for time periods given on page 318.
Canadian figures for one year.

TABLE 5-52

STORE FOOD OF ANIMAL ORIGIN

<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Calories Store Food</u>	<u>Calories of Animal Origin</u>	<u>Animal Origin/ Total</u>
Family 1	3031	100	3.3%
Family 2	1130	11	0.9
Family 3	2381	117	4.9
Family 4	1773	14	0.7
Family 5	1652	42	2.5
Average of Five Families	1927	51	2.6
<u>South Baffin Is.</u>			
Household 1	1145	26	2.2
Household 2	1411	17	1.2
Average of Two Households	1262	23	1.8

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
Mayes, 1973a.

Therefore, a diet traditionally high in protein and fat is being replaced by food that is much less efficient in providing the energy required by the Arctic environment. As Rabinowitch (1936a, 492) attests: "When food is abundant a healthy Eskimo living under primitive conditions will eat 5 to 10 pounds [2.3-4.5 kg.] of meat or more a day...." This meat necessarily includes a certain amount of fat, which is also ingested in far greater quantities than among Canadians generally. Furthermore, the composition of fats from game is different from that of many of the fats westerners use, many of which are saturated fats such as butter. This difference is of some importance according to recent studies which correlate saturated fat in the diet with coronary disease. The United States National Academy of Sciences (1968, 10-11) states that: "Fat is the most concentrated source of food energy providing approximately 9 kcal/gram.... In twenty years the proportion of total fat from animal sources has decreased from 75 to 66 percent...." However, "because of wastage, cooking, and other losses, the actual fat ingested is less than that available for consumption" (Ibid.). This indicates that changes in food preparation methods can be as important as changes in diet. Equivalent quantities of fat from game are not available from store foods. A fat loss also occurs from cooking, a phenomenon which does not take place when meat is eaten raw, a traditional Inuit practice.

Insufficient ingestion of fat will also affect vitamin intake and use. Fat is employed by the body as a carrier for certain vitamins, such as A, D, E, and K. In the course of the health investigation conducted by the Canadian Government Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1935, Rabinowitch found numerous occurrences of poor eye health. One problem in particular he found to be directly related to a nutrition deficiency was that of

insensitivity to foreign objects in the eye. Of the cases he examined, three-quarters of the persons involved were not aware of the existence of a foreign particle in the eye, although some were encysted. He related this insensitivity, in part, to a vitamin A deficiency stemming from an insufficient amount of fat in the diet (Rabinowitch, 1936a, 495). This problem continues to exist as the Nutrition Canada National Survey shows (Table 5-53). Table 5-54 demonstrates the lack of vitamin C which characterizes the Inuit population today, a lack which represents yet another result of the trend away from the consumption of raw meat and fish. Schaefer (1971, 15) confirms this: "I can only mention in passing such matters as the importance of uncooked meat and fish for optimal preservation of vitamin C in people otherwise critically short of this essential factor."

As well as lacking in some elements, the Inuit diet has now been greatly augmented in others by western foods which are not beneficial to general physical health. The outstanding example of this is found in the amount of sugar consumed, a contemporary problem which does not plague only the Inuit. Table 5-55 gives an indication of the rate of consumption in Pangnirtung and in southern Baffin Island of sugar and specific sugar-related foods: honey, molasses, jams, soft drinks, and candy. Especially notable is that consumption in Cumberland Sound of these foods increased by 37% between 1964 and 1973, from 78 grams/person/day (Schaefer, 1966, Table 5) to 107 grams/person/day. Schaefer maintains that over 50% of the total carbohydrate intake of the urban population of western nations is ingested as refined sugar. He further says: "It is necessary to make the important distinction that while this trend toward increased consumption of plain sugar developed over the last *century* in Western nations, the shift has occurred with almost a jolting abruptness in the last *twenty years* for the Canadian Eskimos" (Schaefer, 1971, 11).

TABLE 5-53

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION, BY AGE AND SEX,
WITH INADEQUATE OR LESS-THAN-ADEQUATE
VITAMIN A INTAKE

<u>Age</u>	<u>General Population</u>				<u>Inuit</u>			
	<u>Inadequate</u>		<u>Less-than-Adeq.</u>		<u>Inadequate</u>		<u>Less-than-Adeq.</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0-4	3.2		6.3		29.0		26.7	
5-9	5.0		12.7		37.9		14.6	
10-19	10.8	25.5	17.9	23.1	38.9	68.9	27.1	7.4
20-39	14.3	24.4	12.9	22.4	46.1	85.0	3.6	8.2
40-64	15.1	29.6	15.2	25.2	74.5	78.1	12.7	1.5
65 & over	23.1	32.1	22.9	21.6	76.9	88.0	0	0

SOURCE: Canada, 1973d.

TABLE 5-54

PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION, BY AGE AND SEX,
WITH INADEQUATE OR LESS-THAN-ADEQUATE
VITAMIN C INTAKE

<u>Age</u>	<u>General Population</u>				<u>Inuit</u>			
	<u>Inadequate</u>		<u>Less-than-Adeq.</u>		<u>Inadequate</u>		<u>Less-than-Adeq.</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0-4	3.9		6.6		14.1		11.6	
5-9	2.2		12.3		31.0		19.0	
10-19	2.8	4.7	10.9	13.2	21.8	25.3	27.0	31.5
20-39	3.5	5.8	11.0	14.8	24.0	21.6	31.8	30.0
40-64	3.4	4.2	10.3	12.4	26.5	43.8	37.4	35.9
65 & over	4.0	1.9	12.8	11.2	33.7	43.6	53.7	56.3

SOURCE: Canada, 1973d.

TABLE 5-55

CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR AND SUGAR-RELATED PRODUCTS (GRAMS)

<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Sugar</u>	<u>Candy & Gum</u>	<u>Soft Drinks</u>	<u>Jams & Jellies</u>	<u>Honey & Molasses</u>	<u>Total per Person per Day</u>
Family 1	215460	4985	46607	13608	3402	164
Family 2	133812	7180	13327	680	1134	72
Family 3	92988	1538	33335	1275	9639	107
Family 4	95256	13422	69909	1701	9639	109
Family 5	124740	19600	20471	1021	2041	92
Average of Five Families	132451	9345	36730	3657	5171	107
<u>South Baffin Is.</u>						
Household 1	106200	48840	124020	33210	8750	85
Household 2	49490	40250	147040	11790	910	160
Average of Two Households	77845	44545	135530	22500	4830	114
<u>Canada</u>						
Canadian average						136

SOURCES: Kemp, 1968.
 Mayes, 1973a.
 United Nations, 1972.

NOTE: Canadian figure is for 1970. Family and household figures for time periods given on page 318.

There is increasing evidence that there is some connection between sugar consumption and diseases such as obesity, acne, diabetes, and gall stones. In this regard, the Inuit are at a distinct disadvantage because of the rapid acculturation they have experienced, and the associated abrupt exposure to disease-producing diets and situations to which they have not had the necessary time to develop either resistance or immunity. It is unfortunate that figures on the incidence of nutrition-related diseases are not available. As a result one cannot determine the exact effect of nutrition on health in Pangnirtung at the present time. However, through Schaefer's 1971 report one can see some of the probable implications of a high sugar intake:

In a series of test programs, we found that Eskimos have difficulty in keeping their blood sugar level stable after oral sugar loads. The ordinary white man can do so easily. Therefore, considering the way the Eskimos eat candies and other sweets and gulp sweet drinks frequently at all times of the day, they undoubtedly strain their endocrine-metabolic stabilizing systems even more than do most white youngsters. They are obviously over-stimulating not only the insulin-producing system, but also the growth hormones, the catecholamine and glucocorticoid-producing glands, while providing less cushioning of the metabolic consequences through muscular activity.

We have found marked differences in blood glucose and serum insulin responses in an Eskimo given an oral dose of 100 grams of glucose while fasting and one hour after a meal. A diabetic type of blood sugar curve and delayed insulin response can be brought back to normal by giving an Eskimo a protein meal sixty to ninety minutes before a glucose load. Similar curves appeared in approximately half of more than seventy Eskimos studied....(Ibid., 11-12).

Dr. Schaefer's experience with Inuit health and eating habits is the result of twenty years of work in the Arctic as a physician, part of which time was spent in Pangnirtung. His suggestions, therefore, must not be taken lightly, especially in a settlement such as Pangnirtung where the level of hunting is declining and where candy and soft drinks are now readily available, and eaten at any time of the day.

The problem of eating food which has little or no nutritional value is ever growing. It is caused by eating habits and the kinds of food available,

can result in poor health in general, one aspect of which may be deteriorating dental health. Traditionally, the Inuk did not have set meal times. He ate food secured by hunting whenever he was hungry, nibbling on a piece of caribou or seal meat at odd times during the day. The contemporary Inuit acquire their food from the Hudson's Bay Company as well as from game. However, as was pointed out, they are not always likely to buy the most nutritious or healthy foods that are available to them. This fact may be attributed in large part to their lack of knowledge about the contents or effects of the foods. As a result, although their habit of snacking periodically has changed little, the seal meat and caribou have been partially replaced by candy and highly sweetened soft drinks. The resultant deterioration of the teeth is produced in two ways: by the added sugar intake, and by the reduction in the amount of raw meat eaten. As Schaefer found: "...the chewing of meat--even more so of bones---...has become painful or impossible, due to the Eskimo's rapidly rotting teeth" (Ibid., 10). In addition, the Inuit women traditionally chewed skins used for clothing to soften them, while the men did the same with dog lines. This procedure, which is extremely abrasive to the teeth, resulted in their being worn down, almost to the gum line in many cases, but had the advantageous side effect of producing new dentine (the main substance which forms a tooth) to fill in root canals and pulp cavities, with the result that the teeth, although worn down, otherwise were still in excellent condition (Rabinowitch, 1936a, 496). The Inuit today have little need for the practice of chewing skins; most clothes are bought rather than made from skins, and ropes have replaced dog lines. A thirty year old Inuk today, who was introduced to soft drinks and candy at age fifteen, let us say, does not have the defense against tooth decay of having been introduced, as we were, in early childhood to dental health care and daily toothbrushing.

In this, as in many other situations, he has been given a product of western society without first, or concurrently, having been made aware of the fact that use of the product and possible consequent change in habits or life-style might have as great or greater ill effects than good.

Education is perhaps the most important factor in dealing with problems of health and nutrition which are the consequence of the introduction to a relatively simple society of the great variety of consumer products of western society. One should look in this direction for an answer to the question of whether the abrupt nutritional changes in diet and eating habits to which the Inuit have been exposed will ultimately be to their benefit or to their detriment. To limit the amounts of store food available to the Inuit inhabitants of a northern community would not be practically possible, or ethically justifiable. Neither would it be possible to limit the amount of soft drinks and candy, for example, which is sent to and sold in the Arctic settlements, any more than one could limit the intake of unhealthy foods by other Canadians by controlling the source of supply. However, the nutritional education necessary to deal with such problems could be supplied. For instance, Inuit cases of alkalosis are often a result of a lack of knowledge of what proportions of baking powder and flour to use in preparing bannock; too much of the former can cause alkalescence of the digestive juices which will hamper proper digestion. The use of great quantities of store food by the Inuit is not necessarily incompatible with good health, as long as extremes are not reached. Inuit parents are unlikely to limit the amounts of sweets their children eat if they are not aware of the detrimental effects of eating too much candy, and particularly if they themselves are eating substantial amounts of such food. The dilemma cannot be resolved merely by augmenting the number of health services, doctors,

dentists, and drugs in the Arctic. Preventative practices are more necessary than cures. The average Inuk can achieve at least the equivalent nutritional and dental health of the average Canadian if education is coupled with health care services.

Health Care

While it is clear that the health of a population depends on several factors (standard of living, nutrition, personal hygiene, etc.), to treat such disease as does occur in a population remains important. Accessibility to, and quality of, health services may be measured in several ways. One, the ability to pay, has never been a functional consideration among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. Missions, and after World War II the federal government, have provided virtually free health care to a people who could not provide adequate services for themselves on a payment basis. Ability to pay was formally eliminated as a consideration in 1971 with the institution of the Northwest Territories medical care and hospitalization schemes.

