DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 039 074 RC 004 332

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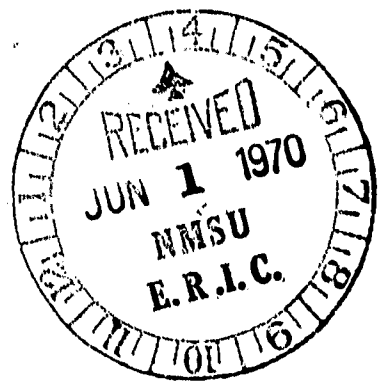
TITLE	Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin.
INSTITUTION	Canadian Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa (Ontario).
REPORT NO	NCRC-62-2
PUB DATE	62
NOTE	225p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, Canada
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$1.00 HC-$11.35
DESCRIPTORS	*Acculturation, American Indians, Change Agents, Demography, Education, *Eskimos, Family (Sociological Unit), Geography, History, Occupational Information, Population Trends, Religion, *Research Projects, Resources, *Sociocultural Patterns, *Socioeconomic Influences
IDENTIFIERS	*Northwest Territories

ABSTRACT

The results of field research conducted during the summers of 1959 and 1960 in the Baker Lake region of the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories are reported. Discussions of social and economic changes which have occurred among the Eskimo and the Kabloona (White) inhabitants of the region comprise the major portion of the report. Accounts of daily living are cited, providing insight into the 2 cultures. Specific topics include the geographic and demographic setting, historical background, economy, kinship, family and marriage, the Kabloona, the Nunamiut (persons living outside the settlement who derive the largest proportion of their livelihoods from hunting, fishing, and trapping) and the Kabloonamiut (Eskimos living in the settlement and employed by Kabloona), formal education, religion, social control, and trends and comparisons dealing with such factors as Kabloona influence on the Eskimo culture, social structure, communications, and economy. Illustrations and tables accompany the text. (BD)

KABLOONA AND ESKIMO IN THE CENTRAL KEEWATIN



by

F. G. Vallee

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre during the summers 1959 and 1960. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

NCRC-62-2

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Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre,
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Ottawa.

May, 1962.

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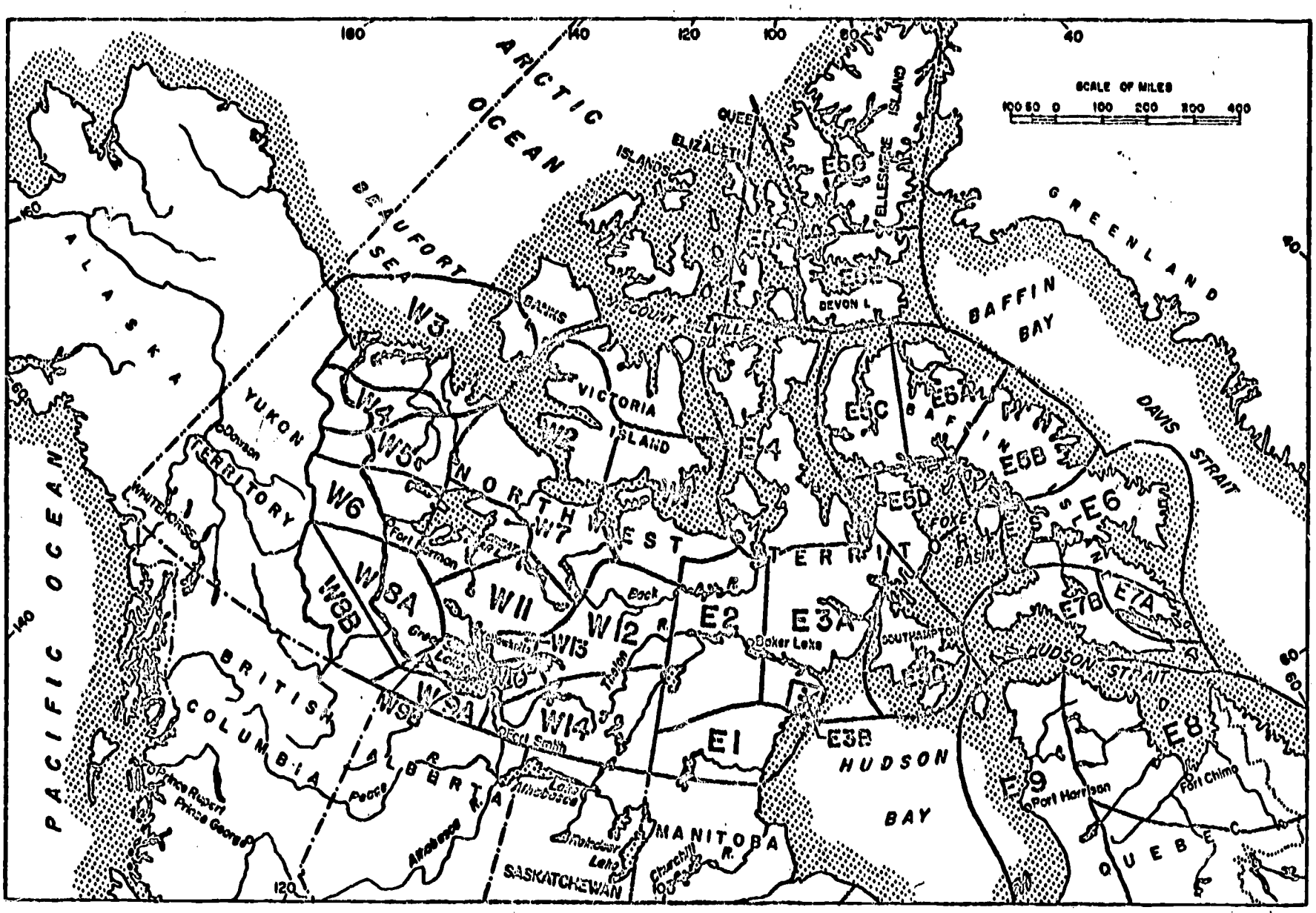
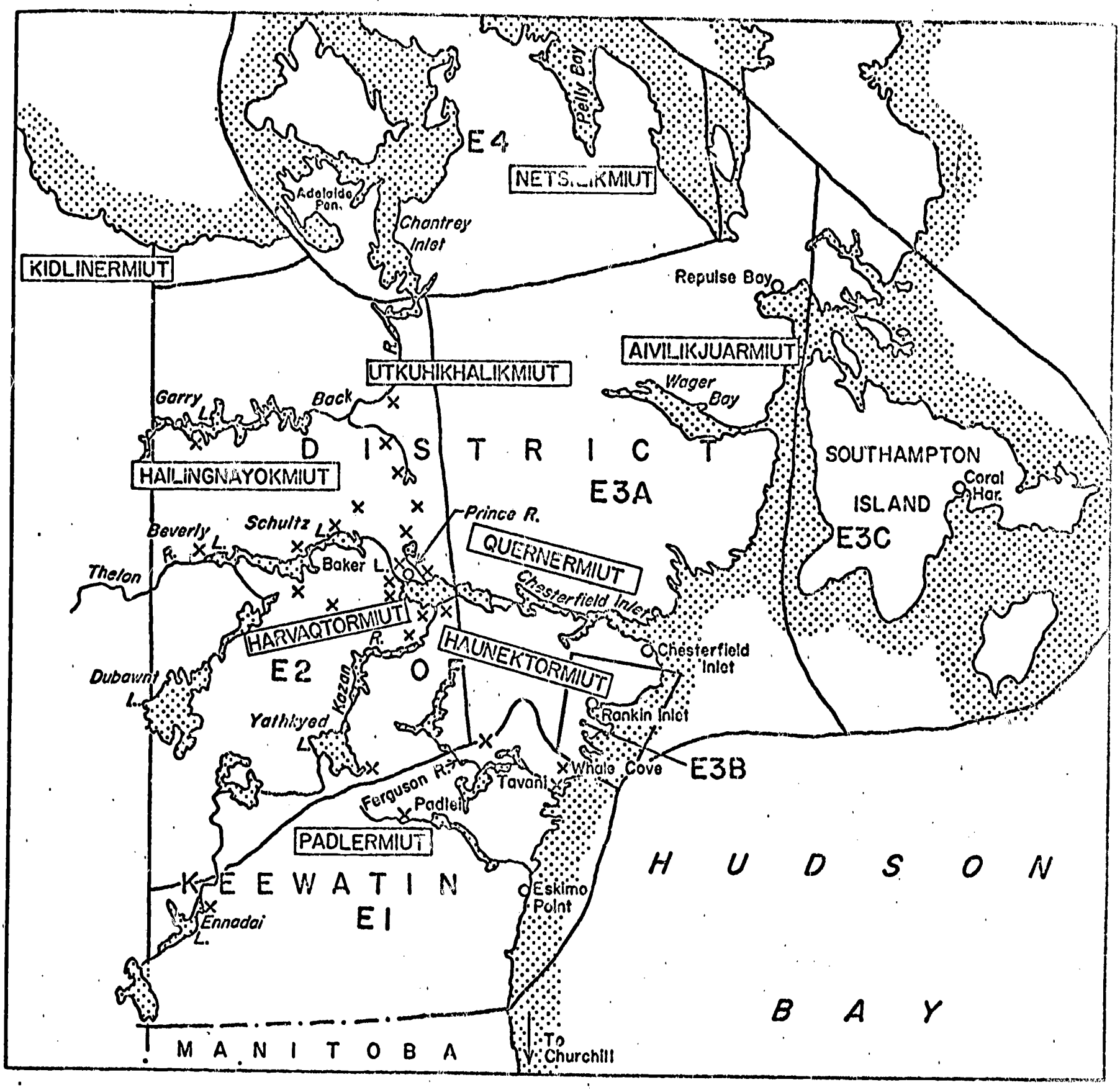


REGISTRATION DIVISIONS IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

MAP 1



LEGEND

Encircled names indicate sub-cultural groupings.....

Divisions between administrative districts or regions.....

Settlements.....

Eskimo campsites (approximate locations, summer 1960) in Baker Lake region (E2).....

Scale in miles

100 0 100 200

MAP 2

INTRODUCTION

In this report I relate the findings of a research project the field work for which was carried out during the summers of 1959 and 1960, in the Baker Lake region of the Keewatin District of the Northwest Territories. My interest was primarily in the social and economic changes which have been occurring in recent years. I have attempted also to indicate the likely directions of change in the near future. Thus, this report is not ethnography in the classical sense: it does not purport to give an exhaustive account of a primitive people. Rather it is a panoramic view of a human situation as observed in 1959 and 1960.

Three features of the human situation at Baker Lake have been given the major share of attention in this report: the economic position and prospects of the Eskimo population; the revolution in education which is occurring; and what I regard as significant changes in the social structure of the Eskimo population. I admit that these are rather superficial features of the changing way of life, compared to, say, the changes in deep-lying beliefs and values, personality, and so forth.

There are good reasons for concentrating initially on the more superficial aspects of the human situation. To get at deep-lying beliefs and values among the Eskimos one must be fluent in their language, and I am not. Even with the most competent interpreting it is difficult to penetrate the social front which informants assume when confronted with a person from a different culture. As it happened, the interpreting service available was a little less than adequate; at times it was simply unavailable. In the second place, I want to relate this research project as directly as possible to the day-to-day problems encountered by the Eskimos and the administrator.

The Baker Lake Region

The settlement of Baker Lake is a centre of dominance for an immense area delineated officially as the E-2 Registration District (See Map 2). People living within a radius of about 150 miles to the north, west, and south of the settlement look inward to Baker Lake and are dependent on a variety of services located there. Slightly more than a quarter of the Eskimo population of the region reside at the settlement most of the year; the remainder are scattered about the region in 20 land camps which range in distance from 7 to 160 miles of the actual settlement.

Ideally, an investigator doing a comprehensive study of the region's population should spend an equal amount of time with each household, whether on the land or in the settlement. Actually, most of my time was spent in the settlement. Brief one and two-day visits were made at five

small camps within fifteen miles of the settlement, and a two-week visit was made in one large camp about 45 miles from the settlement. Transportation to outlying camps is most difficult in the summer, which is the reason I limited myself to visits at proximate camps. However, it should be mentioned that many people from outlying camps were interviewed during their visits to the settlement. Because most of my field work was carried out within the settlement, I offer more reliable material in this report on the Eskimo and Kabloona[1] population settled there than I do on the Eskimos in the camps.