Policy in the past several years has clearly been to provide a standardized minimum level of health care facilities in the various Arctic settlements, using transport to one of the larger centers (in the eastern Arctic to Frobisher Bay) for cases too serious to treat in the settlements. Population per hospital bed is one indicator of the "quantity" of health care services available. Using this statistic, the eastern Arctic has been somewhat better provided with facilities in the period since World War II than Canada generally. Cumberland Sound in particular was well served for the several decades after the Anglican Church constructed its eastern Arctic mission hospital in Pangnirtung in 1930. This hospital, with 33 beds in the last several years of its operation, was closed in 1972 and

replaced with a five bed nursing station, at once raising the rate of population per hospital bed several times, to well above the Canadian average (see Table 5-56 and Figure 5-17).

Kissling (1966, 15) points out the critical distinction between availability, which has so far been considered, and accessibility. Following his discussion, one place may be accessible to another without any physical movement necessarily being involved; that is, interaction may be by radio, telephone, etc. Hospital care, however, requires physical movement. In this regard, accessibility has a different connotation than does availability. Goods and services (here, health care) may be available at a given location, but not be accessible from another. Stone clarifies how inaccessibility to hospital beds contributes to physical isolation. According to him, two basic measures of isolation exist: degree of general accessibility, and time required to obtain emergency help. By his definition, which is based on scheduled transport service, settlements in the eastern Arctic are accessible, given their high quality airstrips. Stone's second measure is of more interest:

The basis of the technique is the distribution of permanently occupied residences; the assumption is that people are dependent upon each other and if they are separated by more than an hour's...travel they are too far apart for effective short time aid (Stone, 1972, 767).

Certainly, some emergency assistance, for instance fire fighting, is well within one hour's travel. But time from Pangnirtung to the Frobisher Bay hospital would approximate three hours in the best of conditions.¹⁰ This falls well outside Stone's definition. The conclusion is that the quality, as well as quantity, of health care in Pangnirtung dropped in 1972 when the mission hospital closed.

10. One and one-quarter hours in the air, each way; 15 minutes turnaround in Pangnirtung; 15 minutes on the ground in Frobisher Bay.

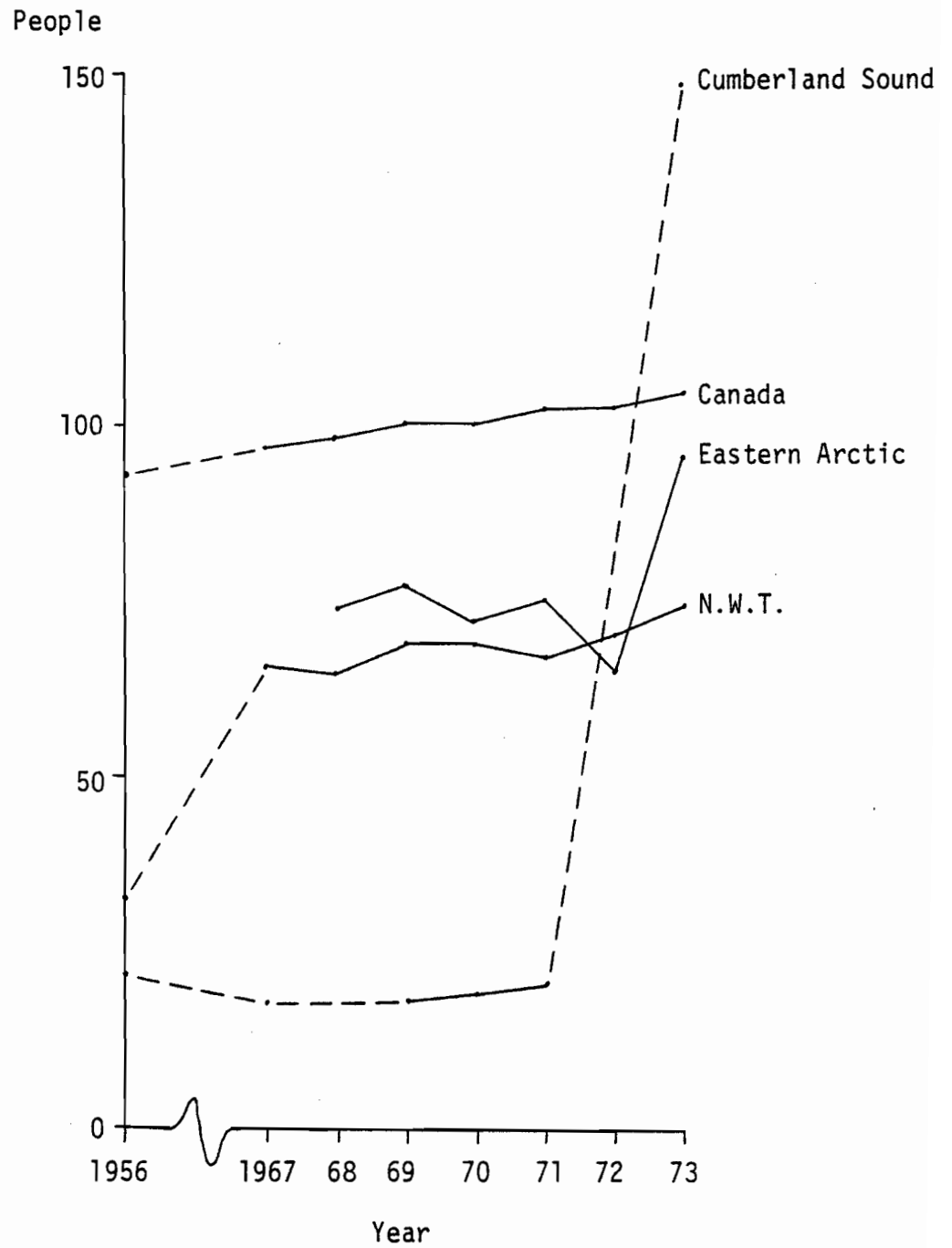
TABLE 5-56
POPULATION PER HOSPITAL BED

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic</u>	<u>Cumberland Sound</u>
1973	104	74	95	148
1972	102	70	65	
1971	102	67	75	20
1970	100	69	72	19
1969	100	69	77	18
1968	98	65	74	
1967	97	66		18
1956	93	33		22

SOURCES: Canada, Statistics Canada. List of Canadian Hospitals and Related Institutions and Facilities. Catalogue 83-201.
Canada Yearbook, 1957-58, 117; 1959, 245; 1975, 164.

- NOTES: 1. Eastern Arctic figures are for Inuit and westerners.
2. Cumberland Sound figures are for Inuit only.
3. Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-17
POPULATION PER HOSPITAL BED



SOURCE: Table 5-56.

One must further conclude that removal of the government funded physician from the Pangnirtung hospital in 1959 (Covill, 1977), apparently as part of the rationalization of health care, also produced a decline in the quality of local service. In the spring of 1967, for instance,

A radio black-out illustrated the vulnerability of outlying settlements. An elderly lady needed doctors attendance but help could not be called in time. By the time the doctor arrived from Frobisher days later, the patient had died (Files in Pangnirtung. Pangnirtung Monthly Report, April-May, 1967).

Field observations provide other evidence for the assertion of poorer service. In January, 1973, a five day old child died before he could be removed to Frobisher Bay. The feeling at the time was that if the child had been examined by a doctor at birth, his difficulty might have been diagnosed and treated before it became fatal (Mayes, 1973a). In May, 1973, a suspected case of acute appendicitis waited for two days for the weather to clear sufficiently to permit an aircraft landing (Ibid.).

Housing

Besides influencing the individual's physical, social and psychological development, housing may also be regarded as a source of status, as a major personal or family asset, and as an element of family and community life and of the local environment (Canada, 1974d, 207).

One statistic often used to indicate the general quality of housing is the density of occupation, that is, the number of persons per room. Statistics Canada considers that a crowded household is one with more than one person per room (Ibid.). Table 5-57 and Figure 5-18 compare Canadian housing in 1966 and 1971 with Pangnirtung housing in 1965 and 1973. In 1965 all northern housing was crowded by Canadian standards. However, the data show that by 1973, 21% of Pangnirtung Inuit housing was no longer considered crowded by the Canadian definition. In sharp contrast to this was the housing of western residents in Pangnirtung in 1973; there was no crowding, and the overall situation was also much better than the Canadian average.

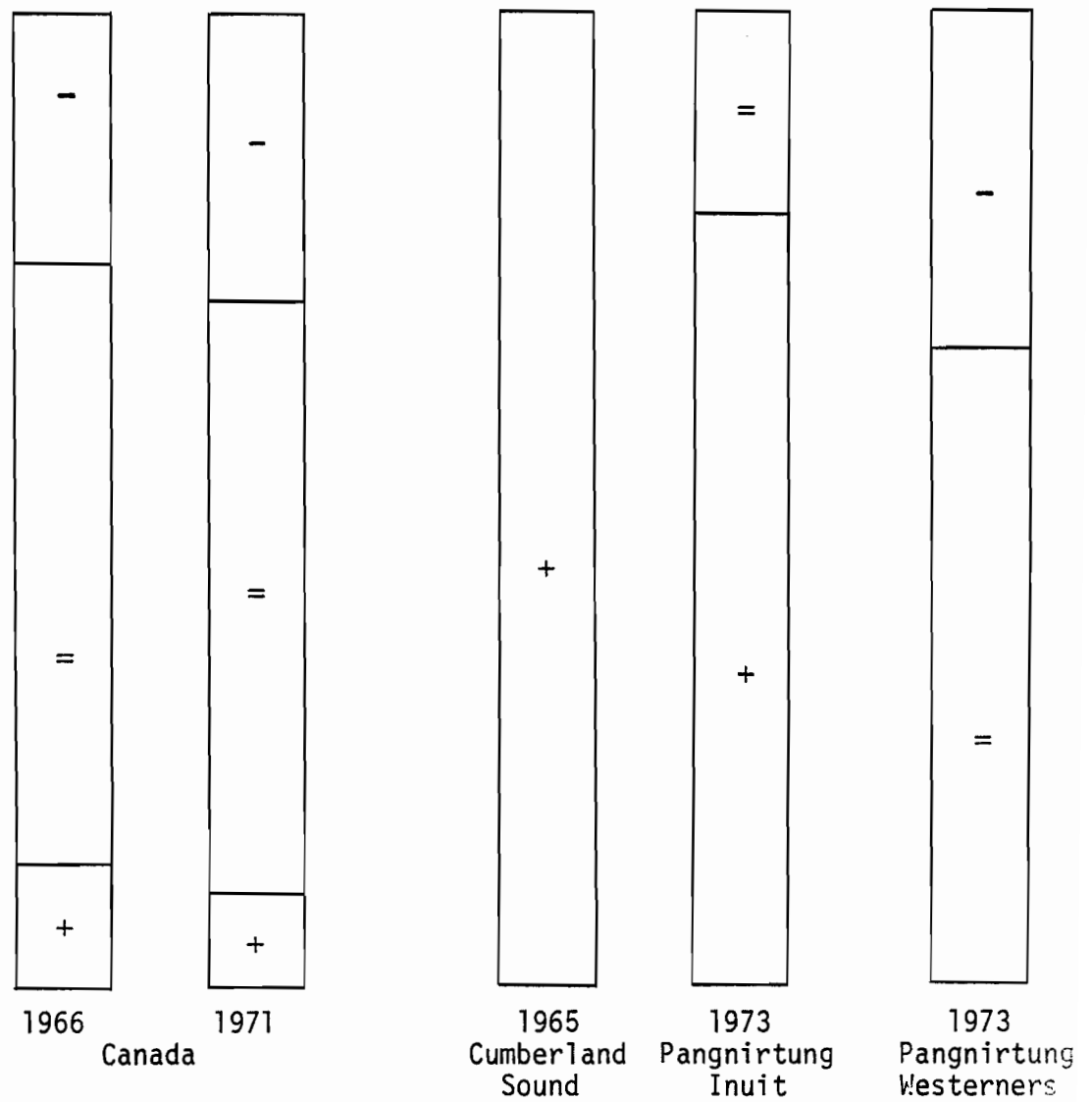
TABLE 5-57
HOUSING DENSITY

Percentage of Households with:	1971 Canada	1973 Cumberland Sound Inuit	1973 Westerners	1966 Canada	1965 Cumberland Sound Inuit
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ person/room	29.4	nil	34.7	25.3	nil
$\frac{1}{2}$ to one person/room	61.4	20.8	65.2	61.7	nil
More than one person/room	9.1	79.1	nil	12.9	100.0

SOURCES: Canada, 1965a.
Canada, 1974d, 216.
Mayes, 1973a.

NOTE: 1973 figures: westerners are resident in Pangnirtung; Cumberland Sound figure for Inuit includes residents of Kipisa and Pangnirtung.

FIGURE 5-18
HOUSING DENSITY



Key: + more than one person/room
 = $\frac{1}{2}$ to one person/room
 - less than $\frac{1}{2}$ person/room

SOURCE: Table 5-57.

The figures presented above mask the improvement that occurred between 1965 and 1973. Table 5-58 indicates that while Pangnirtung housing may still be crowded in Canadian terms, there was a definite alleviation of the problem in the eight year period. Kipisa housing retained the crowded conditions that characterized Cumberland Sound camps in 1965; this is not unexpected.

Substandard housing, especially that distinguished by inadequate water supply and waste disposal, and by overcrowding, is in large part responsible for maintaining high infant mortality and tuberculosis rates. Unfortunately, the decision to improve inadequate housing is political, not medical. A Housing Task Force which had its report accepted by the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories in 1972, offers the following:

The standard of accommodation provided over the last few years has improved greatly, both in size and quality. The earliest units provided some 340 square feet [32 square meters] of the most rudimentary living space.... Through a progression of programs, the basic unit has been up-graded to a three-bedroom bungalow of 768 square feet [71 square meters], well constructed, heated and lighted. While still below the standard of housing in southern Canada insofar as space is concerned, it is comparable in the quality of construction finishes and fixtures (Northwest Territories, 1972a, 38).

Here is evidence of the political view. Water service is inadequate: uncertain supply in Pangnirtung places limitations on the amount of water available, and Inuit, but not western, houses are without water pressure systems. Sewage is collected in plastic (honey) bags, and removed daily; this method of disposal presents an obvious health hazard. A planning report prepared for Pangnirtung in 1974 states that the first step in improving the quality of, and reducing the health hazard to, households is the provision of water pressure systems and sewage pump-out tanks (General Development Plan, Pangnirtung, N.W.T., 1974, 23). The report suggests that the cost would approximate \$6,400 per house (Ibid., 26). Certainly, the

TABLE 5-58
HOUSING, PEOPLE PER ROOM

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>People/Room</u>
1965	Pangnirtung and Cumberland Sound camps	4.8
1973	Pangnirtung (Inuit)	1.6
1973	Pangnirtung (westerners)	0.5
1973	Kipisa	5.4

SOURCES: Canada, 1965a.
Mayes, 1973a.

provision of water pressure systems alone would cost far less than this, probably only a few hundred dollars per house. While this would not be a panacea for housing problems, it would be a useful first step.

Education

Schooling

Like the possession of health, education is a vital concern both to individuals and to society as a whole. Acquisition of basic skills and knowledge, continuing self-development through advanced learning, extension of the economic potential of the individuals, transmission of cultural values, increasing equality of opportunity--these are some of the broad concerns of education and they frequently interact, and reinforce each other.

...it is extremely difficult to measure the many subtle and subjective benefits of education. No satisfactory output or "result" measures exist as yet in Canada. Consequently, such proxy methods as enrolment at various levels [and] average number of years of education... have traditionally been used....

In Canada today, basic education comprises formal schooling up to the end of secondary school. At that point, students from a wide range of cultural and economic backgrounds have hopefully acquired the minimum basic knowledge, skills, values and social graces needed to participate in community life and the work world (Canada, 1974d, 65).

Data on grade level attainment for Canada, the eastern Arctic, and Pangnirtung for the year 1969, for the population fourteen years of age and over, are presented in Table 5-59 and in Figure 5-19. Two factors of note are derived from the figures. First, well over 50% of the Inuit population in the study region and in the eastern Arctic has not had any formal schooling. Second, while about two-thirds of Canadians have either attended or completed secondary school, thus acquiring basic education as defined above, only three-tenths of one percent of eastern Arctic Inuit had a comparable achievement. The conclusion to be drawn from these two factors is that the Inuit resident in the study region have not "acquired the minimum basic knowledge, skills, values and social graces needed to participate in community life and the work world." The critical point in this argument is, of course, that this measures their ability against a western standard;

TABLE 5-59

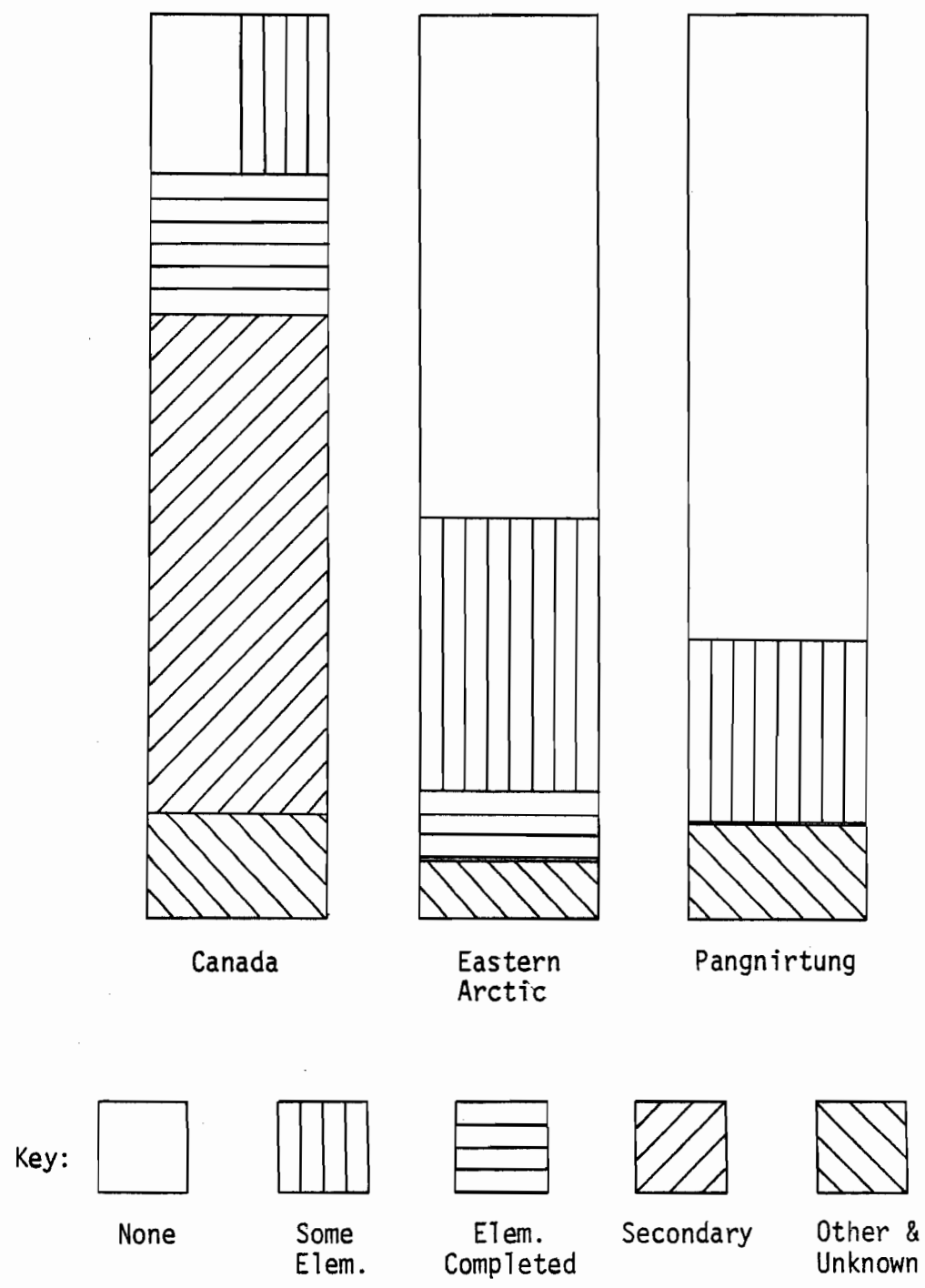
GRADE LEVEL ATTAINMENT, AS PERCENTAGES, FOR THE
POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

	<u>No School Attended</u>	<u>Elementary Some</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Secondary Some</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Other & Unknown</u>
Canada	...16.8...		15.4	36.2	18.9	11.7
Eastern Arctic	55.8	30.2	7.8	-	0.3	5.9
Pangnirtung	69.0	20.6	-	0.3	-	10.0

SOURCES: Canada, 1973a.
Canada, 1974d, 69.

NOTES: 1. Figures for the eastern Arctic and Pangnirtung are for the Inuit population only.
2. "Other and unknown" includes university attendance for Canada; includes other, unknown, and kindergarten for the Arctic locations.

FIGURE 5-19
GRADE LEVEL ATTAINMENT



SOURCE: Table 5-59.

insofar as the community and work remain Inuit, the measure is meaningless. However, the school age population appears to be becoming considerably more interested in western (wage) than in traditional (hunting) employment (see pages 298-99); insofar as this group is poorly educated, they may not be able to acquire and/or retain this type of work.

Over a period of time one may expect that the percentage of eastern Arctic Inuit achieving secondary education will increase substantially, a prediction that is supported by the rising school enrolments shown in Table 5-60 and Figure 5-20. After a school was built in Pangnirtung in 1962 and rapid urbanization began, the expected increase in enrolments took place. Enrolments now appear to have stabilized at about the 70% level, compared with 87% in Canada, a high level if one considers the absence of the middle-upper class social pressure to "stay in school" common in southern Canada.

Of some importance is the "cultural inclusion" that now forms a part of the northern curriculum. Schooling is not, of course, necessarily synonymous with useful education. Cultural inclusion, which provides for instruction in aspects of Inuit culture by Inuit, is one attempt of the school curriculum to meet the reality of the contemporary Arctic by providing school attenders with some of the information they would have received in traditional Inuit society, in addition to formal western schooling. Insofar as the program provides young Inuit with a broader education, and thereby provides them with more opportunities in their social and economic lives, it is desirable and should be fostered. Unfortunately, not even a proxy measure exists by which to judge its success.