Field Work and Methods

For the first two months of the field work, I was accompanied by M. Bruno Vercier, who is now studying ethnography in his native country, France. M. Vercier came along in an unofficial capacity and, in fact, was primarily interested in producing a film documentary on the everyday life of the Eskimos in the Baker Lake region. He also collected several reels of folk songs on a tape recorder, which material has been deposited in the National Museum of Canada. M. Vercier, who received a travel grant of $500.00 from the Canadian Social Science Research Council, was particularly helpful in observing happenings at the Federal School.

The month of June, 1959, was spent in the settlement, collecting background material, such as population statistics, data on housing, income, consumption, etc., of the settlement population. Late in June we travelled across Baker Lake by dog-sled to a camp near the mouth of the Kazan River where the Northern Service Officer helped an Eskimo group set up a fish camp. We spent almost two weeks at this camp before returning to the settlement. During the month of August, brief visits were made to four camps: one on the Kazan River; one at Kikotayak; and two on the Prince's River. After M. Vercier's departure for France in early August, 1959, I made a trip with three Eskimos down Chesterfield Inlet, lasting five days. During the summer of 1960, I spent five weeks in the region before leaving the field in mid-July.

On trips away from the settlement we lived in tents; at the settlement we were provided with a small house which had been inhabited by the first teacher in the Baker Lake Settlement in 1957. After the Eskimos came to know us they were quite frequent visitors at this house.

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1 In this report we use Kabloona rather than White to designate non-Eskimo people. The term White has a biological connotation, whereas the most significant factors differentiating the Eskimo from non-Eskimo are social and cultural. We could also have used Euro-Canadian, but decided to reject this term because it is awkward.

Interaction with the Kabloona at the settlement was also quite frequent. This was important to us, for we quickly realized that to get any information about the human situation in the Arctic you must get to know the Kabloona element as well as you know the Eskimo one. On every side we met with friendliness and helpfulness, perhaps more than we expected, for many people in the Arctic are justifiably apprehensive about brief sojourners who intend to present reports or articles for public consumption.

It should be added that we managed to meet several Eskimos of the Baker Lake region in locations outside that region. Before our arrival at Baker Lake in early June, 1959, we visited the Clearwater Sanatorium near The Pas, Manitoba, where we met many people from the region, tape recording messages from them to carry to their friends and relatives at Baker Lake. During July and August, 1960, we also visited Eskimo communities at Churchill, Rankin Inlet, and Whale Cove, on the West Coast of Hudson's Bay where we met emigrants from the Baker Lake region, settled in the Rehabilitation Projects at these places.

The research techniques employed in this study were very simple: we tried to see as much as we could of the everyday life in the region and to meet as many people, Eskimo and Kabloona, as possible. Wherever we could get data in documentary form--vital statistics, reports of meetings, records of agencies, and so on--we extracted everything of significance from them for use in the study. In an initial study of this kind, the investigator is less concerned with asking carefully selected questions in a formal and controlled interview situation than he is with feeling his way around, with a view to discovering what are the vital questions to ask. The exploratory nature of the study combined with linguistic barriers to preclude the use of a questionnaire, whether in the form of writing or of formal interview.

In this report I have attempted to establish and maintain the perspective which places happenings in the Baker Lake region in a context larger than the community itself. To do this I have preceded the data in several chapters with brief introductions, establishing a theoretical and cross-cultural perspective within which we may view the human situation in the Baker Lake region.

To conclude this introduction it pleases me to say that there are too many individuals and agencies from whom I received help to risk listing all the names in acknowledgment, lest some names be omitted through inadvertence. However, the friendly aid of some people was so valuable and abundant that special mention of them must be made. Among my Eskimo friends I am particularly grateful to Anungai and his parents; to Owningaya and his parents; to Sibveak, Attungala, and the Tapatis--Thomas and Louis. Without the help of my colleague, M. Bruno Vercier, this

report would have been much poorer in data than it is now. The Northern Service Officer and Project Officers at Baker Lake, could not have been more helpful, nor could the teachers at the Federal Day School. The R.C.M.P. were also extremely cordial and never declined requests for assistance. The same must be said for the missionaries, Canon W.J.R. James and Father Charles Choque. Department of Northern Affairs personnel in Ottawa, Rankin Inlet and Churchill, were unstinting in their aid and hospitality, as indeed were the personnel of the Department of Transport, the Northern Health Services, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Canadian Wildlife Service. Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to Mr. V.F. Valentine and Mr. M.H. Greenwood of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, which sponsored my research, and to the staff of the N.C.R.C.

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

The Baker Lake settlement is located at 96° 03' longitude and 64° 18' latitude, at the north-east corner of Baker Lake, which is about 60 miles long and averages between 15 and 20 miles in width. What we call in this report the Baker Lake region includes that area in Map 2 which is marked off as the E-2 Registration District, for which the settlement is the administrative centre. Two large river systems, the Kazan to the south and the Thelon to the north and west, empty into Baker Lake whose waters flow into Hudson's Bay, almost 200 miles to the east of the settlement, via Chesterfield Inlet.

The Baker Lake region is at the heart of the Barren Lands, that vast tract of water-logged tundra which stretches from the Tree Line to the Arctic Sea. Spotted and laced with thousands of lakes, rivers, and creeks, the terrain of this immense plateau is mostly low and hilly, but not mountainous. The highest hills in the region rise to about 850 feet above sea level.

The first snowfall usually occurs in September, or in early October at the latest, the snow cover remaining until the end of May, and in some places where drifting is particularly heavy, until early August. Ice begins to break up on the faster running streams and rivers during the early part of May, but on the slower running streams and on the lakes the ice cover usually remains intact until late June or early July. In 1959 we crossed Baker Lake by dog-sled on the 24th of June, encountering difficult passage only close to the shore where the ice was covered with water.

The seasonal cycle at Baker Lake may be described in two ways: in terms of temperature and in terms of ground and water cover. In terms of temperature, the winter spell of below freezing weather is usually over by early May, when what can be described as Arctic Spring takes over. Underfoot, however, winter lingers for another month or so when, in early June the top crust of snow on the land softens and the bottom of the snow cover, next to the earth, begins to melt. Similarly although spring may be in the air from May onward, the winter ice remains on the larger lakes well into July, as we have described. Arctic summer, both in the air and underfoot lasts from early July when the ice breaks up and flows away, until the end of August, when thermometers begin to register freezing weather again. By October, the region is in full grip of winter once more.

Baker Lake is several hundred miles north of the Tree Line. The only trees to be seen are clumps of dwarf willows, rarely reaching over two feet in height. Except on the many ridges of sand and gravel which criss-cross the terrain, one can dig down only a foot or so before striking permafrost, that is, earth which is in a perpetually frozen state. The ground is exceedingly boggy, and except for the ubiquitous muskeg, the soil is very thin, barely covering the rock of the Canadian Shield in some places, not at all in others. However, during the brief summer there is a sudden and abundant growth from this meagre layer of soil. Apart from the lichens and mosses, a spectacular variety of flowering plants make their appearance during the month of July, flourishing until midway through August or until late August when the freezing temperature returns. During this summer season a variety of berries are picked by the local population, although these are not plentiful enough to be a significant part of the local diet.

With such a soil cover and such a short growing season there can be no sustained or significant agriculture in this region. A few people from the south have experimented with growing lettuce and other greens under glass, taking advantage of the very long periods of daylight during the summer, but apart from these negligible products of the soil, the land can produce little.

The people of the so-called Barren Lands have depended on wildlife resources in the past, on which subject more will be said in a later section. It is fitting to point out here that a new kind of resource may be tapped in this region before long. Mining interests have been carrying out extensive explorations and prospecting in the vicinity since the early 1930's. The author knows little about the geological features of the Baker Lake area, but apparently the land is fairly rich in pitchblende and fluorite deposits.[1] Whether or not these deposits will be exploited depends on a number of factors, such as cost of transportation, prices in world markets, and so on, considerations which are beyond the scope of this report and the competence of its author.

Communications and Transportation

Baker Lake is linked with the outside world by radio, air and water. A transmitter and receiver is maintained by the Department of Transport, linking Baker Lake with Churchill, Manitoba, about 400 miles to the south, Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet to the east and Yellowknife to the west. Private transmitters and receivers are operated by the Roman Catholic missionary, who communicates with other missionaries at Chesterfield, Pelly Bay, and elsewhere, and the

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[1] C. F. Robinson (1944)

manager of the Hudson's Bay Company store, who communicates only on rare occasions with other Hudson's Bay posts.

For periods of up to a few weeks at a time an atmospheric condition popularly known as the Polar Blackout interferes with the transmission and reception of radio messages, sealing the region off from the rest of the world. Until the winter of 1959 messages between the settlement and the land camps within the Baker Lake region could be passed only by human carrier, but the Department of Northern Affairs was completing the installation of radio sets at a few strategic locations on the land when the author left the area. These strategic locations are called Emergency Camp Units; Eskimos and others on the land may use the sets at these locations to send messages to the Baker Lake station in emergencies.

Air service between Baker Lake and Churchill is provided by Transair, a commercial airline, and by the RCMP air service. Transair operates a monthly flight to and from Churchill, in addition to a charter service for freight and passengers. The RCMP provides an irregular service, primarily to deliver patients to and from hospitals in the south.

An airport maintenance crew at Baker Lake keeps the Department of Transport landing strips in repair. During the greater part of the year planes land on the ice of Baker Lake where a strip is marked out. During July, August, and September, planes equipped with floats come down in the water while those equipped with wheels come down on a land strip about a mile away from the settlement.

In the summer, flights in and out of Baker Lake are quite frequent, if unpredictable. Scientists, prospectors, tourist-fishermen, survey teams, and visiting officials arrive and depart by air in a spasmodic stream. With the poor weather conditions of winter the settlement lapses into relative isolation.

Two small freight boats deliver goods to Baker Lake in August of each year, arriving via Chesterfield Inlet. One of these boats loads at Montreal for Arctic ports; the other loads at Churchill and is operated by the Hudson's Bay Company. These boats deliver most of the heavier freight required in the community, such as building material and drums of gasoline and oil. Once a year an oil tanker from Churchill replenishes the tanks at the Department of Transport installation.

Population

During the winter of 1958 to 1959, seventy men, women, and children were evacuated from the Baker Lake region by the RCMP and

Department of Northern Affairs, the great majority of the evacuees going to the Keewatin Relocation Project at Rankin Inlet. This movement was a large bite from the region's population, which at the RCMP census of November, 1958, stood at 427 Eskimo persons. Furthermore, all of the evacuees were from the hinterland, mostly from the Garry Lake-Back River areas to the north of Baker Lake, areas whose populations have suffered severely from famine in recent years.

A household count carried out by the author, with the assistance of the RCMP and the Northern Service Officer, gives a population of 368 Eskimos for the Baker Lake region,[1] as of June, 1959, the lowest population figure since before the Second World War. Table I compares population figures for this region at each RCMP census since 1940. It should be noted that population figures include all those members of Eskimo households of the Baker Lake region who have not settled permanently outside the region. Thus, people who are in hospital outside the region are counted as part of the population; those who were evacuated to the Keewatin Relocation Project are not counted in our 1959 census, as it appears to be officially assumed that they have taken up permanent residence elsewhere, an assumption which we accept with some reservation and which is discussed later in this report.

TABLE I

POPULATION E2 DISTRICT

(BAKER LAKE REGION) 1940-59

1940 384	1947 440	1954 440
1941 396	1948 455	1955 422
1942 407	1949 459	1956 425
1943 412	1950 440	1957 ..... (no census)
1944 421	1951 447	1958 427
1945 433	1952 446	1959 368
1946 436	1953 453	

Source: - Annual RCMP census for all years except 1959. Population as of June, 1959, based on household count by author.

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1 As this report goes to press we have been informed that a camp of about 32 Eskimos of the Padlermiut group around Yathkyed Lake has been added to the Baker Lake region's population for administrative purposes. At the time of our field work, this group was oriented to Padlei and thus was not counted as part of the region's population.

It will be seen from Table I that there was a steady rise in population from 1940 to 1949 when an erratic downward trend set in, a trend made more pronounced by high death rates in certain years of famine and epidemic and given acute emphasis by the evacuation noted earlier. In order to predict whether or not this trend is likely to continue, we must examine the age and sex structure, vital statistics, and patterns of migration.