Communication

Communication may be broadly defined as the transfer of information

TABLE 5-60

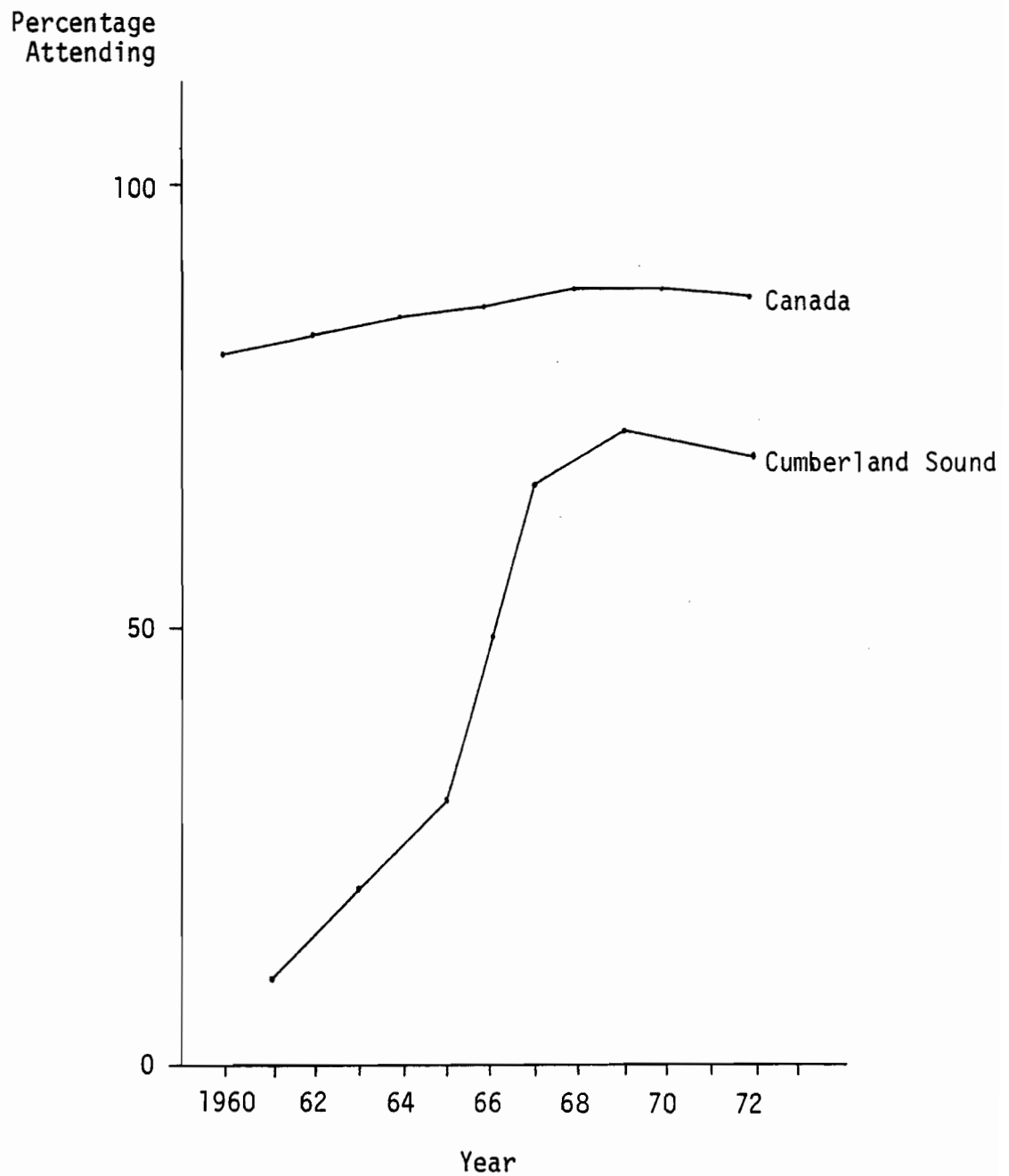
PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION FIVE-NINETEEN YEARS OF AGE
ATTENDING SCHOOL

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Cumberland Sound</u>
1972	87	69
1970	88	
1969		72
1968	88	
1967		66
1966	86	
1965		30
1964	85	
1963		20
1962	83	
1961		10
1960	81	

SOURCES: Canada, Statistics Canada. Vital Statistics. Catalogue
84-202.

Canada, 1974d, 69.
Northwest Territories, 1972b, 129.

FIGURE 5-20
POPULATION ATTENDING SCHOOL



SOURCE: Table 5-60.

from a sender to a receiver, and insofar as it serves to increase the knowledge of an individual or community, it may be considered educational. To distinguish between mass communication and interpersonal communication is important. The former denotes "...message transfer via such mass media as newspapers, magazines, film, radio, and television, which enables a source of one (or several individuals) to reach an audience of many" (Rogers, 1969, 99). Interpersonal communication denotes "Word-of-mouth communication from family members, neighbors and friends, storeowners and salespeople, school-teachers...and others" (Ibid., 125).

Mass communication, via print and electronic channels, is the means by which to quickly spread information to a large audience. Pangnirtung, however, in 1973 was notably lacking in mass communication channels: it had a newspaper which was produced only irregularly. Otherwise the media accessible comprised only the Frobisher Bay Canadian Broadcasting Corporation radio station, the Frobisher Bay newspaper (in 1973 Inukshuk, now Nunatsiaq News), the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Northern Service shortwave radio broadcasts, and Radio Greenland, all of which were only occasionally obtainable (Mayes, 1972, 47).

The telephone is the key technological element in a system of interpersonal communication channels. Pangnirtung received both local and long distance telephone service in 1964 (Geraghty, 1977). The number of telephones per 1000 population since that date for Canada, the Northwest Territories, the eastern Arctic, and Pangnirtung are shown in Table 5-61 and Figure 5-21. Pangnirtung's situation is representative of that found throughout the eastern Arctic: the overall level of telephones per population is about one-third the Canadian level.

A consensus between Arctic residents and government was reached as long ago as 1970 as to the general communication needs of Arctic Canada.

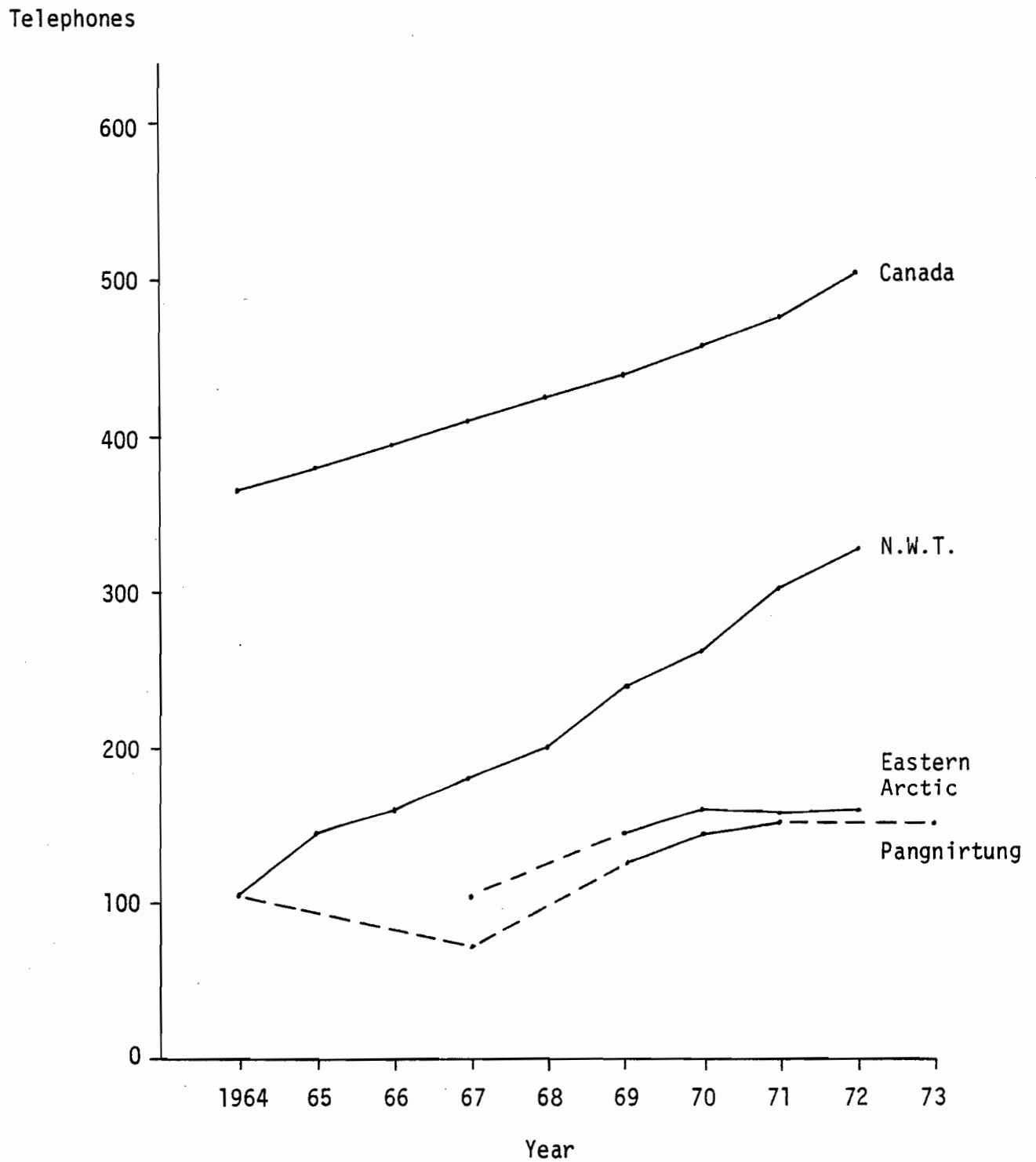
TABLE 5-61
TELEPHONES (PER 1000 POPULATION)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Northwest Territories</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic</u>	<u>Pangnirtung</u>
1973	523			154.5
1972	504	328	162	
1971	476	303	159	154.9
1970	458	263	161	145.7
1969	441	241	146	125.9
1968	425	202		
1967	410	182	106	74.4
1966	394	161		
1965	380	146		
1964	365	116		116.5

SOURCES: Canada, Statistics Canada. Telephone Statistics.
Catalogue 56-203.
Northeastern Territories. 1964-1973.

NOTE: Blank spaces indicate data not available.

FIGURE 5-21
TELEPHONES PER 1000 POPULATION



SOURCE: Table 5-61.

These needs comprise (1) local radio broadcasting stations, with the provision of local input of broadcast material; (2) reliable two-way telephone service with intra- and inter-community connections; and (3) programming in native languages (Mayes, 1973b, 685). The main benefit of the recently established Anik satellite system is to provide improved radio, television, and telephone service to larger communities that already had taped television or local radio service before the satellite system was opened. The majority of settlements, which are also the smallest and most isolated, and which therefore have the greatest need of improved communication, have received no new services (Ibid.).

These generalities are applicable to the study region. No improvement in mass communication channels was received from the satellite system in Pangnirtung. But the community, which already had high-frequency radio-telephone service, obtained the new, and undeniably much higher quality, satellite telephone service. By 1975 real improvement occurred. At that time, Pangnirtung began to receive television and radio by satellite. In April, 1977, another major step was taken: the community opened its own local radio broadcasting station (Nunatsiag News, June 15, 1977).

Much communication is based on language, as opposed to visual or physical symbols:

Accurate and adequate communication between groups and peoples will not in itself bring about the millennium, but it is a necessary condition for almost all forms of social progress. Physical barriers to communication are rapidly disappearing, but the psychological obstacles remain. These psychological difficulties are, in part, a function of...language (Katz, 1972, 316).

In the eastern Arctic, as elsewhere in the North, it is the indigenous population that is learning a second language, usually English. Prior to the period of urbanization, most westerners in the Arctic spoke Inuktitut, but in recent years few westerners other than missionaries have learned to

speak Inuktitut fluently. The figures presented in Table 5-62 and Figure 5-22 indicate that about 34% of the Pangnirtung Inuit speak English in addition to Inuktitut. What is not shown in the figures is that, of the Inuit who do speak English, most are not over twenty-five years of age: 73% of English and Inuktitut speakers in Pangnirtung are between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four. One should note that these figures represent a great increase in the number of English speakers since 1956, when it was reported that only one Inuk in Pangnirtung spoke English well (Files in Pangnirtung. Some Facts about Arctic Settlements, Questionnaire NA-1-56, 1956); this individual was described elsewhere, however, as having "...a very poor grasp of English plus a reluctance to admit this, and consequently is a poor interpreter" (Public Archives, File 1000, vol. 2. Welfare report, October, 1958).

Virtually all Inuit are literate in their own language (Mayes, 1972, 65). Few, at least in Cumberland Sound, are literate in English as well, as is shown in Table 5-63 and Figure 5-23. The age distinction is again remarkable: 88% of those who can write both English and Inuktitut are between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four.

Recently, three comments have been made which deal explicitly with the result of limited communication between Inuit and westerners, whether it concerns mass or interpersonal communication:

It is clear that there is a very limited amount of information accessible in the Arctic through the available channels of mass communication. Further, much of what is accessible, because it is designed primarily to entertain rather than to inform, often serves to introduce discontent among receivers. Schramm notes that

The flow of information is of the greatest importance in regulating the level of social tension. Communication is a kind of temperature-controlling agent. It can raise the social temperature, for example, by raising aspirations when the...economy is not ready to satisfy them. It can reduce temperature by providing explanation, holding out rewards, speeding up development, by permitting change....(Schramm, 1964, 37).

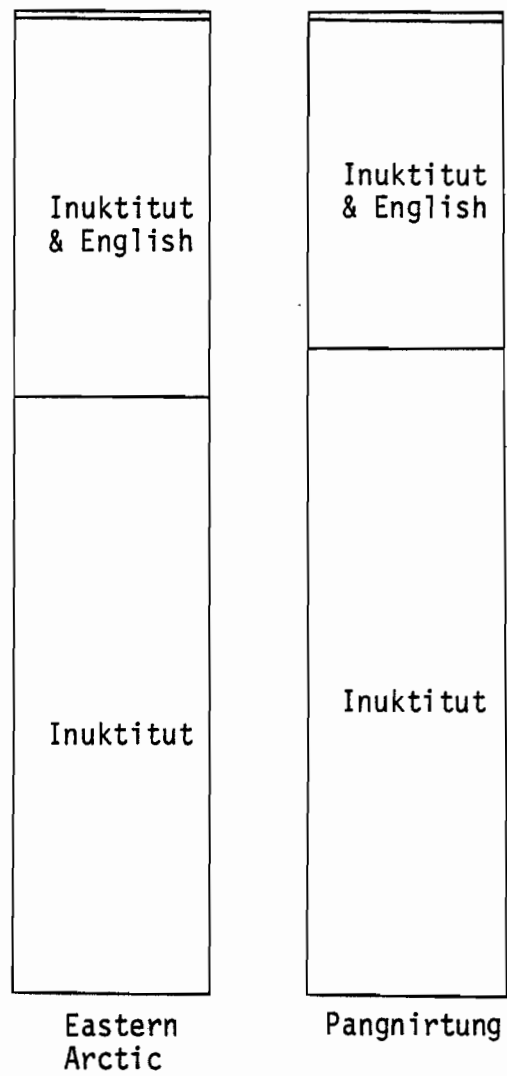
TABLE 5-62

LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY INUIT
FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER (1969)

	<u>Pangnirtung</u>	<u>Eastern Arctic</u>
Inuktitut only	65.8%	60.8
Inuktitut and English	33.8	38.8
Language unknown	.3	.3
English only	-	.1

SOURCE: Canada, 1973a.

FIGURE 5-22
LANGUAGES SPOKEN



SOURCE: Table 5-62.

TABLE 5-63

LANGUAGES WRITTEN BY INUIT IN PANGNIRTUNG
FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER (1969)

Inuktitut only	70.3%
Inuktitut and English	22.3
Other and unknown	7.4

FIGURE 5-23
LANGUAGES WRITTEN IN PANGNIRTUNG (1969)

Unknown
Inuktitut & English
Inuktitut

SOURCE: Table 5-63.

Because so much of the information that is accessible in the Arctic is designed for whites, aspirations that cannot be fulfilled are constantly being raised among the native population. Movies and commercial advertising are the most important sources of such desires. Through them, a constant stream of consumer goods and lifestyles that are economically and socially unattainable for most Eskimos are paraded before them. The visibility of these goods and lifestyles among the white population of many Arctic settlements can lead to the development of frustrations that may be difficult to overcome. The primary way to avoid creating such problems is to provide information from several different sources via several different channels and thereby enable receivers to clarify how certain items and events relate to them. Schramm has elaborated on the importance of multiple channels.

If they want additional details on news, or want to check up on what they have heard, people in a more highly developed society can easily turn to another medium.... But the majority of the people in a developing village are likely to have no secondary source except other people.

This means that, not only is there less likelihood of reaching any person in the first place, but also less opportunity for a person to check up on what has been heard.... One possible consequence is misunderstanding. Rao has described another consequence. He found in his village study that when additional information was available to support, confirm, or clarify suggested changes, then favorable action was much more likely to take place. When supplementary information was not available, the suggestions for change were typically received with suspicion and often resisted.

When multiple channels are available, then it is much easier to furnish a *local* service, discover and meet local needs, and direct information to them. Increasingly, as a country develops, local newspapers, local radio stations, local production of leaflets, and the like come into existence. In a newly developing society, however, these are scarce....

This is an unfortunate fact of life in the early stages of economic and social development. Information would flow more freely if it could travel multiple channels. It would be received more accurately and be more effective. If local media could supplement regional and national media, they could play the part of middlemen, interpreting the information and fitting it to local conditions and needs. The coming into existence of these multiple and local channels is therefore one sign that the transition to modern communication is well on the way (Ibid., 88, 89).

[In the study region] the level of accessibility to the few available channels of mass communication...is very low, and...very few of these channels are local. [Also] the information that moves from the few sources over the few channels is itself limited, generally to content designed to entertain rather than inform. The primary source, indeed, in some places, the only source, of information is government. The significance of the situation created by this restricted information exchange cannot be underestimated. Because the system of mass communication of the Canadian Arctic functions as it does, alternative information does not exist. Almost without exception, what the

government says is what the Eskimos know. This does not imply that government is dispensing false information, only that it dispenses its own information via the channels it frequently controls. In the absence of other accessible sources and channels, what the government says becomes truth.

The lack of alternative information in the Arctic is more serious than it might be elsewhere due to the apparent absence of alternatives in western society as it exists in the region. For instance, Eskimos see all whites living in the same kind of houses, all of which are furnished by the government with the same kind of maple furniture. There is only one brand of tea available in the Hudson's Bay Company stores, which is the only store in most settlements. Only one airline serves most settlements, and the missionaries claim that Christianity is the only religion. Given this background of standardisation, it is not difficult to understand why Eskimos have until recently readily accepted government as the "only" source of information, and why they have not realised that movies, television, and more books, newspapers, and radio programmes could be in their language. Standardisation, as well as the uncritical way in which Eskimos have historically received information directed towards them also at least partly explains the difficulty that has been exhibited by Eskimos in stating desirable alternatives to existing situations, such as presently accessible information. With the entire concept of choice effectively absent from their semi-westernised way of life, there has been no reason to expect Eskimos to suggest alternative ways of increasing the amount and variety of information available to them (Mayes, 1972, 116-18).

Rowley and Williamson explain how generally limited communication directly affects cross-cultural relations:

Relations between the native Eskimo and the white immigrant in the north are deteriorating. In the past, the few white residents were traders, missionaries, or policemen; they were cut off from all they had known in the south and in many ways were dependant on the Eskimos. They soon became interested in the north--indeed they had no alternative. They got to know, and to be known by, all the local population, and they usually spent many years in the north, often in one area. All this has changed. The white man now brings a wife and family with him, is in frequent communication with the south, lives much the same sort of life he would have lived there, can leave the north any time he wishes, and rarely stays more than a year or two. The settlements have substantial white populations, who share common interests and form a social group separate from the Eskimos. The white man never really leaves his southern environment; he no longer travels with the Eskimos and does not require their help. There is no common meeting ground. As a result, the mutual understanding that used to mark relations between individuals of the two races has been lost. The social distance now separating them is leading to the assumption of superiority on the part of the whites, and to a growing hostility among the Eskimos (Rowley, 1972, 204).

In most Canadian Arctic settlements, today, one structural factor which is often readily discernable is the persisting tendency of social division between the Eskimo and Whites. Indeed, though there have been a few recent attempts to intersperse the dwellings of white people with those of Eskimo, in some settlements, it is more common for most of the Eskimo housing to be visibly separate from that of the Whites, and, for the latter, to be more comfortably accommodated in rather larger and better-appointed houses. Moreover, the tendency remains for the houses of the Whites to be better served in terms of electricity, and in the delivery of water and the disposal of household wastes. Though there is a great deal of semi-formal interaction between Eskimo and Whites in the working situations and on various community committees, and almost invariably of a very affable nature [*sic*]. However, though there is a great deal of interaction in the public contexts of community recreation activities, there is still relatively little private home sociability between the Eskimo and most of the Whites. Some cross-group marriage has occurred, as indeed there did occasionally, between fur traders and Eskimo women, in the past, but it is still relatively rare. In the Eastern Arctic, it is true that for most adults easy sociability is inhibited by the fact that few mature individuals speak English really fluently and even fewer white people, with the exception of most, but not all missionaries--speak Eskimo at all fluently. It is now not uncommon for some Eskimo couples to be invited to parties in private homes, particularly at Christmas time and for the New Year celebrations, but these Eskimo are invariably English-speaking, white middle-class life-style-oriented younger couples (Williamson, 1972, 60).

Summary

In a region of rapid social and economic change, the role of government is that of guide, the institution that keeps in balance the various needs and demands of both the nation and the region affected. In the Arctic, government has failed to achieve this balance: the national interest has taken complete precedence while at the same time an adequate formulation and implementation of long term policies specifically designed to improve the standard of living and quality of life of the Inuit have been absent. This allegation is evidenced by the results of government's northern policy presented in this chapter.

The chapter documents a remarkable growth in monetary wealth, and a complementary shift toward wage employment, among the inhabitants of Cumberland Sound. One simply cannot question that between 1962 and 1973

poverty as a way of life was removed, or that an increasing amount of money became available for the satisfaction of material wants as the direct result of the westernization of the economy. One must note, however, that although this progress occurred, the Inuit of the region did not attain a standard of living resembling the Canadian norm. There is no reason to be optimistic that they ever will. The economy is still oriented to the individual and family productive units that characterize peasant economies. Not only do such economies sacrifice some potential economic gain to achieve social goals, but in Cumberland Sound, which has only limited resources and a small local market, the government's attempt to create an "industrial" economy has generated a standard of living that is maintained only through large direct and indirect government subsidies. The economy is 40% dependent on government wages, and the unearned sector of the economy, a further 26%, is dependent on government as well. The doubling of the level of transfer payments between 1965-66 and 1972-73, described on page 279, is further evidence of local inability to support the apparently achieved standard of living. The danger of extensive government subsidy was best expressed in the House of Commons by Erik Neilsen: he who pays the piper calls the tune (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 15 Eliz. II, vol. 5 (1966), 5082). To the extent that subsidy is altruistic, it will not be withdrawn. To the extent that subsidy fails to yield private investment, that the process of improving the "quality" of the population and constructing social overhead capital to provide an appropriate environment for capitalist enterprise fails, and is seen to be a process of pouring money into a "bottomless pit" (Hamelin, 1973, 68) or maintaining a "dormitory area" with a "depressed economy" as envisioned by the area economic survey (Canada, 1967, 100), it could be withdrawn.

The federal government recognizes the relationship between economic and social change. This chapter demonstrates, however, that whatever government policy may now recognize, in the period 1962-1973 it did not ameliorate social conditions in Cumberland Sound. To review the series of social indicators briefly: the death rate and infant mortality rate have dropped, but the latter is still high; the tuberculosis rate has dropped but the gonorrhoea rate has increased to epidemic proportions; nutrition appears to be adequate in terms of quantity, but not in terms of quality, and probably is worsening as hunting declines as an occupation; access to health care facilities has declined; housing space and quality, though recently improved, are still inadequate; the number of people in school is rising, but achievement by western standards is extremely low; communication between Inuit and westerners is deteriorating, and between settlements and the outside world communication is, at best, marginally adequate.

The series of indicators contains a message: no clear improvement in the quality of Inuit life has occurred. Government plans, programs, and projects, because they are unified only in their philosophical long term goal of westernization, are almost unbelievably erratic in their practical consequences. For example, a perfectly usable hospital in Pangnirtung was closed, thus reducing regional access to health care facilities; for the annual cost of medevacs to fly patients requiring a doctor's care to Frobisher Bay, a physician undoubtedly could have been posted to Pangnirtung to utilize the hospital located there. When \$90,000,000 was appropriated to open the Anik satellite system, Frobisher Bay received live color television, and Pangnirtung received improved telephone service, both improvements on existing situations, but a settlement such as Broughton Island was ignored and left without telephone service of any kind, and only

marginally acceptable radio service. Rowley (1972, 202) offers this comment:

The Canadian Eskimos are still passing through very difficult times. In a state of continuing crisis, it is easy to ignore long-term policies, which should be based on careful and thorough studies, on the grounds that, whereas it is regrettable that such studies were not initiated several years ago, it is now too late and the situation has become too fluid for anything but comparatively short-term expedients. There is however every indication that the same situation of crisis will prevail for many years to come and, unless a basis for long-term planning is laid now, the same regrets will continue to be expressed and the same excuses to be made.