FIGURE I

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION, BAKER LAKE REGION, 1959

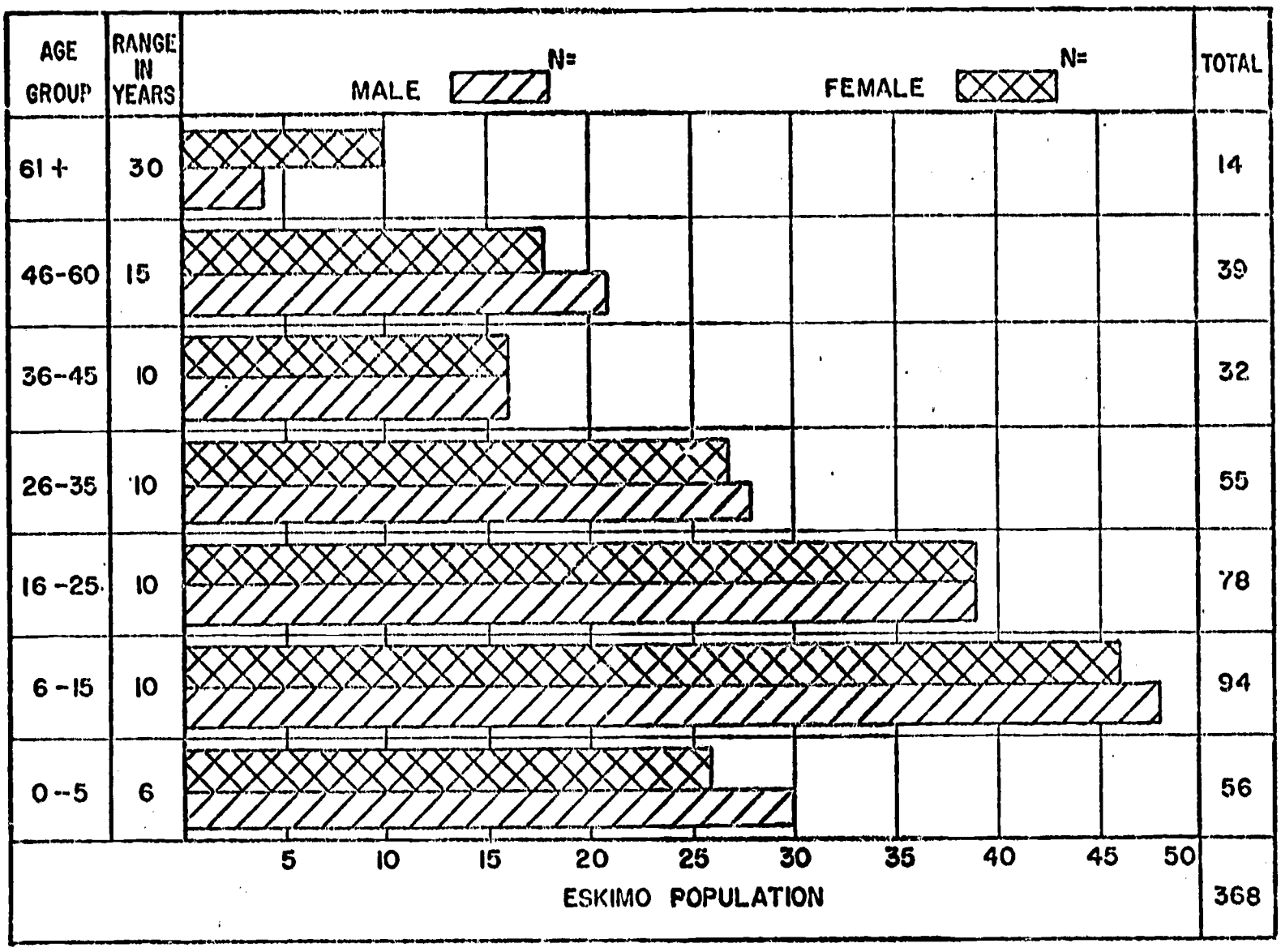

Figure I represents the numbers of males and females in each age grouping as of June, 1959. This is what demographers call a normal age and sex distribution, in which the sexes are about evenly divided and in which each ascending age group has fewer members in it than the one below it. About 38% of the population is under 15 years of age and only about 3.5% over the age of 60. These percentages may be compared with those for Canada as a whole, which in 1958 had 33% of its population under 15 years of age and 11% over 60 years of age. As far as age and sex distribution is concerned, then, there are no defects in it which could result

in sharp population increases or decreases in the immediate future, such as sometimes happens when one age cohort which is out of normal proportion to its surrounding age cohorts moves into the child-bearing phase of life.

This does not mean that there will be no sharp increases or decreases in population, but only that the present age and sex structure as such does not bear within itself the seed of sudden sharp change. However, age and sex structure is not the only influence to take into account in tracing population trends. Another set of influences has to do with vital statistics.

Over the ten-year period 1949-1958, the high birth rate of the Baker Lake population has been cancelled out by a high death rate. In that period, 191 children were born while 214 people died, a net natural decrease over ten years of 23. As the population is so small, it is appropriate to express rates of births and deaths in terms of averages over several years rather than for any given year because the numbers of births and deaths fluctuate widely from year to year. Table II gives the numbers of births and deaths for five-year periods, from 1944 to 1958, inclusive. Table III gives the annual average rates of birth and deaths, besides giving rates of increase and decrease per 1000 population for these five year periods.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS, BAKER LAKE REGION, 1944-1958

Period	Births	Deaths	Increase or Decrease
1944-48	102	65	+ 37
1949-53	88	107	- 19
1954-58	103	107	- 4
TOTALS	293	279	14

Source: - Vital Statistics, Northwest Territories.

TABLE III

AVERAGE ANNUAL BIRTH AND DEATH RATES,
BAKER LAKE REGION, 1944 - 1958 (PER 1000 POP.)

Period	Av. Ann. Birth Rate per 1000	Av. Ann. Death Rate per 1000	Av. Ann. Rate of Increase or Decrease
1944-48	46.6	29.7	+ 16.9
1949-53	39.2	47.6	- 3.4
1954-58	48.1	50.0	- 2
TOTAL (15 yr. period)	43.2	42.3	.9

N. B. Annual population of region for each period based on average for the given 5-year periods and for the total, average annual population based on average for the whole 15 year period.

Source: - Vital Statistics, Northwest Territories.

It is of interest to compare these rates with those for Canada as a whole. For the same fifteen year period, the birth rate in Canada was about 28 per 1000 population, while the death rate was about 7.5 per 1000 population. The most remarkable feature of this comparison is that the death rate for the Baker Lake region is about five times as high as that for Canada as a whole. An even more remarkable and melancholy difference between the Baker Lake Eskimos and the total Canadian population for this period is that between the rates of infant mortality: in Canada for the period under review the average annual infant mortality per 1000 births was about 32; among the Baker Lake region Eskimos it was about eight times as high, or roughly 258 per 1000 births.

These tables show that the population is almost, but not quite, reproducing itself, at least over the past ten years. In order to predict whether or not this trend will continue, it is necessary to know what factors are likely to influence the birth and death rates in the years ahead. Two key factors influencing the birth rate are the marriage rate and age at marriage. All other things being equal, the earlier the age of females at marriage and the larger the proportion of females married, the higher the birth rate.

There is no traditional Eskimo word equivalent to 'spinster' and 'bachelor' in English. As is well known from the many writings on Eskimo society, every normal human being is expected to marry[1] - that is, to live in a more or less permanent union with a person or persons of the opposite sex and produce children. Older Eskimos in the region claim that it was rare for a person to be unmarried at the age of 18 and hardly known for a person not to marry at all.

Of the population over 15 years of age only 22% are single, widowed, or separated. This may be compared with the figure of 34% for Canada as a whole. In order to carry out a more refined analysis of marriage rates, it is necessary to find the proportions of single and married in each age group and according to sex. This tabulation is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

PROPORTION OF MARRIED PERSONS BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, BAKER LAKE REGION, 1959

	MALE			FEMALE		
Age-Group	% Single	% Married	% Widowed	% Single	% Married	% Widowed
31 & older	1	97	2	0	69	31
26 - 30	8	92	0	19	81	0
21 - 25	42	58	0	25	75	0
16 - 20	91	9	0	68	32	0

Source: - Author's Census, June 1959.

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[1] Normal is used here to denote those who are not so mentally or physically defective that they cannot carry out their customary roles in society. In the Baker Lake region there are a few cretins who are not expected to perform in customary roles for their ages and sex and these are not married. On the other hand, there are a few blind and deaf-mute persons who do perform adequately and these are married. See Chapter IV, Page 87.

While the proportion of married in each age group is much higher than that for the Canadian population as a whole, compared with the picture of the past generation and earlier in the region there are significantly more single women over 21 years of age than there were in former years. Furthermore the age at first marriage is being postponed beyond the 'normal' ages at which most people got married in the past.

The Baker Lake Eskimos are a young-marrying population. In Canada, the average age at first marriage is about 23 for females and 26 for males. For the present married population in the Baker Lake region, about 80% of the women were married before they were 21 years of age. Indeed almost 70% of the married women in the region were married at age eighteen or earlier. Of those who married at an older age than eighteen a significantly higher proportion were married during the past ten years, indicating that women are postponing marriage to a greater extent than their mothers did. As we shall see later, socio-economic conditions are not conducive to very early marriages.

If the trends noted continue, we may expect the birth rate to drop to about 36 per year per 1000 population within the next decade or so. The great majority of births occur to married women. In the past ten years only one out of every fifty births occurred out of wedlock. Even if the birth rate drops to about 36, this is still a very high rate compared to other populations in the world. If there were to occur a sharp and permanent drop in the death rate, we should witness a spectacular increase in population during the next decade or so, an increase which would amount to what demographers call a 'population explosion'.

As we have already noted, the death rate among the Baker Lake Eskimos is very high, compared to the total Canadian death rate. In order to predict what is likely to happen to the death rate we must be able to specify, at least roughly, the causes of death at present and in the immediate past. Table V presents a picture of the proportions of causes of death in several categories. It should be stressed that, because most of these deaths were not professionally diagnosed, the classification is not as valid as we would like it to be and, thus, the figures presented not as reliable as we would like them to be.

TABLE V

CAUSES OF DEATH, BAKER LAKE REGION, 1949 - 1958

Stated Cause of Death	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Pulmonary Disease (T.B., pneumonia, influenza, etc.)	43	43	86
Infant Mortality (cause of death unspecified)	24	21	45
Starvation	26	11	37
Accident (lightning, drowning, frozen, lost, etc.)	12	1	13
'Normal' (Old age, etc.)	3	4	7
Died in Childbirth	0	2	2
Heart, epilepsy, appendix	2	1	3
Homicide	1	1	2
Suicide	0	1	1
Unknown	7	6	13
TOTAL	118	91	209

Source: -Death certificates.

This is not the place to discuss the intensive efforts of the government to curtail death in the first three categories. Let it be said only that there has been an impressive effort made within the past few years to 1) detect and cure pulmonary defects; 2) give professional care to mothers in childbirth and continuous attention to the welfare of infants; and 3) make it unlikely that people on the land starve to death or suffer from malnutrition. Among the measures taken so far we may note the following: the establishment of a permanent nursing station at the settlement; regular medical checkups, particularly through X-ray method; improved communications between the settlement and the camps, resulting from a more vigorous and systematic patrolling of the camps, the establishment of the Emergency Camp units mentioned earlier, and the movement of camps which were formerly located at great distances closer to the settlement, thus putting people in closer touch with medical facilities and with supplies of food in case the wildlife resources fail them. The level of general health should also rise with improvements in housing, a problem which is about to be attacked methodically. Our impression is that not enough is being done among Eskimo adults in the way of health education, water safety and life-saving lessons, not to mention swimming instruction, and what is becoming

of vital importance with the sudden spread of heating by highly inflammable and explosive fuels, spreading information about fire hazards and fire fighting. Finally, it is suggested that a systematic study of the typical diet and its nutritional values should be carried out so that defects in nutrition be brought to light and dealt with.

Current health and safety measures should certainly result in a sharp drop in the death rate. We believe it is realistic to expect the death rate to run at about half of what it is now within the next five to ten years: that is, the death rate should amount to about 10 persons per year at that time; if the birth rate drops slightly, as predicted in an earlier section to about 6/7ths of its present rate, we should expect an average of about 18 births per year. This would mean a natural increase of about eight persons per year in the region. We would predict that the rate of annual natural increase will go up about a decade hence as the local death rate declines to a point close to the national average (about 7.5 per 1000). It is likely that the birth rate will decline also, but at a slower pace than the decline in the death rate. Given the present resources picture, if there is not a steady stream of emigrants from this region, the increase in population might result in over-population. This might seem odd to those who think in terms of numbers per square mile: how can about 400 people 'overcrowd' an area of about 100,000 square miles? We shall attempt to answer this question in Chapter III on the Economy.