In the six years since he made the statement, no such planning has emerged.

Howlett (1973, 252) states:

Peasant societies may be thought of as situated somewhere along a continuum between the self-subsisting, non-monetized type of economy which is usually termed "primitive" or "tribal", and the modern commercial, exchange-oriented economy (The rest of this section draws upon her arguments).

In the literature of development and modernization, peasantry is generally regarded as a transition stage in the process of change. However, this may not always be the case; due to "...the constraints of the environment, indigenous socio-economic characteristics and development policies" some societies may reach a tenuous balance as a peasantry, somewhere between the traditional condition and complete westernization, and be unable to change further (Ibid., 273). The very state of westernization achieved impedes further alteration of the society.

Such is the case in the Arctic. Western society introduced economic change to the Inuit via whaling, which was replaced by fox fur trading, then by government. Government has tried to integrate the Inuit into the emerging mineral economy, which represents, however, merely another staple extractive "boom and bust" industry, not the "development" government claims. But government has not achieved this integration, at least not yet, and has become in the meantime "the most important local industry of the area"

(Rea, 1976, 77), "...the provider of security through long-term subsidization...." (Clarke, 1972, 39). Worse, conversation with members of the community shows that the population of the study region has unrealistically high expectations of their economic prospects: they believe that they can progress rapidly from their present situation to the western affluence they see among the small resident western population and western seasonal transients. Such progress is to stem from the mineral exploitation which government still claims it will create, or in its absence, from other small industries that will serve as substitutes, especially for the population that does not wish to migrate to centers of mining activity. But in Pangnirtung such small industries as have been proposed either have been developed, or have proven unworkable. One may predict, therefore, that the study region will witness the entrenchment of the existing economically dependent, socially unstable, government subsidized peasantry. The present "traditional" stage most likely will be terminal.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Robert Frost, "The Road Not Taken"
(Collected Poems of Robert Frost, 1930)

Since the time of contact with Europeans, the Inuit have not possessed political, cultural, or economic self-determination. Rather, they have been encouraged, by admonition and example, to become western. The issue of whether they wish to become western has always been rhetorical: westerners have never given them any other choice. The western contributions to the effectuation of contemporary Inuit society have been two. The first is abstract, the belief that westernization offers the only basis for a

relationship with the Inuit. The second contribution is more tangible, the partially industrialized economy and partially westernized society of the Inuit. The result of these contributions may be interpreted in two ways. Insofar as contemporary Inuit society is in what Rowley (1972, 202) calls a "state of continuing crisis," western contributions have not been helpful. Insofar as contemporary Inuit society is not completely westernized and industrialized, and insofar as western attitudes and actions may be altered, cause for optimism exists.

Most events that have taken place in the Arctic in recent years indicate that little change has occurred in western attitudes toward the region and its people. The James Bay Agreement, the federal government's decision of 1977 to construct a natural gas pipeline from Alaska across the southern Yukon to the United States, and the continuing forced pace of northern resource exploration are well-known examples. Notwithstanding these major events, a few small signs indicate that the inappropriateness of westernization is recognized by some government officials, leading to the hope that a new relationship with the Inuit might emerge.

Chronologically, the first indication of possible change materialized in the early 1970s. At that time the Inuit formed several special interest groups: the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) in 1970, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) in 1971, and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) in 1972. The existence of these groups evidences a frustration among Inuit with the treatment they have received at government hands, an idea best expressed by the NQIA:

The Northern Quebec Inuit Association was...established in response to rapidly changing conditions over which the Inuit apparently were to have little or no control. We were alarmed by assumptions on the part of the white people in government and elsewhere that we were to be somehow looked after by the white people in the future. This is not, and never has been, our way.

We felt a need to intervene in this process in order to control our own future (The Northerners, 1974, 2).

The federal government quickly accepted the legitimacy of these groups by providing them with funds to maintain offices, hold meetings, travel, and to hire staff and consultants. The then Minister of State, Martin O'Connell, defended this position by claiming such funding would permit Indians and Inuit to pursue programs of social and economic change "in their own best interest." Such funding

...says to the native people through their organizations, "Here are resources with which you yourselves can develop the kind of programs, social, economic and educational that you feel will allow this development to take place without threatening, without challenging, without undermining the cultural continuity which you, and we too, want to see assured" (Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 20 Eliz. II, vol. 9 (1971), 9867).

Inuit special interest groups might, therefore, have two positive attributes. First, they provide a vehicle for the expression of Inuit opinion alternative to that provided by the various municipal, regional, and territorial governments. Second, the existence of such "extra-parliamentary political expression on the basis of race" (Northwest Territories, 1975a, 49) forces Canadian society in general and the territorial and federal governments in particular to acknowledge an embarrassing fact: such groups would have no *raison d'être* if the Inuit believed their concerns were being dealt with adequately by "parliamentary" political structures.

The second indication of change was the announcement by the Government of the Northwest Territories in 1974 of an outpost camp policy. This policy recognizes that land based activities have remained an important component of Inuit life and economy, but that, with increasing urbanization, participation in such activities is extremely difficult. Therefore, the territorial government agrees to subsidize "outpost camps" of people "...who make a living off the land for any part of the year in an isolated location in the Northwest Territories" ("An Outpost Camp Policy for the Northwest Territories,"

1976, 185) by monetary funding and the provision of some services previously available only in settlements. The implication of this reversal of long standing policy is enormous: for the first time a land based way of life is being treated by government as a viable proposition worthy of support rather than as an anachronism to be destroyed.

A third indication of change is found in two documents recently tabled in the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. In 1975 the first of these papers, titled "A Paper on the Philosophy of the Department of Local Government," was prepared by the Department of Local Government of the Government of the Northwest Territories. With respect to its general mandate, the fostering of local government, the paper suggests a possibility:

The municipal form of local government has by and large, been adopted from southern Canada. It has been assumed that this is a good way for a community to govern itself for two main reasons. First, that it is in keeping with the Canadian democratic tradition in that it permits every person over a certain age to vote and stand for office regardless of sex, religion or race; and secondly, because it permits development of suitable processes and procedures necessary to the provision of public services and to the conduct of fair and equitable dealing between citizen and society.

Municipal governments played a significant role in the development of British practice and institutions and has since--with evolved modifications--become an integral part of Canadian political development. It is now accepted generally in Canada as the legitimate and most effective means of local government.

The indigenous Indian and Inuit people of the Northwest Territories do not have the municipal form of local government as part of their political traditions. They do not, simply because there was no need for such a form in the earlier periods of their history. But as they began to live more permanently in settlements, the need has developed and the Government has determined the methods proven elsewhere in Canada would be more appropriate to meet this new need. The Department of Local Government has therefore introduced and developed municipal government structures and processes throughout the Territories.

The Department recognizes that people normally evolve political processes and institutions which are appropriate to their needs. Further the department recognizes that the basic assumption has and is being made that the municipal form of government is the most suitable form for the communities within the Territories. We now make the assumption that if the forms and procedures of municipal government are

able to provide for the interests and fulfil the needs of the community that this form of local government will be accepted and become legitimate. If, however, circumstances are such that this assumption proves ultimately ill founded, then more suitable forms of local government will emerge and the Department holds itself prepared to make such accommodations as will recognize the legitimacy of these alternative forms (Northwest Territories, 1975a, 46-47).

This possibility was related to the concept of devolution in the second paper, released in early 1977:

By the sheer nature of progress, cultural values are in constant process of adaptation and change. It is not unreasonable to expect some change in the outlook and habits of any people when the circumstances of their lives are changing around them. However, it is incumbent on a government responsible for managing change to take due note of the preferences of those who would be most affected by the change, and to construct their programs so as to respect these preferences. To be fair to the Government, it has in many cases tried; but not to sufficient extent and not in a sufficiently knowledgeable way. The picture, then, is of one where the mutual adaptation between people in relation to change and government in relation to people, shows a heavy burden lying on the people without full contact with their government....

It remains the task of the Territorial Government to provide the diversity in its programs to suit the diversity of its residents. Those who wish to live off the land should be enabled to do so; those who wish to live in small communities should have available services suited to that scale, together with support to local occupations; and those who wish to join the major enterprises now underway or proposed, or to take part in the accompanying expansion of Territorial industry and businesses, should receive assistance to enable them to do so on an equal basis....

In trying to reconcile national economic needs, territorial needs and the specific needs of native people, it is essential that the programs and services of the Territorial Government take proper note of all three....

If this is to be done, it can only be done with increased, organized and recognized participation of people at the local level in the design and administration of government programs. This is what is meant by "devolution"....(Northwest Territories, 1977, 2-3).

Thus, the argument is presented, though as yet only in a very general way, that local government in the Arctic need not necessarily follow southern Canadian models: more responsibility for decision-making could be "devolved" to local groups, who might decide they wish to create "more suitable" forms of local government than presently exist, and the government stands ready to recognize the "legitimacy" of the new structures.

The final sign of change is embodied in C. M. Drury, named in August, 1977, as the Prime Minister's Special Representative for Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories. He is charged with reporting expeditiously "...on measures to extend and improve representative and responsive government in the Territories" (Canada, 1977a, 1). A paper titled "Political Development in the Northwest Territories" forms the essence of Drury's terms of reference. Among other things:

The Government has concluded that the time has come to take further major steps in the direction of enabling all northerners to govern themselves in ways of their own choosing. It is central to this conclusion that the native peoples of the North should participate effectively in this political evolution and at the same time be assured that their rights and interests, individually and collectively, will be protected and taken into account. The Government is determined to discharge its responsibility in these matters with a flexibility and openness of mind, and a willingness to consider constructive changes and innovations (Ibid., 3).

Furthermore:

...the Federal Government is committed firmly to a policy of supporting the concept of continuing Indian and Inuit identity within Canadian society. It is part of this policy that the requirements for sustaining identity are to be worked out jointly with representatives of the Indian and Inuit peoples involved. It is assumed, in the North as well as in southern Canada where Indian reserves are established, that local autonomy is central to the concept of continuing Indian/Inuit identity and status....(Ibid., 6).

Such autonomy must occur within existing national structures; the federal government states it will not permit the establishment of enclaves based on race. However, the theoretical concept of equality is tempered with the recognition that in practice the Inuit could be the *de facto* rulers of their communities:

[If government is] heavily decentralized primarily to the local communities...in many places the native peoples will continue to be the clear majority. These communities would have an option of establishing regional institutions, which in effect would be an amalgamation of community effort to further Indian and Inuit group interests in such matters as education, land use control, game management and renewable resource development. These are interests distinct from community-level needs such as housing, sanitation, social services and recreation.

Already in the Baffin Island and Keewatin regions, community leaders have been proposing regional bodies and the Territorial Government is actively encouraging them, through its policies of decentralization and devolution (Ibid., 7-8).

Thus, as with the territorial government, the federal government at least appears willing to allow communities to exercise their decision-making power via structures generated at the local level; whether that power is to be enlarged is not made clear.

That the events discussed above constitute signs of change is an optimistic interpretation. The alternative interpretation is that they do not--government willingness to recognize the legitimacy of Inuit groups, the support of outpost camps, and the ongoing discussion of increased local autonomy for Inuit communities may constitute nothing other than more of the lip service accorded Inuit "freedom of choice" and "equality" by the federal government during the past three decades. Certainly the Inuit appear to be skeptical of government intentions: at the time of writing, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada is choosing to ignore Drury on the grounds that "...the government should be listening more to [the Inuit], and their ideas on government, rather than appointing an outsider to look into forms of government" (Nunatsiaq News, Oct. 27, 1977, 28). Further, I. T. C. contends that Drury's subsequent appointment, in early 1978, to the National Capital Commission impairs his ability to deal with territorial political change; insofar as he has to split his time and attention between his two tasks this assessment is correct. Moreover, the situation again arouses Rowley's "credible suspicion" as to government's good faith.