Population Distribution and Migration

According to our household census, the Eskimo population of the Baker Lake region in June, 1959, inhabited 83 households. A household for our purposes is a separate living unit--whether tent, igloo, or wooden dwelling--inhabited by one or more people who share living space and food. Distribution by size of household is given in Table VI. As indicated in this table the majority of Eskimo dwelling units have between three and four inhabitants. Dwelling units in the settlement are mostly of larger size and contain more people than those on the land.[1] One reason for this is the large number of boarders in the settlement, mostly youngsters from the land who are attending school, and patients in transit from hospitals in the south awaiting the opportunity to get back to their camps.

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[1] In the Arctic the phrase 'on the land' signifies residence outside settlements where there are Kabloona institutions. People who live on the land are said to occupy camps. The Eskimo word for a collection of households making up a camp is inukakvik.

TABLE VI

POPULATION BY NUMBER OF PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD, BAKER LAKE, 1959

No. of persons in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
No. of households	3	17	17	27	12	10	5	1	1	83

Source: Household Census by author, June, 1959.

One of the most remarkable changes which has occurred in recent years is a large-scale shift from camps into the settlement and into areas close to the settlement. Table VII compares the populations of 1956 and 1959 as to their locations. Camps have been grouped into regions according to the side of the settlement they are on. The first feature to note is the shift from landward to settlement, mentioned earlier; in 1956 there were only about 90 Eskimos residing permanently at the settlement; in 1959 this number had increased to 165. In 1956, there were 323 residents in camps; in 1959 this number had decreased to 203. Table VII presents this population shift in terms of proportions of the total population in one or the other location.

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, SETTLEMENT AND LANDWARD, BAKER LAKE, 1956 AND 1959

LANDWARD LOCATIONS		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
North and North-east	1956	112	91	203
	1959	50	40	90
West	1956	18	13	31
	1959	29	32	61
South and South-east	1956	36	53	89
	1959	24	28	52
Total Landward	1956	166	157	323
	1959	103	100	203

Settlement	1956	46	44	90
	1959	80	85	165

Source: R.C.M.P. Census for 1956 and authors for 1959.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, SETTLEMENT AND LANDWARD, BAKER LAKE, 1956 and 1959

	Per cent Settlement	Per cent Landward
1956	21.7	78.3
1959	44.8	55.2

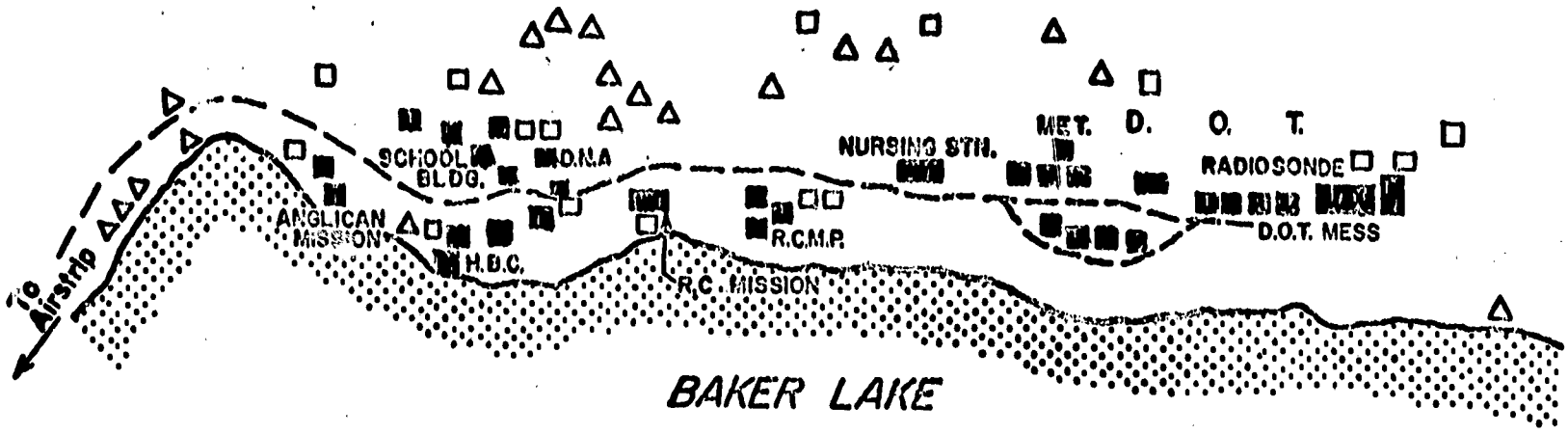
A second feature of this population shift deserves comment: all landward areas are not affected in the same way. The areas to the north dropped from 203 to 90 in population between 1956 and 1959, as mentioned earlier. About seventy of the Garry Lake-Back River people were evacuated from the Baker Lake region, so that this general area is virtually unpopulated at present. A number of other people from this region have been relocated or have moved on their own to areas closer to the settlement, and particularly to the west of the settlement. Camps to the west have actually gained in population since 1956. There has been a lesser movement to the settlement and to areas west of the settlement by people who in 1956 were settled to the south and southeast of Baker Lake. There are no permanent camps directly east of the settlement. Camp locations appear in Map 2.

In summary then, there has been a contraction of population, a growing concentration in and around the settlement. This movement has been partly a spontaneous adjustment to the fluctuations in available wildlife resources and partly a government-sponsored relocation. The subject of relocation and of movement from the land are taken up in the following chapters.

All Eskimos in camps live in igloos from about mid-October until the arrival of Arctic spring in late April or early May. The dates on which people move into or out of these snow houses is of course dependent on weather conditions and particularly on the kind of snow available. In order to build suitable blocks, the snow must be neither too soft nor too hard. If weather conditions are such that good snow for blocks is unavailable, the people must remain in tents. There

have been winters when the people had to shiver through a good part of November, with the average daily mean temperature below zero, because suitable snow was not available.

At the settlement, the people in 14 Eskimo households inhabit wooden dwellings, while those in 20 households inhabit snow-houses in winter and tents in summer. Five of the wooden dwellings were erected by Kabloona Agencies for their Eskimo employees. The largest of these five measures about 18 by 25 feet. The smallest measures about 16 by 20 feet. All are really one-room dwellings, although in a few cases semi-partitions give the impression of a two-room house. Of the remaining eleven wooden dwellings, which incidentally were built by the Eskimos themselves out of surplus material from the various Kabloona installations, seven are nothing more than small one-room shacks, while four are more substantial dwellings boasting three tiny rooms and porches. The largest Eskimo dwelling is smaller than the smallest Kabloona dwelling at the settlement. The Eskimo dwellings contain an average of between four and five persons per room.



LEGEND

Eskimo tents.....

Eskimo wooden dwellings.....

Kabloona dwellings and installations.....

Tractor road to airstrip.....

LAYOUT OF BAKER LAKE SETTLEMENT

SKETCH I

Because the author had no opportunity to observe life in snow-houses, no description of that subject will be attempted in this report. However, we did have the opportunity to observe everyday life in the tents. These are all made of canvas, the average tent being about 12 by 8 feet. The ones at the settlement are usually kept in better repair than those on the land, being close to repair facilities. Also tents in the settlement are generally more orderly and comfortable than the ones on the land, if for no other reason than that there are comparatively large quantities of lumber and other materials at the settlement out of which sleeping platforms, benches, shelves, containers, and small tables can be made. In many landward regions it is not uncommon for tent-dwellers to sleep, sit, and eat with only a few caribou skins, blankets, or old rags between them and the ground. Where more than four or five individuals inhabit such a tent the litter and disorder must be seen to be credited. More will be said on this subject of everyday life in various kinds of dwellings in subsequent chapters, and particularly in Chapter IV.

For purposes of this chapter it is necessary to make points about housing in general. Without a doubt, the vast majority of Eskimo dwellings, whether wooden or not, in this region are far below even the minimum standards of housing among the Kabloona. The contrast between Kabloona and Eskimo housing conditions is one of the sharpest of the many contrasts the visitor sees in this region. It should not be concluded that the Eskimo and Kabloona in this region perceive the contrast in the same way the author does. There is a double standard of appropriateness in housing as in other matters. Few Eskimos encountered showed much concern over housing. Among the Kabloona, there is a relatively mild concern except for those officials whose function it is to raise health standards. The Department of Northern Affairs plans to erect eight small rigid frame wooden dwellings in 1960. The Eskimos will be able to buy or rent these small houses. If they prove suitable, it is planned to expand the building program in the years to come.

The distribution of Eskimo households in the settlement reflects the social and economic position of Eskimo vis-a-vis Kabloona. Sketch 1 reveals that Eskimo dwellings are either on the fringe of the settlement, emphasizing the 'marginality' of the inhabitants, or are in the zones allotted to the Kabloona institutions which they serve, emphasizing the dependency of these inhabitants on one or the other institution and its agents.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The anthropological and popular literature has broadcast a conception of a group called the Caribou Eskimos, inhabiting the region of which Baker Lake is about at the centre. As a descriptive label distinguishing interior from coastal Eskimos this is useful, but when taken to designate a grouping of people who regard themselves as a separate interior group, the label is misleading. In short, there is no such group as the Caribou Eskimos. There are various bands of Eskimos which spend all or most of the year in the interior, away from the coast, but these various groups have no collective designation setting themselves off from coastal Eskimos. Therefore, let it be made clear that this report is not one on the Caribou Eskimos; it is about Eskimo groups whose economic, and to some extent social, interests direct much of their attention and interaction to Baker Lake.

In their report of field work among the Caribou Eskimos, Birket-Smith (1929)[1] and his colleagues refer to the Caribou Eskimos as being composed of five cultural groups; the Quernermiut, Harvaqtormiut, Haunequtomiut, the Interior Padlimiut and the Coastal Padlimiut. Of these only the first three are represented in the Baker Lake region today. On the other hand, two other groups, the Uktkuhikhalingmiut and the Hailingnayokmiut, not regarded as Caribou Eskimos by Birket-Smith, are represented in the Baker Lake population.

Each of these groups is a collection of bands of Eskimos who share a roughly defined area of habitation and hunting, who share a common dialect of the Eskimo language and certain other cultural features such as clothing designs, tatoo designs, and styles of living. These groups are not tribes. Although most marriages occur within a given cultural group, designated by one or the other of the names mentioned above, they are neither exogamous nor endogamous. Nor were they tribes in the political sense. None of these groups had or has a political superstructure. There are no clearly defined boundaries between them. Nevertheless, it is possible to delineate the areas with which people of each group spent most of their time, areas which were identified as the 'homelands' of each group. These areas are in Map 2.

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[1] In this report we use Birket-Smith's orthography in order to facilitate references which readers care to make in comparing the present situation with the one described by Birket-Smith.

It will be noted that the Quernermiut and Haunegtormiut territories extended from the coast of Hudson Bay to the Baker Lake locality. People in both these groups used to live inland for most of the year, but would visit the coast for about three months to hunt seals from late spring to August, when they would return inland for the fall caribou hunt. The Harvaqtormiut, on the other hand, rarely visited the coast, and when they did so it was to trade rather than to hunt sea mammals.

Of the two groups in the northern extremities of the Baker Lake region, the Hailingnayokmiut of the Garry Lake locality was similar to the Harvaqtormiut in that they rarely visited the Arctic coast; on the other hand, the Utkuhikhalingmiut of the Back River locality spent short periods at campsites as far north as King William Island and occasionally hunted sea mammals at Chantrey Inlet. Before the establishment of a permanent Hudson's Bay Company post at Baker Lake in 1913, these northern groups moved in a different territorial circuit from the Quernermiut and the other groups closer to Baker Lake. There was little interaction between the northern and southern groups. This explains why Birket-Smith did not include the northern groups in the 'Caribou Eskimo' population centred at Baker Lake, for at the time of the Fifth Thule Expedition many of the people in the Baker Lake region had not even seen an Utkuhikhalingmiut or a Hailingnayokmiut. As the Baker Lake settlement assumed an increasing ecological significance over the years, the northern groups were drawn into its orbit.

This is not to say that before the era of the permanent establishment of Kabloona settlement the various cultural groups in the Baker Lake region were completely isolated from one another. Not only would the people who inhabited the 'border' of one group come into contact with those in the adjacent group, but people from just about every cultural group in the central Arctic would intermingle to trade. Within the region at a place called Akilineq, on the Thelon River near Tibjalik Lake, people would travel from hundreds of miles to attend a kind of 'market' where the specialties of each area would be traded for those of other areas and where some wood, adrift from the wooded areas at the source of the Thelon, could be procured and taken back to localities where there was no wood. (Birket-Smith 1929 I: 159ff.) Although regular contact did occur between the people of several different groups, it is still true to say that interaction between some

of them appears to have been minimal. For instance, a Quernermiut person has some difficulty in comprehending an Utkuhikhalingmiut, so different is the latter's dialect from that of the Quernermiut and the other groups closer to Baker Lake. The maintenance of such differences may be taken as evidence of a low rate of contact between these groups in the past.

The historical evidence suggests the following pattern of interaction between the various cultural groups in the region. Quernermiut and Haunequtormiut were closer to one another than to any other group; the Harvaqtormiut interacted regularly with these two groups, but was linked just as closely to the Padlimiut of the interior. Apparently the Hailingnayokmiut were more closely linked to the Kidlinermiut than to other groups of the central Arctic, although they do have some affinities with the Harvaqtormiut. The Utkuhikhalingmiut were the most isolated, from the point of view of people in the centre of the region, and, indeed, may be a branch of the Netsilikmiut to the north-east of Baker Lake.

As this is not a treatise on the history of the Eskimo groups in this region, I shall limit the discussion of variety among these sub-cultures to its significance at the present time. The most important trend to note is the diminishing significance of cultural differences as defined traditionally. Many Eskimo youngsters with whom we spoke knew very little about the traditional distinctions between these groups. Very few could name the groups which were identified with different areas within the region. Most of the younger adults who were questioned on this matter could name only a few features which differentiated one group from the other. For instance, all Quernermiut and Harvaqtormiut informants mentioned the dialect of the Garry Lake and Back River Eskimos as quite different from the one employed by the groups closer to Baker Lake; most of these informants pointed out how expert the Back River people are at handling dogs; many opined that the Back River and Garry Lake people were 'slow' and 'not very bright', using the same criteria of evaluation that a city person employs when commenting on someone from the backwoods. While the various groups were differentiated in the rather vague way described, the evidence suggests that this differentiation is not of too much sociological and practical significance, for traditional distinctions are losing their point.

Why are traditional distinctions losing their point? For one thing, the commitment of the Eskimos in this region to the fur trade, to be described in Chapter III, entailed regular journeys farther afield

than those undertaken before this commitment, journeys which brought people of different cultural groups into contact with one another. Of more significance has been the relocation of people from one culture area among people from a different culture area, resulting in an increased intermingling. For instance, in the Baker Lake settlement and its environs today there are twelve families of Utkuhikhalingmiut (Back River) origin; four of Hailingnayokmiut (Garry Lake) origin; ten of Quernermiut origin; four of Harvaqtormiut origin; two of Haunequtormiut origin; and two of Aivilingmiut origin. In the settlement and on the land, a person's cultural origin is less significant than his religious affiliation and his relations with the Kabloona in determining how he is to be treated.

Before going on to discuss the recent history of the region, it should be noted that within each of the cultural groupings mentioned above there were smaller, localized groupings of people, whose designation was based on some topographical feature, such as the Akillinermiut, people 'of the Hills', or Tibjialingmiut, 'people of the place where wood abounds', a designation based on a local feature of the habitat. These smaller sub-groupings of people were of even less significance than the larger ones mentioned earlier.

The Eskimos of the Baker Lake region were in contact with the Kabloona as early as the 18th century, when some trade occurred between the Eskimo and Kabloona traders in the Hudson Bay region. (Birket-Smith, 1929: Vol I: 165ff.) However, this contact was sporadic and limited to only a few Eskimos out of the total population. [1] It was not until 1913 when first the Hudson's Bay Company, then the Revillon Freres Company, which quickly went out of business, opened establishments at Baker Lake that the Eskimos entered into sustained contact with the Kabloona.

Other Kabloona institutions followed the traders into the region and got established there. The Anglican Church had sent missionaries into the Baker Lake area during the late 'twenties, and built a permanent mission at the settlement in 1929. The Roman Catholic missionaries followed on their heels and concentrated their efforts in the Garry Lake and other remote districts which the Anglican missionaries had missed. One consequence of the differential concentration of missionaries is

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[1] For other reference to contact between the Eskimo of this region and the Kabloona before the era of intensive and permanent Kabloona settlement, see Lofthouse, (1899, 1922) and Tyrell (1924)

that the Anglicans converted the great majority (more than 80% of the population) while the Roman Catholics were left with the bulk of the Garry Lake population plus a few families from the Kazan area. The Roman Catholics opened their permanent mission at the settlement in 1931.

The R.C.M.P. had installed a permanent unit at the eastern end of Baker Lake in the early 'twenties, but moved to what is now the Baker Lake settlement in 1930. Thus, the early 'thirties was an era of intensive Kabloona infiltration and marked the beginning of what was to become the Baker Lake 'community'. For many years the Kabloona element in the settlement seldom numbered more than four or five people. However, each of these people had at least one Eskimo individual, and in some cases two or three, as an employee. 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 of the land to some extent, they are committed to some Kabloona institution which provides their subsistence for them.

During the 'twenties the economy shifted towards intensive trapping, as we shall see in Chapter III. Competition was intense: the Hudson's Bay Company forced the Revillon Freres out of business and achieved a monopoly position in the Baker Lake region. As the fur trade grew in importance, the Eskimos from all over the region turned to Baker Lake to trade and obtain their supplies.

During the 'thirties' too, the missionaries were engaged in a vigorous campaign to convert the Eskimos. Whole camps were converted at one stroke by the ardent missionaries. During the course of their campaign, they taught the people to read and write syllabics for it was in this script which the Eskimo Bible and prayer books were written. It is perhaps more than coincidence that the success of the missionaries coincided with the decline of the imputed powers of the Eskimo angakok which had been invoked to bring the caribou. Whatever the reason, the missionaries had spectacular success, managing to enroll all but a few Eskimos during their campaign.

Kabloona influence was intensified and the Kabloona element in the local population more than doubled during the few years immediately following World War II. As political power relationships shifted after the War, the Canadian Arctic assumed a new significance defence-wise. A direct consequence of this, as far as the Baker Lake region is

concerned was a military operation called 'Muskox' which brought service-men from the Canadian Army and Air Force into the region in 1946. A Royal Canadian Signals Corps station was set up at the settlement, and a barracks built in 1947. In 1948 the Department of Transport took over this installation from the Signals Corps and added several other buildings to house their meteorological and radio stations. Landing facilities for planes were improved and an airport maintenance team established at the settlement. By 1953 there were about twenty-two Kabloona stationed at Baker Lake, representing seven different governmental and non-government agencies.

The most recent governmental agencies to move into the settlement are the Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare, which put up a large nursing station in 1950, and the Department of Northern Affairs. By the summer of 1959, there were twenty-seven Kabloona stationed at Baker Lake, all except four of whom were in government service. Fourteen of these work for the Department of Transport. In addition to the personnel of these agencies, there were seven of their wives and ten of their children living in the community in the summer of 1959, bringing the total Kabloona population to forty-four or about 20% of the total population of the settlement.

Much of the present report is about the impact of this Kabloona invasion on the economic and social system of the Eskimos in the region. One of the impressive results of this impact is the extinction of much in the traditional Eskimo culture. In the remainder of this chapter we shall deal in a general way with those features of traditional Eskimo culture which survive and those which have disappeared in this region.

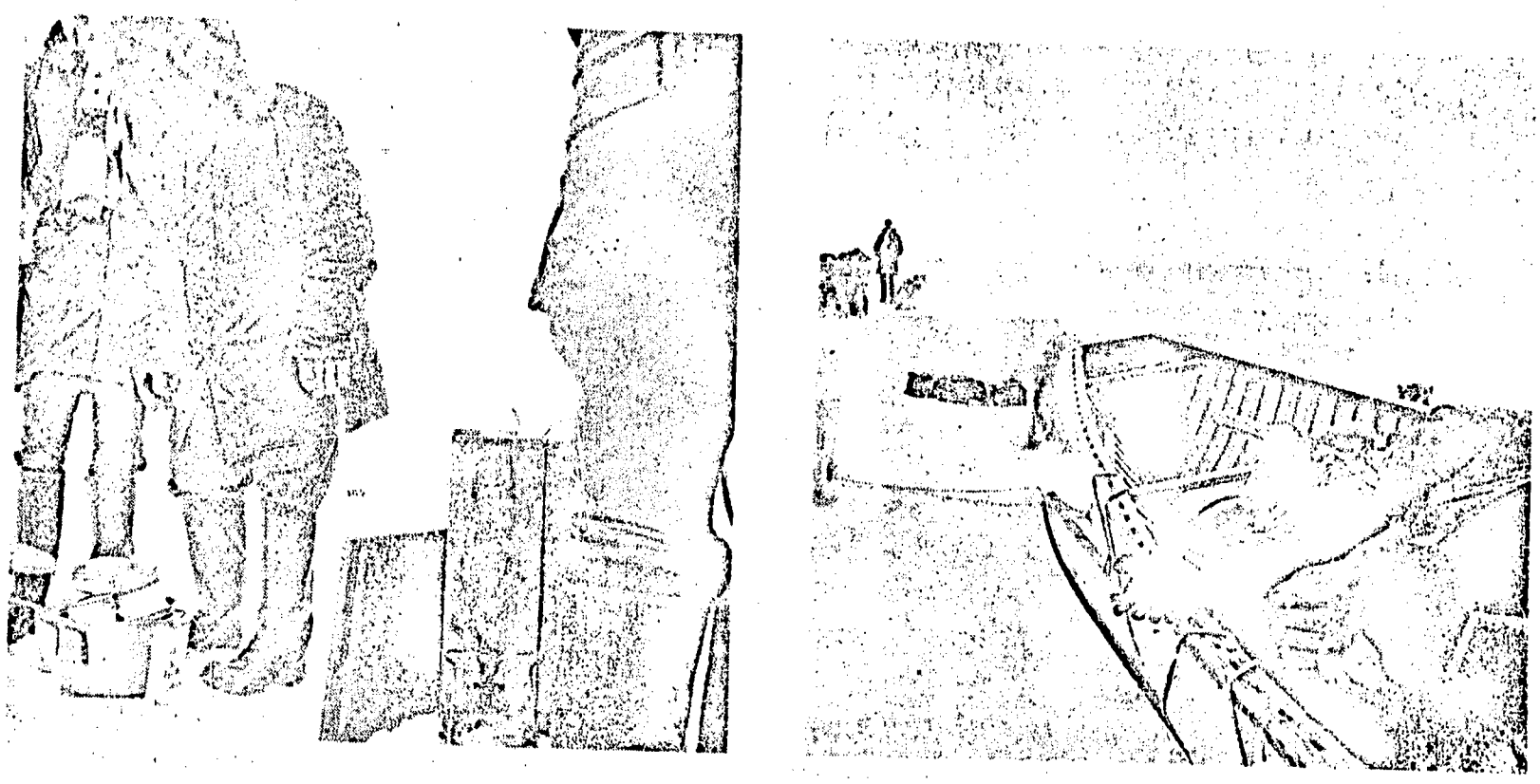
Except for those settlement Eskimos who live in wooden dwellings, all Eskimos in the region inhabit snow houses for at least six months of the year. These houses are similar in structure to the ones described in Birket-Smith, (1929: 58ff.) although there are many appurtenances in the modern igloo which did not appear in the traditional ones and many appurtenances of the latter which are absent from the modern igloo. Modern tent dwellings are much different from the traditional ones. Where the traditional structure was conical, the modern is rectangular; where the traditional tent was made of caribou skins, the modern tents are of canvas, purchased through the Hudson's Bay Company.

Up to a generation ago, all Eskimos in this region used caribou fat for lighting and a variety of twigs and mosses for cooking fires. The majority of families today use fuel-burning lamps and flashlights for

lighting and small fuel-burning stoves, such as the Primus, for cooking. For setting fires the traditional pyrites and fire-drill are regarded as quaint curiosities today, when everybody uses matches and cigarette lighters for this purpose.

In some households on the land, one still finds a variety of traditional household utensils in use, such as bone or muskox horn soup ladles, knives and spoons fashioned of caribou antler, the multi-purpose ulo, or woman's knife, and caribou skin water pails. However, by far the greatest number of utensils are store-bought metal pails, pots, kettles, knives, spoons, dishes, and so on.

The material culture picture with reference to outdoor equipment shows the same pattern: a few survivals from the traditional culture amid a welter of paraphernalia from the Kabloona culture. Prominent among the survivals are the wooden dog-sled; the hand fish line, in some cases used with hooks made of antler; the three pronged leister for spearing fish, nowadays used solely by a few Utkuhikhalingmiut (Back River people). Among the objects which were used up to a generation ago and which are seldom seen or which have completely disappeared are the following: the bow and arrow, the caribou spear, the bola and the sling for killing birds, the caribou skin kayak. Replacing these artifacts are the rifles; the fishing rod and reel, hooks, nets, lures etc.; the canoe and outboard motor, all Kabloona importations.