Even if the events do constitute evidence of change, additional and more significant changes in western attitude must occur if the Inuit are to regain meaningful control over their own lives. First, the attitude of "make them like us" must be completely abandoned. It must be replaced by

the attitude that a very small minority group has the right to live their life as they wish. Certainly, as western society's post-industrial age becomes less a prospect and more a reality, an incredible variety of lifestyles becomes possible. In this context, the Inuit pursuit of a partially land based way of life in a remote part of Canada should hardly create a burden for Canada and Canadians in general. Of course, one must not interpret an attitude of allowing the Inuit to remain on the land to mean that they will: many Inuit might choose to become more western.

Second, the Inuit must receive support from Canadians so that, as an "underprivileged minority group," they can achieve the societal objectives they choose. We must be willing to share our knowledge and wealth with people who have access to less of both. Such support implies that the larger society will be willing to make do with a little less than it might otherwise have, at least in a material sense, so that the minority can have a little more. Particularly, Canadians will have to resolve for themselves the same issue faced by Americans with respect to blacks during the past twenty or thirty years: must they treat the Inuit as better than equal until their rights, privileges, and responsibilities are brought into line with those of the majority?

Third, society must seek a new balance between the interests of government and the governed, the interests of the nation and localities or regions, and the interests of the Canadian majority and its various minorities. To date, the interests of government, the "national interest," and the will of the majority have formed an effective tyranny over the interests of local minority groups: the 5,000,000-of-us-5,000-of-you mentality shown in the James Bay land claim negotiations is perhaps the best expression of this. A greater sensitivity must be possible.

As important as the potential and needed changes in western attitude are, their value is purely hypothetical as long as the Inuit do not have an economy capable of supporting their society without chronic subsidy. Since World War II the federal government has fostered another cycle of commodity extraction in the Arctic: the regional economy's only distinction is that it is based on petroleum and minerals rather than whales or foxes. In contrast to whale fishing and fox trapping, however, the government has chosen to describe Inuit participation in this cycle as "development." But such participation has failed to yield "development" by any definition, a direct consequence of placing emphasis on the creation of a labor force for an industry created by and primarily important to the outside world.

The consequence of government directed economic action has been the perpetuation of a hinterland of the main North American industrial centers, not a viable regional economy "...that will capture and regionally contain a significant proportion of the income that is generated by major private and public investment there" (Berger, 1977, 120). Government protestations aside, virtually all evidence indicates that with time such hinterlands will move further away from economic prosperity. The theoretical basis for this view is best expressed by Gunnar Myrdal's idea of cumulative causation. His suggestion is that when, by virtue of some initial advantage, some areas become more prosperous than others, new growth will also occur in the prosperous areas by a sort of snowball effect. More importantly, labor, capital, and resources will all tend to flow toward these richer metropolitan areas and away from the poorer hinterland areas so that the inequalities between rich and poor areas increase with time (Myrdal, 1957). Empirical support for this idea is abundant. E. F. Schumacher (1974, 60-61) describes the situation on a global scale:

A most important problem in the second half of the twentieth century is the geographical distribution of population, the question of "regionalism". But regionalism, not in the sense of combining a lot of states into free-trade systems, but in the opposite sense of developing all the regions within each country. This, in fact, is the most important subject on the agenda of all the larger countries today. And a lot of the nationalism of small nations today, and the desire for self-government and so-called independence, is simply a logical and rational response to the need for regional development. In the poor countries in particular there is no hope for the poor unless there is successful regional development, a development effort outside the capital city covering all the rural areas wherever people happen to be.

If this effort is not brought forth, their only choice is either to remain in their miserable condition where they are, or to migrate into the big city where their condition will be even more miserable. It is a strange phenomenon indeed that the conventional wisdom of present-day economics can do nothing to help the poor.

Invariably it proves that only such policies are viable as have in fact the result of making those already rich and powerful, richer and more powerful. It proves that industrial development only pays if it is as near as possible to the capital city or another very large town, and not in the rural areas. It proves that large projects are invariably more economic than small ones, and it proves that capital-intensive projects are invariably to be preferred as against labour-intensive ones.

Clarke (1972, 40-41), drawing on his work in the Gaspé, describes how cumulative causation can affect a rich country such as Canada:

The end result of the economic decline of the periphery is the structural disintegration of many rural communities. Having lost their economic function, many villages suffer from weakened social institutions. Community organizations decay through lack of funds and lack of leadership. Where there are no full-time occupations and no young people, communities at the periphery become refuges for the old and the poor. They rely heavily on social security provided by the government, and relinquish to government the initiative for their future development.

The concept of the periphery is not so much geographical as economic. Peripheral regions are defined by their relationship with core regions. Their economies are essentially colonial, in that they are dominated by enterprises producing staple products for export. The vast bulk of the underdeveloped countries may be described as peripheral, but there are also peripheral regions within developed countries which have the same kind of economic structure. In all types of peripheral region, important economic changes are taking place, but under a free-market system these changes do not lead to prosperity for the mass of the people. Economic growth can only be promoted by government: even then it is necessary for the periphery to have a suitable resource base and favourable political and economic conditions. In many cases the development of the periphery is further hampered by its remote location, far from existing metropolises.

Apart from the superficially similar "romantic" view that would damn the Inuit to an existence as a museum exhibit for urban society, the only apparent alternative to this scenario of decline is an acceptance of the contemporary partially westernized Inuit society as a terminal condition that is intrinsically "good" rather than as a transitional condition on the path to westernization/industrialization that is intrinsically "bad." Such an acceptance requires a change in outlook that may be difficult to achieve, by Inuit as well as westerners. Recent trends in western society such as the general concern with environmental conditions and the "back to the land" movement indicate that western support for a less materialistic, consumption oriented society may increase. Whether Inuit attitudes will change in a similar direction is an open question. Damas (1969, 62) indicates that the Inuit may be more materialistic than is commonly supposed, a view that is supported by the expenditure patterns presented in Chapter Five (pages 262-268). However, the continuing interest among the Inuit in land based occupations, and the very recent interest shown in re-establishing hunting camps, offer a parallel to the emerging western interest in a closer involvement with the physical environment.

In practical terms, commitment to a partially industrialized economy requires the acceptance of intermediate technology:

The concept of intermediate technology is, in essence, that technology is not a fixed or given factor in economic development but rather an instrument capable of being adapted and adjusted to harmonize with the economic, social and cultural environment into which it is introduced (McRobie, 1969, 8).

...intermediate technology is taken to refer to a set of production methods of humble design which are simple, cheap, and easily lent to decentralization; but capable of producing goods at prices competitive with other technology (Paine, 1969, 3).

Phrased another way, sophisticated western technology is not the only kind of technology available to Inuit society; certainly it is not the most

appropriate, as indicated by the failure of the massive transfer of western hardware to improve Inuit economy, health, and education over the past thirty years. The potential application of the concept to the Arctic was considered at least as early as 1968 (see Freeman, 1969), before the notion was popularized by Schumacher, but to date has received very little attention. However, in late 1977 the Science Council of Canada indicated its support for a similar idea, what it calls "mixed development." As they explain it, mixed development

...would press for more economic and technological self-sufficiency for the North. Activities that can be locally defined and controlled would be favoured over those which tend to increase political and economic dependence, the need for welfare, or other undesirable social conditions. This means an emphasis on relatively low capital, decentralized, and small scale development (Canada, 1977b, 45).

The major advantages to be derived from the adoption of intermediate technology are increased self-sufficiency and a reduction in the present dependency on western society, and a reduction in the present "structural unemployment." Only diversity in economic activity will ensure the long term viability of the Inuit economy; only expanded local production, which in turn rests on a greater utilization of local labor, capital, and resources, can generate diversity. The change will serve to replace the present high level of imports from southern Canada with locally produced goods and services: local construction of houses, the fabrication of a whole variety of domestic goods, and the replacement of many electrical and petroleum consuming appliances (such as refrigerators and snowmobiles) with more efficient articles (such as underground storage rooms and dogs) are all obvious examples that should be considered by the Inuit. Unemployment now reflects the gross imbalance between the size, education, and skills of the labor force and available employment. Substituting local production for imported goods, and substituting Inuit for western workers in a whole

range of administrative, clerical, and technical positions, would create more work for the local population. Without question, this would have the effect of lessening the efficiency of the overall Canadian economy but would have the considerable benefit of permitting a large number of presently economically redundant individuals to contribute to the well-being of their society. Further, these changes do not necessitate the abandonment of participation in hunting, the present luxury export industries, or large scale extractive industries. The shift is one of emphasis: the present activities could contribute to a reorganized Inuit economy, but no longer be the basis of it.

Finally, the acceptance of a partially westernized society and of intermediate technology will involve a resolution of the issue of second class citizenship for the Inuit. One is embarrassed to suggest that the future of the Inuit economy rests on the acceptance of local material poverty, at least relative to the wealth likely to be attained by Canadian society in general, but as it has been described here such would probably be the result; only an altruistic redistribution of wealth would preclude it. The only apparent answer to this dilemma, faced by hinterland populations throughout the world, is obvious if somewhat stark: those Inuit who find that the material cost of retaining desirable cultural aspects of their society is too high will be forced to move to southern Canada; a western industrial standard of living will never be available in the Arctic.

The Inuit are the people who will have to make such decisions. No one argues that change will continue to occur, but the questions and issues requiring decisions as to the direction it will take will only arise among the people most affected by it when westerners choose to permit the new balance of rights, responsibilities, and privileges between majority and

minority cultures so often alluded to by government officials. The choice will be difficult: it may mean the abandonment of a way of thinking that has existed for centuries. The road not taken exists: westerners have only failed to travel it.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED WITH WESTERN RESIDENTS, WITH RESPONSES

1. Where was the last place you lived before you came to the North?

British Columbia	5
Alberta	5
Saskatchewan	2
Ontario	13
Quebec	4
New Brunswick	2
Newfoundland	3
United Kingdom	3

2. How long have you been in the North?

<u>years</u>	
0.0 - 0.9	5
1.0 - 1.9	7
2.0 - 2.9	2
3.0 - 4.9	13
5.0 - 9.9	6
10 and over	4

3. How long have you been in Pangnirtung?

<u>years</u>	
0.0 - 0.9	10
1.0 - 1.9	14
2.0 - 2.9	5
3.0 - 4.9	7
5.0 - 9.9	0
10 and over	1

4. What was it that attracted you to the North?

Job incentives - general	10
teach natives specified	3
higher income specified	1
Adventure, new experience	21
To be in a small place,	
escape the city	4
To be with spouse	4
"Lifelong ambition"	1

5. Did you have any choice of northern posting?

Yes	20
No	17

6. In general, how do you like Pangnirtung?

Like	27
Dislike	4
Ambivalent	6

7. What are the main things that you like?

Job/work	11
People	21
specified natives	12
specified westerners	2
Scenery/physical environment	21
specified isolation	1
Sports	4
Quiet, slow lifestyle	6
Everything	5
Nothing in particular	3

8. What are the main things that you dislike?

People	14
specified natives	4
specified westerners	9
Isolation	11
Overall lifestyle	1
Intercultural relations	3
Darkness	1
Cold	2
Social Life	3
The school	3
Lack of amenities	8
Lack of visible animal life	1
Layout of settlement	2
Lack of friends	4
Local government	2
Nothing in particular	7

9. What do you miss in the North that you used to do or have before you came here?

Friends	6
Outdoor sports	5
Trees	2
The arts	7
Good communication facilities	6
Car/driving	11
Eating in restaurants	2
Shopping	4
Fresh food	6
Variety in selection of activity	7
Abundant domestic water	1
Nothing in particular	9

10. Is Pangnirtung pretty much the way you expected it would be before you came, or is it different in any important way?