Plates 1 & 2 - Crossing Baker Lake by dog-sled, June 29th, 1959. During pause for a rest and 'brew-up' of tea, one of the party relaxes in canoe carried on dog-sled. Note the number of material culture items imported from the South.

Other items from the south, for which there were no traditional precedents are becoming common in the region: sewing machines, tape recorders, record players, sun-glasses, cameras, and so on, are commonplace in the settlement and spreading among families on the land.

For clothing the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region formerly depended on the caribou for almost every item, although some Quernermiut and Haunequtormiut used to wear sealskin frocks and boots. The deer skin-clad Eskimos were, according to many observers, the best clad of all Eskimos both for purposes of protection from the elements and according to the aesthetic standards of the Kabloona. (Birket-Smith, 1929: 191ff; Mowat, 1951)

As with many other features of the material culture, traditional clothing styles and materials could hardly be sustained with the drastic decline of the caribou. Where a sufficient kill of caribou is made at the proper season, it is usually the women whose clothing needs are served first, although traditionally male clothing needs were given priority. Thus, one may still see scores of Eskimo women, particularly younger married women, attired in at least a vestige of the former splendour which all claim was an everyday feature of dressways in the past. Except for some families in the settlement whose dressways are hardly distinguishable from those of the Kabloona, the majority of men, boys, girls and older women dress in a motley of whatever they can procure: store-bought parkas, trousers, skirts; the odd caribou jacket and pair of boots (mukluks); rubber boots; lumber jack caps; army battle dress and coveralls; sport shirts; leather mittens, and so on.

Plate 3 - Returning from a successful fishing sortie, fish camp near Kazan River. Note items of clothing from the South.

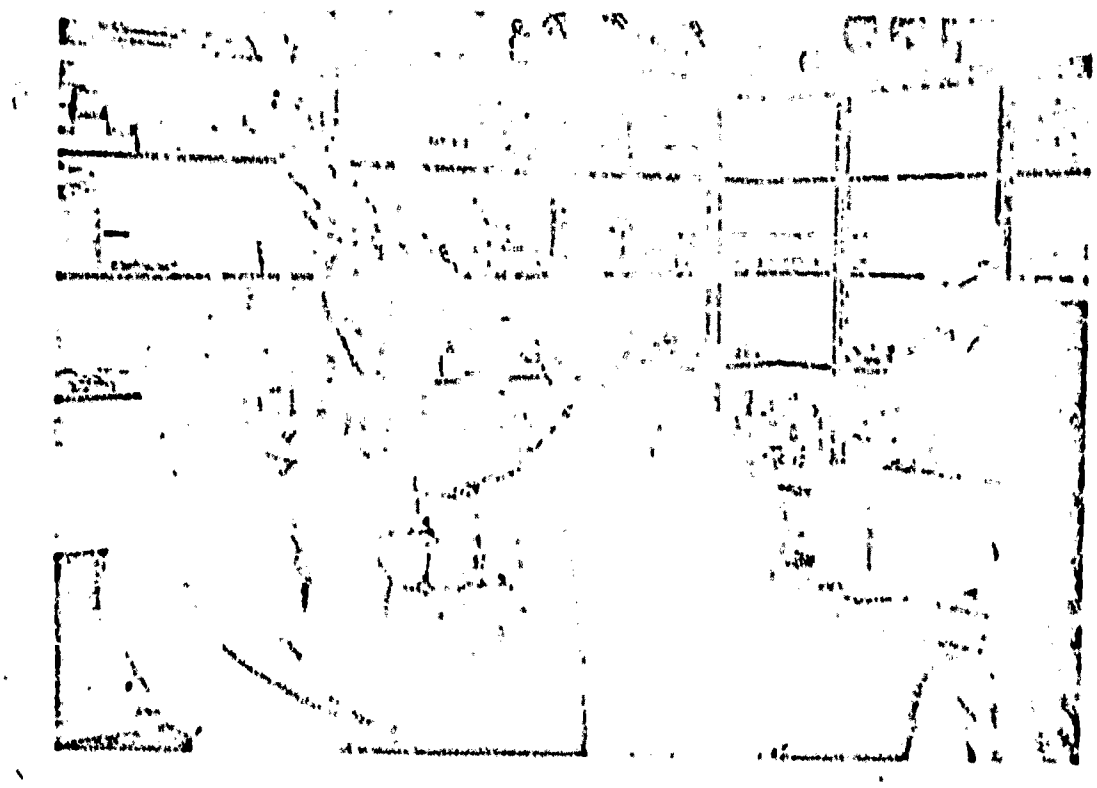


Plate 4 - Shopping at the H. B. C. Manager, right, is looking for account record of Eskimo customer in order to see how much credit remains in it. A new self-service store replaced the old one shown in picture in 1960.

In summary, since the 1930's there has been a sharp reduction in the number of items of material culture which may be regarded as peculiar to the Eskimos. This is partly due to the decline of the caribou which formerly supplied material for a wide range of items, and partly due to the adoption of what the Eskimos regard as superior artifacts produced by the Kabloona. In any case, the shift implies a very much heightened dependence on materials produced outside their own milieu and, of course, on a cash income wi th which to procure these materials. The skills required to produce the traditional materials are being lost through disuse, although in recent years there have been attempts to encourage Eskimo people to manufacture a variety of items for sale to Kabloona: scale models of dog-sleds, leisters, spears, etc., caribou and duffle slippers; corded belts and a number of other objects are manufactured for Kabloona sale. But the volume of production and the number of people involved are much less than formerly.

Turning now to a cursory survey of the traditional non-material culture, we note first that the most significant element in that culture continues to thrive: in every household, Eskimo is the language of the home.

The great majority of Eskimo adults are monoglots; only about twelve adults above sixteen years of age can be termed bilingual and, of these, only six are really fluent in English.

Lest this give the impression that the Eskimo 'culture' is still a vital concern, let us point out that in two crucial features of the way of life there has occurred an abrupt break with tradition: in religion and in the 'secular' modes of expression--folklore, music, song and dance. To put this feature of cultural discontinuity in perspective, let us imagine that in Canada, between the 1930's and 1950's there had occurred a mass conversion to Buddhism and a concomitant switch from the Euro-Canadian literary and musical traditions to those of the Chinese. The adoption of Kabloona religion and expressive patterns among the Eskimos involves a break with tradition of almost the same magnitude.

Among the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region, some of the traditional beliefs and practices pertaining to the supernatural co-exist with those of Anglican and Roman Catholicism, but while the latter are very much visible, the former sputter underground with faint life, as we shall see in Chapter VIII. Because so much of the oral literature, song, and dance had to do with the supernatural, as defined by the Eskimos, its open expression is now taboo; again, 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.

Unlike the folk of many lands whose culture featured songs which everyone in the group knew, songs which belonged to the society at large, the Eskimos regarded songs as private property, each being the invention and possession of a particular person. Thus, when persons stop inventing songs, this stream of the traditional culture dries up. We did not have the opportunity to carefully assess the rate of invention of new songs among the Eskimos of this region, but cursory questioning indicates that only a few of the Eskimos on the land, and hardly any in the settlement, are creating their own songs. We did manage to collect a few songs of recent vintage, but most of the songs collected were invented during the 'thirties and earlier. In a few cases these were sung by the people who had invented them, but most of those we collected were sung by people who had permission to sing the songs of someone else. The singers were usually careful to point out the name of the person whose song they had sung, a practice reminiscent of Kabloona crediting copyrights and sources. In the traditional system it was understood that one could sing the songs of only certain people, for instance, the 'song-cousin' (see Chapter IV), or a person with whom one had a particular close relationship, but that one could not sing the

songs of other people without their express permission. In our limited experience we found a readiness to violate this old rule, particularly among the younger element at the settlement.

As in any society, the performance of songs and dance among the Eskimos was for the most part limited to certain occasions. That is, there were appropriate and inappropriate contexts for singing and dancing. Mostly these occasions were festive and celebrative, occasions when several families got together for some kind of celebration. Because so many of the occasions for Eskimo festivity (weddings, the arrival of spring--Easter, commemorative parties, etc.) now involve the Kabloona, usually in a sponsoring role, the traditional features are played down. People dance to the concertina and accordion, rather than to the Eskimo drum. In our travels we saw only two Eskimo drums, when it is known that until 1940 or so every second family had one. It is rare to hear anyone sing at these festivities, unless they occur in church, where they sing Eskimo translations of Kabloona hymns. Apart from maternal lullabies and the occasional song-fest in the privacy of igloo or tent, the Eskimos confine their singing to such hymns.

The general impression, then, is of a people who devalue their own folk tradition, assuming that the powerful Kabloona do not approve it. Whether or not the Kabloona actually disapprove is not the significant question to ask, for the Eskimos apparently assume that they do, and act on this assumption. Of the many anomalies met with in the Arctic, few are more puzzling than the stand taken by spokesmen for the religious organizations ministering to the Eskimos who plead for the maintenance of Eskimo traditional culture. The Eskimos claim that they are reluctant to perpetuate much of their oral and musical tradition because the missionaries disapprove of it.

Artifacts and forms of expression such as those discussed above are only small parts of that totality which anthropologists call 'culture'. The culture of a group includes also the patterned ways of viewing reality, in both the cognitive and evaluative senses of viewing, and the norms according to which the people order their lives. Throughout this report we have frequent occasion to note changes in Eskimo beliefs, values, and norms and so will not attempt a systematic discussion of them here. We confine ourselves to a few remarks on what appear to us to be outstanding features of Eskimo culture, continuity and change.

Many writers have commented on how the Eskimos perceive space and time and on how their language structures their thought in ways quite different from the thoughtways among people in the European and

American traditions. (Birket-Smith, 1959; Rasmussen 1930; Carpenter 1955, 1956) Except for those who have been exposed to intensive contact with the Kabloona since birth, there is no reason to believe that the bulk of the Eskimos in the Baker Lake region have unconsciously abandoned the cognitive patterns described by these writers. In fact, our observations of Eskimo behaviour, particularly among people on the land, lead us to conclude that these basic cognitive patterns are the most resistant to change of all elements of Eskimo culture.

Also resistant to change, we suggest, are some of the value assumptions concerning man's relation with nature, man's relation to man, and the ideal personality type for the society. (Kluckholm, 1953) On these counts the literature of the Eskimo is almost unanimous in declaring that the Eskimos were traditionally, 1)great 'manipulators' of nature, combining an ingenious technology with a substantial repertory of ritual and magical acts to get and maintain the good will of the multifarious spirits whose will determined the responses of nature: 2) oriented to individualism and group consensus rather than to authoritarianism; and 3) most respectful of the achiever, the man of action, rather than the man of thought, whether the achievements were those of the hunt or those of the spirit world.

In the Baker Lake region, the Eskimo readiness to manipulate nature through technology not only persists but, because this attitude is rewarded and supported by the Kabloona, is being accentuated by their active attempts to master many features of the Kabloona technology. On the other hand, the use of ritual and magic in the exploitation and pacification of nature is not nearly as common as it was only a generation ago when the Fifth Thule Expedition visited the region. The trend is toward rational interpretation of physical casuality, not only with reference to the elements and animals, but also with reference to such matters as sickness and misfortune, much of which was traditionally explained in terms of taboo violation and witchcraft. (Carpenter, 1953.)

In subsequent chapters of this report we comment on changing values pertaining to religion, social structure, the allocation of prestige, and other aspects of Eskimo culture. That the traditional Eskimo culture in the region is undergoing drastic change is hardly astonishing when we consider that the way of life has been subjected to ever-mounting pressure, particularly since the turn of the twentieth century. This pressure arises partly from alteration in the environment--for instance, the decline of the caribou--but mostly from the direct and indirect efforts of the Kabloona.

Of course, the exertion of pressure towards altering a people's way of life does not result automatically in changes in values and behaviour. From around the world there are many illustrations of strong resistance to changes introduced by missionaries, traders, technical aid officials, and others. Such resistance to change occurs among people who feel definitely hostile to the incomers and among people who have a profound vested interest in their old way of life, people who are oriented primarily to the past. Few Eskimos encountered during this research evince either a definite and clearly formulated hostility to the Kabloona or a deep longing for the past. No one claimed that the past was better than the present--that is, no Eskimo, although this sentiment was expressed by two Kabloona. The Eskimos in this region appear to be primarily present--rather than past--or future--oriented. This impression accords with the view frequently expressed in the literature that the Eskimo has always been a kind of 'existentialist', living for today or for the immediate future, rather than living in the past or with an eye on the distant future.

This outlook is to the advantage of Kabloona who want the Eskimos to adopt their religion, technology, ideas about education, sanitation and the like. The present-oriented person is pragmatic about these matters: if it pleases the powerful Kabloona and if we are rewarded by his approval, his support, and by the material things which form such a crucial part of the Kabloona reward system, then let us by all means do what he wants--at least visibly.

In closing this chapter we want to emphasize the importance of considering the total culture in discussions about whether or not the Eskimos should be encouraged to maintain their traditional culture. Comparing the Eskimo culture of 1860 with that of 1960 we are struck more by its discontinuity than by its continuity. In so many ways the Eskimos of this region have been drawn into the embrace of the surrounding society, so that their traditional culture survives only in fragments rather than as an integrated totality. Perhaps the most impressive features which do survive are those connected with basic ways of viewing reality, basic values, and what some anthropologists call basic personality. As we shall see later, ironically enough, it is these survivals which many Kabloona, who talk of 'maintaining Eskimo Culture' are bending every effort to stamp out. The pressures exerted in this endeavour are leading the Eskimos into 'membership' in

the Euro-Canadian society and culture, although undoubtedly a local Eskimo sub-culture will survive for a long time, as have the sub-cultures of several ethnic groups in our society. Further comment on this point is reserved for Chapter Ten.

Plate 5 - The oldest person in the E2 region, Keluah, aged about ninety, bears tatoo marks which were common up to about forty years ago. (Photo courtesy Mr. S. Nicholls, formerly with the Indian Northern Health Service).

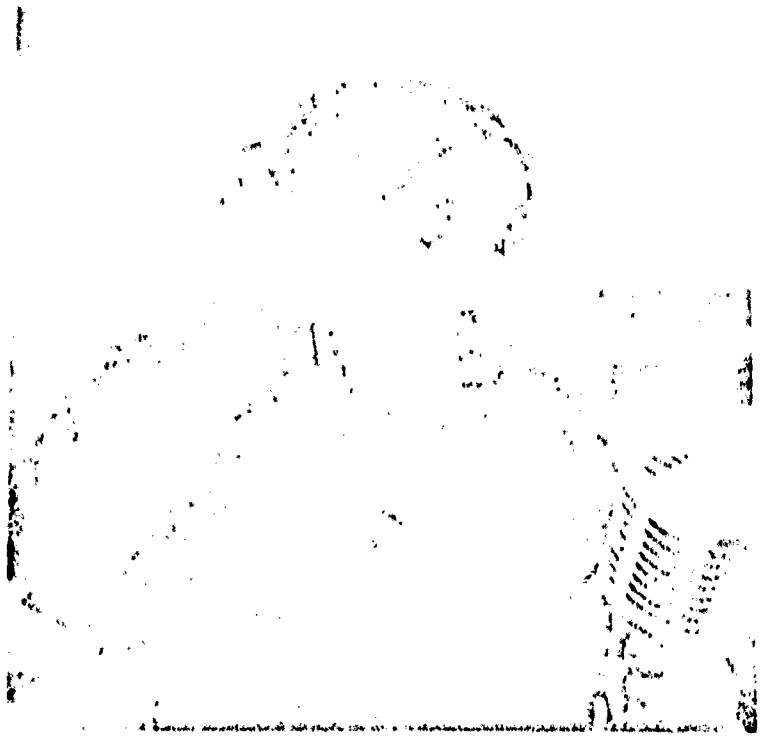


Plate 6 - Angaturatuk, age about 63, who sang several traditional songs for our tapes. (Photo courtesy of M. Bruno Vercier).

Plate 7 - Arseevuk, about 40 years of age, who recorded several songs of his own creation. (Photo courtesy of M. Bruno Vercier).

CHAPTER III

THE CHANGING ECONOMY

We can distinguish three stages in the economy of the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region: first, a long period when the economy was based almost entirely on the hunting of caribou; second, a period beginning in the early part of this century and lasting until quite recently, when fox trapping shared with caribou hunting a significant role in the economy; third, the present-day period, in which monies derived from wage labour and government allowances supplement the shrinking income derived from fox trapping and in which subsistence fishing is becoming more significant than caribou hunting. To put the present-day economy in perspective it is desirable to outline the features of subsistence patterns for earlier periods.

Hunting of Caribou

The migration routes of caribou over the Barren Lands have been described in a number of publications. (Banfield 1951; Loughrey 1957) Briefly, there are four distinguishable annual migrations. The first occurs in late May and early June when herds which winter close to and beyond the treeline move northward across the Barren Lands towards the Arctic Coast. The bulk of these herds appear to pass to the west of Baker Lake, their favourite crossing places being between Beverly and Aberdeen Lakes. By late June or early July some herds reach the Garry Lake district. Then, early in July the herds reverse their course and head southward, although they do not travel down as far as their wintering ground. Through July this southward drift continues, only to be reversed again in early August, when once more the herds turn to the north, passing through the Baker Lake region during early and mid-August. Finally, between late August and late September, the second southward move begins and continues until October, the herds moving down to their wintering places hundreds of miles to the south of Baker Lake. Not all herds migrate according to these patterns: some small and scattered herds spend the winter on the Barren Grounds, but the majority of animals appear to follow the general migration pattern described here.

Caribou do not usually move in disjointed, fragmentary herds. They tend to migrate in large herds and to follow definite 'tracks' across the tundra. However, small herds and isolated individuals do meander away from the beaten paths. The latter may be hunted at any time of

year and were traditionally the prey of individual hunters who were fortunate enough to be in the vicinity of the animals. However, more systematic procedures were employed in hunting the large migrating herds. Among others, Rasmussen (1930: 40ff) and Birket-Smith (1929: 110 ff) describe some of these traditional hunting methods in the region. These required a knowledge of the migration routes and habits of the animals so that the hunters could have access to large herds in places where they could either kill them while crossing streams and lakes or lure them into some kind of trap. Therefore, to a great extent the location of Eskimo campsites was determined by the migration routes of the caribou, the favourite sites being those places where the caribou preferred to cross bodies of water.

The seasonal cycle of the Eskimos was geared to the habits of the caribou although, as was observed in the previous chapter, not all groups in the region conformed to the one pattern. It will be remembered that a number of Quernermiut families spent most of the winter and spring at the Hudson's Bay coast, moving inland only for the late summer and autumn caribou hunt. However, the majority of Quernermiut families lived inland most of the year, moving to the coast of Hudson Bay late in spring and remaining there about two or three months, returning inland for the late summer and autumn migration of the caribou. The same pattern appears to have been followed by the Sauneqtormiut and the Utkuhikhalingmiut, the latter moving to the King William Island area rather than to the Hudson Bay coast. The other groups in the region remained inland for the entire year, although individuals and families might make the occasional trip to the coast to trade.

Originally caribou were hunted with bow and arrow and with lances. The latter were used primarily for kills occurring at crossings where Eskimos would attack from kayaks. Forms of ambush were employed whereby herds would be channeled along 'avenues' leading to crossing places, these avenues being bordered by humans or by stone figures built in the shape of the human torso, the intention being to funnel the herds into the water where the hunters in kayaks awaited them. This operation usually required the services of about eight or nine people working in concert, and at times as many as twenty people might be involved in one such operation. Therefore this method of hunting was conducive to the settlement of several families in the one camp at least during those seasons when the migrant herds were passing through the vicinity. The evidence of explorers who passed through this region before the turn of the present century and of older informants among the Eskimos today

indicates that campsites or villages were much larger then than they are now. (Tyrell 1908; Mowat 1952, 1959 esp. 11 ff; Hanbury 1904: Chap. V).

Before the introduction of the rifle, hunting required the engagement of game at close quarters. Where game was stalked in the open and away from the crossing places, considerable skill was required to approach an animal or a herd without causing the animals to panic and run away. This requirement limited the number of animals a hunter could bring down with the comparatively few missiles at his immediate disposal.

It is not known precisely when the rifle was first introduced to the Eskimos in this region, but it was certainly long before the opening of the twentieth century. The oldest informants consulted all remember that rifles were common when they were young. Bow and arrow and lance were not abandoned upon the introduction of the rifle. Well into the early decades of the present century these Eskimo weapons were used as adjuncts to the rifle. Before the era of intensive trapping it was relatively difficult for the Eskimos to procure rifles and ammunition. Some groups exchanged caribou meat and furs for rifles and ammunition with the whalers and traders on the Hudson Bay Coast. Ammunition was carefully husbanded and used only when the situation made it inconvenient to employ the traditional weapons.

According to Bamfield, (1951: 14) the sharp demand for caribou meat from the whalers and traders before and around the turn of the century led the Eskimos to slaughter a much greater number of animals than they were wont to do in earlier times, and is one of the historical causes for the spectacular depletion in caribou which later decades of this century has witnessed. It is unlikely that the Eskimos could have made such huge kills without the rifle and other apparatus, such as telescopes and binoculars, introduced by the Kabloona.

Whenever it was that these articles were introduced, the innovation altered the methods of hunting and therefore the economic and social system. Hunting became more individual and did not require the mutual assistance and co-operative effort of former years. Game could be killed from longer distances than in the past. Each bullet was a missile and a hunter could carry many times the number of missiles as he could in former times. Therefore, given the same effort and luck, a much more numerous kill became probable with the rifle. Furthermore, the growing reliance on the rifle and ammunition edged the Eskimos into a dependence on the traders, so that when the latter

sought to satisfy the market demand for fox, the Eskimos in most parts of the region were constrained to supply the demand and to commit themselves to trapping.

What size caribou harvest was required to keep a family of two adults and two children fed, clothed, and sheltered? Banfield (1951: 46) cites an estimate that such a family would need about 100 caribou per year to satisfy all family needs, although he does not make it clear whether this estimate includes the feeding of dogs. Until quite recently, dogs were fed on caribou meat and were given fish only when such meat was not available. Banfield (Banfield: 45) estimates that a team of six dogs required about fifty caribou per year. Of course, before the advent of intensive trapping, the dog population in the region was comparatively small. Older informants claim that few families had more than one or two dogs before the second decade of this century. They also relate that family and individual moves over long distances were not as frequent as they were to become, and that the moving of camps was accomplished as much carrier and draught as it was by dog-sled.

From the caribou was derived most of the food, clothing, skins for kayaks, tents, and sleeping robes, oil for lighting, and bone for the manufacture of a wide range of weapons and utensils. The families which migrated to the coast also utilized materials from sea mammals, but even these families were mostly dependent on the caribou for their material needs. Fishing and the hunting of other game, such as muskox, rabbit, fox, wolverine, provided supplementary resources for food, clothing, and utensils, although none of these resources was of nearly the same importance as the caribou.

When the caribou became also an object of exchange with traders and whaler crews, the total kill per hunter grew so large that the death rate of the species came to approximate, and eventually overtook, the birth rate. Because of the great difficulties in reconstructing what the caribou population might have been and in carrying out accurate censuses, most authorities offer only tentative and inconclusive estimates of the rate of decline of the species. According to Banfield (1951: 13 ff) a liberal estimate of the population in 1900 would have been about 1, 750, 000 in the Central and Eastern Arctic. His estimate of that population in the year 1948 showed a decline of 62% to about 650, 000. According to later investigators the decline continues. (Loughrey 1957)

All authorities consulted attribute this decline primarily to over-hunting of the species. It should be pointed out that the Eskimos are not the sole consumers of caribou. Indian and Kabloona trappers to the south have taken a very heavy toll of the same herds upon which the Eskimos depend. In any case, the conservation practices which were 'built into' the Eskimo culture, through religious taboos primarily, were not sufficiently strong to prevent over-hunting and by the time systematic education about conservation had been introduced caribou depopulation had progressed beyond the point of no return.

Fox Trapping

The tendency to over-hunt was given sharp impetus by the relatively sudden rise in demand for meat to feed the greatly increased dog population which resulted from the requirements of the changed economy during the second decade of the twentieth century, and specifically from the requirements of fox trapping. Trappers must cover great distances speedily in order to maximize their catch, and for this they require large dog teams. The author could get no reliable figures on the growth of the dog population concomitant with the development of trapping during the first quarter of the century, but piecing together the recollections of informants it appears that the dog population in the region at least trebled between 1910 and 1925. The average family which had kept one or two dogs before the trapping era would likely have kept from three to six during that era. From the point of view of food consumption, this would be roughly equivalent to adding a few human members to each family in the region.