No preconceptions	6	
As expected	8	
Not as expected:	23	
Larger/nicer/less primitive		21
Smaller/more primitive		4
Nicer scenery		1
Existence of "cliques" among westerners		6
Native people less sophisticated		1

11. Did you think that Pangnirtung would have the level of conveniences and amenities that it does?

Yes	18
No, expected less	17
No, expected more	2

12. How long do you expect to remain in Pangnirtung?

<u>years</u>	
0.0 - 0.9	10
1.0 - 1.9	18
2.0 - 2.9	1
3.0 - 4.9	0
5.0 - 9.9	0
Indefinitely	2
Don't know	6

13. How long do you expect to remain in the North?

years

0.0 - 0.9	2
1.0 - 1.9	8
2.0 - 2.9	1
3.0 - 4.9	1
5.0 - 9.9	3
Indefinitely	10
Don't know	12

14. Do you belong to any formally constituted associations, clubs, or teams in Pangnirtung?

<u>number of memberships</u>	<u>individuals</u>
0	24
1	8
2	4
3	1

15. What sports or outdoor activities do you take part in?

Hunting	9
Fishing	18
Hiking	16
Badminton	17
Snowmobiling	12
Skiing	2
Target shooting	2
Ping-pong	3
None	4

16. What social activities do you take part in?

Visiting friends	31
Partying	32
Community hall dances	16
Bingo	3
Movies	19
Church	16

17. Would you agree or disagree with this statement: most of the non-native people in Pangnirtung are friendly and sociable.

Agree	21
Disagree	10
Ambivalent	6

Now I would like to ask for your opinions about problems in the community. Remember I am not looking for right or wrong answers. It is just your own opinions I would like to have.

18. First, what would you say are one or two of the more important social problems in Pangnirtung at the present time?

Existence of "cliques" among westerners	7
Over-rapid acculturation	6
Promiscuity	1
High number of illegitimate children	1
Poor communication with the outside world	2
Intercultural relations	10
Inuit family relations	3
Alcoholic beverage consumption	13
Lack of opportunity for Inuit	1
Lack of jobs	9
Lack of physical facilities	3
Lack of school grades	1
Overcrowded Inuit houses	2
Venereal disease	5
Poor nutrition	1
Gambling	2
Poor planning of townsite	3
Poor local government	1
Lack of Inuit education	1
Lack of sex education	1

19. What do you think is the most important problem?

Lack of opportunity for Inuit	1
Lack of jobs	6
Lack of physical facilities	1
Poor communication with the outside world	2
Lack of communication among Inuit	1
Westerners forced to work and socialize with the same small group of people	1
Intercultural relations	6
Lack of Inuit education	1
Poor local government	1
Lack of sex education	1
Alcoholic beverage consumption	4
Rapid growth of Pangnirtung	2
Gambling	2
Don't know	8

20. How do you think this problem might best be solved?

Bring in business to create jobs	3
Erect recreation complex	3
More education	3
"Plod away"	5
Bring better quality public servants to the North	2
Attract Inuit to the South	1
Improve communication	2
Start to deal with the "northern problem" rather than the "Inuit problem"	3
Better government policies	8
Don't know	7

21. Would you say there are social class divisions in Pangnirtung?

Yes	34
No	0
Not sure	3

22. On the whole, would you agree or disagree that the government is doing a pretty good job in its effort to help the native people?

Agree	7
Disagree	17
Ambivalent	13

23. What would you say is the main thing the government has done to help the native people?

Given the people local government	3
Brought the people into settlements	11
Health care	11
Housing	8
Education	3
Provided information about southern Canada	1

24. What is the most important thing the government or other agencies could be doing that they are not doing to help the native people?

Create jobs	10
"Nudge Nordair"	1
Better government programs	3
Improve on H.B.C.	1
Better medical care	5
Instill material values in the Inuit	10
Encourage private industry to replace government wherever possible	1
Set up student exchanges with the South	2
Provide information on other ways of life	1
Don't know	4

25. What would you say are your main impressions of the native people?

Unsettled/confused	2
Honest	5
Reliable	1
Unreliable	2
Friendly	4
Expressionless	4
Moody	3
Without ambition	2
Two-faced	4
Live for the moment	2
Respect their elders	4
Have self-pride	3
Specialists in only one thing	1
Have a generation gap	3
Have no sense of time	2
"They're different"	2
"They're like any other group of people"	6

Now I am going to read a number of statements about native people and I would like you to say if you agree or disagree with them.

26. In general, most native people will never get ahead in the modern world until they learn to plan for the future.

Agree	27
Disagree	7
Ambivalent	3

27. Most native people don't know the value of money but waste it instead on things they don't need.

Agree	26
Disagree	7
Ambivalent	4

28. Most of the native people are almost as impulsive as children in the way they behave.

Agree	19
Disagree	11
Ambivalent	7

29. Most native people are just too lazy, or don't care enough, to take part in community affairs.

Agree	2
Disagree	33
Ambivalent	2

30. Until the native people have a lot more education, they cannot be expected to help much in running the affairs of the community.

Agree	13
Disagree	23
Ambivalent	1

31. The native is basically a good man on the land, but life in the settlements has spoiled him.

Agree	13
Disagree	10
Ambivalent	14

(If agree) How do you think it has spoiled him?

Become too dependent on welfare	8
Does not know how to live in a settlement	1
Not enough jobs	4

32. It seems that native people have less sense of responsibility now than they did before the government started handing out so much welfare assistance.

Agree	22
Disagree	5
Ambivalent	10

33. What do you think are the most important qualities, traits, or characteristics that the native person of the future should have?

Hope for the future	7
Sense of responsibility	8
More education	4
Pride in cultural heritage	7
Self-discipline	2
Adapt to western society	12
Learn more about the world	5
Don't know	2

34. Do you feel that while working in the North, you can do something to help the native people progress toward a better life?

Yes	31
No	3
Don't know	3

(If yes) How do you think you can help?

Doing own job well	26
Providing jobs	1
Helping Inuit adapt to western society	4

35. Do you think there should be more opportunities for people such as yourself to take a leading part in community life?

Yes	5
No	32

36. Do you think that most of the non-natives here set a good example for the Inuit?

Yes	15
No	12
Ambivalent	10

37. Specifically, what are some of the ways in which non-natives set a good example for the native people?

Good diet/hygiene	5
Treat Inuit as equals	5
Act responsibly	13
Attend church	1
General lifestyle	12
Spend money wisely	3
Demonstrate social drinking	4
Don't know	3
Do not set a good example	3

38. What are some of the ways in which non-natives set a bad example?

Conspicuous consumption	5
Heavy drinking	25
Not treating Inuit as equals	7
Not acting responsibly	6
Promiscuity	7
Not practicing what they preach	2
Gossiping	1
Not attending church	4
Don't know	3
Do not set a bad example	6

39. What group of people in Pangnirtung would you say has the most serious problem with alcohol?

Inuit	17
specified young	9
specified young males	4
Non-natives	11
specified teachers	8
Everybody	2
Don't know	2
There is no problem group	5

40. Would you agree or disagree that in general, native people have more difficulty than westerners in controlling their behavior when they have been drinking?

Agree	31
Disagree	5
Ambivalent	1

41. Would you personally favor or not favor the following:

	<u>favor</u>	<u>not favor</u>	<u>not sure</u>
a. a beverage room in Pangnirtung	3	32	2
b. a liquor store in Pangnirtung	1	32	4
c. over-the-counter beer sales at the hotel	7	30	0
d. more encouragement for native families to go on the land to fish, hunt, or trap	21	13	3
e. better rental houses for the native people	18	17	2

42. Do you think that many non-natives strongly disagree about what is best for the native people?

Yes, they disagree	14
No, there is a consensus	14
Don't know	9

43. Roughly, how often would you say that you meet and talk with adult native people?

Daily	34
Every other day	1
Weekly	1
To "meet and talk" is impossible	1

44. Where do you meet and talk with adult native people?

Work	31
Store/road/anywhere	32
Parties	5
Home	13
Church	4
To "meet and talk" is impossible	1

45. How often do you meet and talk with native people off the job?

Daily	9
Every other day	7
Weekly	16
Once every two weeks	1
Never	4

46. Do native people ever visit your home socially?

Often	8
Sometimes	21
Rarely	5
Never	3

47. Have you ever visited the home of a native person socially?

Often	9
Sometimes	8
Rarely	9
Never	11

Finally, I would like to ask your opinions and ideas on several points which do not relate just to life in this community, but are more general in scope.

48. First, would you let your friendship ties in a community stand in the way of moving to a better job?

Yes	6
No	26
Don't know	5

49. Would you turn down a substantial advancement if it involved being away from your family a good deal?

Yes	14
No	16
Don't know	7

50. Which do you think would be the more important to you: a job at \$8,000 a year that you found very enjoyable, or a job at \$12,000 that you did not enjoy very much?

\$8,000	33
\$12,000	2
Don't know	2

51. Did you vote in the December, 1972, election for hamlet council, or were you unable to for some reason?

Yes	20
No, did not	6
No, not eligible	11

52. Do you read the local newspaper?

Yes	35
No	2

53. May I ask your religious affiliation?

Anglican	17
Presbyterian	3
Roman Catholic	3
Greek Orthodox	1
United	6
Baptist	1
Methodist	2
Unspecified Protestant	4

54. May I ask your age?

under 20	1
20 - 29	16
30 - 39	15
40 - 49	4
50 and over	1

55. What was the last grade or year that you completed in school?

Primary or some high school	8
High school graduation	7
Some university	10
University graduation	12

56. (If married) How many children do you have? What are their ages?

<u>number of children</u>	<u>families</u>
0	4
1	3
2	4
3	1
4	1

<u>ages of children (years)</u>	<u>number</u>
0-4	5
5-9	7
10-14	6
15-17	nil

57. Roughly, what was the population of the town in which you grew up?

under 1,000	9
1,000 - 4,900	8
5,000 - 9,900	4
10,000 - 24,900	1
25,000 - 99,900	7
100,000 - 499,900	5
500,000 and over	3

58. In what province or country?

British Columbia	4
Alberta	2
Saskatchewan	1
Manitoba	1
Ontario	10
Quebec	1
New Brunswick	2
Newfoundland	3
Northwest Territories	1
United Kingdom	6
The Netherlands	1
India	1
New Zealand	1
Barbados	2
Trinidad	1

59. Whom is your employer?

Federal government	4
Territorial government	18
Local government	1
Private industry	8
Unemployed spouse	6

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Bibliographical Note

The material used in the preparation of this dissertation was gathered in several places. The objective of this bibliography is to list details of the references given in the text and to provide clear directions to the sources for the reader who wishes to locate them for his own use.

The first section of the bibliography lists the sources of archival material. The first subsection names the manuscript collections used. The first of these, the Anglican Church of Canada Archives in Toronto, was in the process of cataloguing their Arctic material when I visited there in 1974. Therefore, no reference is made in the text to particular groupings of papers within the Arctic Collection though undoubtedly these now exist. The second entry, "Files located in the Government of the Northwest Territories Office Building. Pangnirtung.", does not really constitute a manuscript collection, though listed as one in the bibliography. When Pangnirtung became a hamlet in April, 1972, most of the federal and territorial government records were put into "storage" in cardboard boxes in the basement of the building used by the territorial government staff. These files were made available to me for examination in 1973 by the remaining territorial government staff. The material comprised a variety of complete and incomplete files about a variety of subjects extending over various periods of time. The files were a rich source of local history but no one in authority showed any interest in

their preservation. Readers wishing to use this material hopefully will find the files intact. The documents used in Ottawa, named in the third and fourth entries, comprise two files located in the Public Archives of Canada but made available to me by Mr. Robert Kennedy of Indian and Northern Affairs. In accordance with that department's archival policy, no reference is made by name in this dissertation to individuals identified in the documents examined.

The remaining five sections of the bibliography list, by type of source, the other reference material used. As far as possible references in the text follow the scientific form (author's surname, date of publication, page number). Bibliographic entries are arranged within sections to conform to this usage, that is, first by authors' surnames, then chronologically. However, where such an arrangement would be unwieldy it is abandoned; this is the case with some government documents and periodicals, for example. Such material is listed first within each section of the bibliography. References in the text, of course, name the exact spot from which material is taken.

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