If one indirect result of trapping was to cut deeply into the caribou population and thereby contribute to the depletion of this population, the paucity of caribou in turn has resulted in a depletion of the fox population. One authority on wildlife resources in the region observes that,

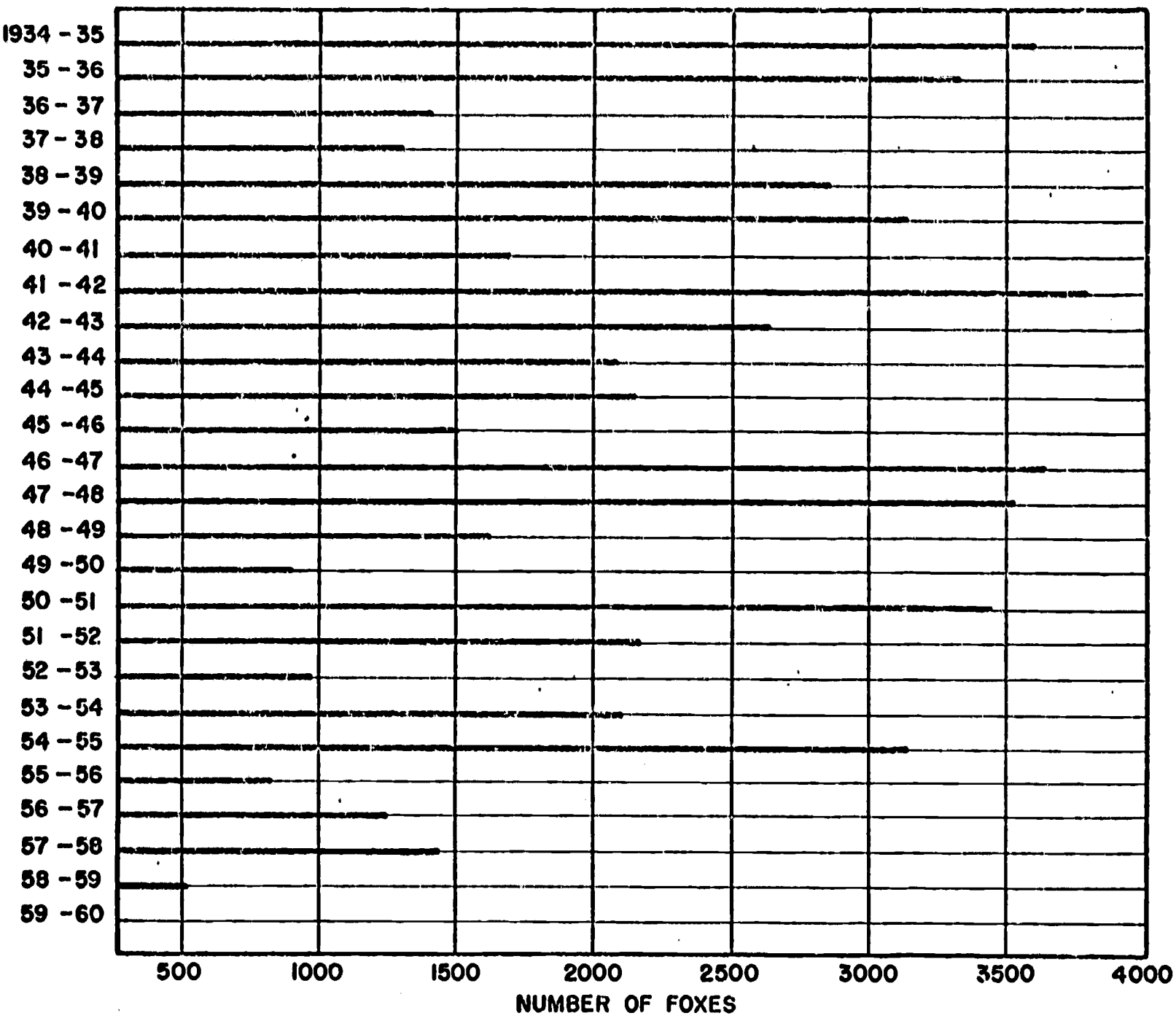
> "The relation of trapping success to caribou abundance is dual. For the first part, abundant dog food meant long trap lines. For the second, abundance of uncached or poorly cached caribou meat on the Barrens in winter may be expected to have been an important factor in winter fox survival. The present long-term decline of the fox harvest may be attributed to the increasing scarcity of the caribou." (MacPherson 1959)

If this analysis is correct, then the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region have been caught up in a vicious spiral wherein the very success in the harvesting of one animal crop sets in motion a decline in the other crop, which decline in turn sets narrow limits to the degree of probable renewed success in the first crop.

Once committed to intensive trapping as a means of supplementing the subsistence derived from caribou, fluctuations in standard of living became linked to matters beyond the control of the Eskimos. For instance, the fox harvest itself is not uniform from year to year, depending as it does on breeding success, which is related to the abundance of small mammals, such as lemmings and squirrels. Each of these species has a cycle, which is marked by peaks in population, followed by declines, which in turn are followed by rises to new peaks and so on. Apparently the fox cycle covers a period of from four to six years. The profile of this cycle may be seen in Figure 2 which is based on size of fox catches since 1934.

Income from trapping is also subject to fluctuations in the demand for furs from the world at large. The Eskimos feel fluctuations in this demand through the changes in prices offered at the Hudson's Bay Company posts. Of course, demand pure and simple is not the only factor determining the prices offered, but it certainly is crucial. Prices fluctuate over a very wide range from year to year. The lowest price ever paid at Baker Lake per pelt was $3.50. In the winter of 1959 the average price was about $12.00, while in the winter of 1960 it soared to $30.00 a pelt.

Among people who live close to the subsistence margin we expect that rates of death through malnutrition and starvation would be extremely sensitive to fluctuations in size of harvest, rising when the harvest is low, falling when the harvest is abundant. It is desirable to compare dependence on fox trapping with dependence on caribou in terms of the relation between fluctuations in the harvest of each of these and the death rate through starvation. Unfortunately the data on hand at this time are not precise enough to permit a definitive comparison between the catches of these two species in terms of their effect on the death rate. However, preliminary analysis with the data on hand indicates that the more dependent a group was on fox trapping, the less likely it was that this group would experience starvation. On the other hand, we do know that in those years when people in a particular area missed the large-scale caribou migration, widespread starvation resulted. Contrary to popular belief, such famines are not a recent phenomenon. For instance, Birket-Smith (1929: 101) records that



FOX CATCHES, BAKER LAKE REGION, 1934-59 (WHITE FOX ONLY)

FIGURE 2

Source: Canadian Wildlife Service, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

in the Baker Lake region at least 100 people died of starvation in the year 1919 because of the paucity of caribou.

The famine areas of recent decades are those to the north of Baker Lake where the people have never been as deeply committed to trapping as have the people to the west and south of the settlement. People from the latter areas have come to depend more on fish and on store-bought food which they procured with fox pelts, while those from the Garry Lake-Back River districts to the north remained more dependent on caribou for food, trapping only to procure rifles, ammunition, and a few other necessities. Ironically, the lakes in and around the worst famine region of all, that is the Garry Lake area, are "perhaps the best trapping areas in the region. The great sand plain which covers this area is also the best denning ground." (MacPherson 1959: 6) 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.

Figure 2 reveals that there has been a decline in the importance of fox trapping during recent years, the lowest yield on record occurring in 1959. This decline is part of another shift in the economic base which depends less on both trapping and caribou hunting and which rests increasingly on cash income derived from wages and government allowances. Before discussing this new economic situation, we comment on another trend which has become increasingly important since the 'thirties--the development of fishing.

Evidence from the literature and from older Eskimo informants suggests that fishing in the past was never much more than a secondary resource to be exploited when caribou were scarce. Compared to other features of the Eskimo technology, traditional fishing was crude and uneconomic in that long periods of time would have to be spent in gathering a small catch of fish. Simple hand lines and spears do not bring in large yields.

During the 'thirties, when the decline in the caribou came to be perceived as a chronic feature of the economy, the Eskimos turned more and more to fishing in order to feed themselves and their dogs. According to several informants the Eskimos did not embrace the pursuit of intensive fishing wholeheartedly, but rather backed into it reluctantly, coming up with very few technological innovations. A Hudson's Bay Company trader and an Aivilikmiut immigrant introduced fish nets during the 'thirties, but only a few Eskimos adopted this method of fishing.

It has not been until very recent years that pronounced improvements in fishing technology began to spread more widely among the population. The R.C.M.P. and the Missions have been operating 'fish camps' for several years, using nets to bring in thousands of fish for their dog teams. The Department of Northern Affairs introduced a project in 1959 among a group of six families at a camp near the mouth of the Kazan River. The aim of this project was to catch enough fish during the summer season to furnish food for dog teams during the whole year. The project is part of the Department's program to 'help the Eskimo to help himself'. Among the facilities provided by the Department are the following: fish nets, a fish drying shed, an outboard motor, and fuel for this motor. With these facilities the six Eskimo families involved were to catch, gut, dry and store all the fish they could get while the Lake was free of ice. Along with the Northern Service Officer who helped launch and guide this project, the author spent about two weeks at this camp and was very favourably impressed with the way in which the experiment progressed. Upon departing from the Baker Lake region we learned that the total catch for a seven or eight week period was about 8, 000 fish, sufficient to keep the camp dogs fed for the best part of a year. The theory is that, with well-fed dogs, the Eskimo can trap more successfully.

The intention is to establish other fish camps along the lines of the Kazan camp and to encourage Eskimo groups in other districts to exploit the fisheries in a systematic way. As there is little, if any, likelihood of a commercial fishery developing in this region, net fishing cannot be regarded as a major enterprise in terms of the total economy. Net fishing has become an important ameliorative, helping fill the subsistence gap left by the departed caribou. Fish is now the staple of the canine and human diet in this region, particularly among those who live on the land. It would be advisable to carry out studies of the nutritional value of this diet, for both canines and humans, and to assess its suitability in this rigorous environment.

Systematic fishery surveys of the region's waters should be undertaken as part of a rational program of utilizing resources. As we have seen, such utilization in the past has not been characterized by rationality and forethought. It is possible that if too much fishing is concentrated in any one lake or on any one species, the process of depopulation through which the fox and caribou have passed will occur among certain species of fish. At this time the most important fish by far is the lake trout, this species being especially amenable to capture with the equipment and methods now used. The cisco and

lake herring of the region, according to MacPherson, are "hardly touched, but on general biological grounds it is to be expected that by far the greatest production of fish in the lakes of the Thelon chain takes place in these species." (1957: 8)

The work of surveying the resource potential of the Baker Lake region is far from complete, but wildlife surveys undertaken up to this point give little cause for optimism, indicating that, while much greater yields may be expected from improved fishing methods, other wildlife resources are insufficient for a population of the present size.

As to the utilization of natural resources other than wildlife, the author could get no information on the likelihood of the tapping of mineral resources in the region, although, as mentioned earlier, there are prospected pitchblende and fluorite deposits underlying several localities in the region.

Whatever the resource potential, the fact remains that in order to obtain most of the goods they require to subsist, the Eskimos in this region must have a source of cash income. In the unlikely event of a sensational revival in the fur trade, a goodly part of this income would be derived from trapping, but there appears to be little hope that the fur trade can play more than the minor role it now has in the total economy of the region.

In summary then, it would appear that the region is already over-populated from the point of view of wildlife resources. During the year from July 1958 to July 1959, only 530 foxes were taken. Actually, some men earned more at unloading boats for six or seven days than they earned from trapping during the entire year. During the same period, only about 1200 caribou were shot, an average of less than fifteen per household. Of course, the great majority of these caribou fell to hunters from land families, but even if we consider only the families on the land as partakers of the kill, this means that the average take per family was only about twenty-four caribou for the year. According to Banfield's estimate, quoted above, such a catch would feed only two or three dogs for the year. In order to put the economic contribution of wildlife resources in perspective it is necessary to examine the total economy in the region at the present time.

The Present-Day Economy

The most remarkable contrast between the modern and traditional economy is the current dependence on a cash income, derived primarily from wages and a variety of governmental allowances and benefits, whereas

up to a generation ago all sustenance and the cash income required for those few items which had to be imported were derived from the wildlife resources. It is difficult to measure the value, in monetary terms, of what is derived from wildlife resources in the way of food and clothing. For most of the families on the land, perhaps about half of what they eat is taken from the water and from the land: the Eskimos in this region probably eat more fish than any maritime group in the world. However, the other half of what they eat must be purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company store and consists mainly of tea, sugar, flour, lard, baking soda, and tinned meats. As we have seen, the greatest part of clothing, household, hunting and trapping equipment and other needs must be purchased. New wants are being stimulated among the Eskimos, wants which did not exist before the Kabloona invasion. We refer here to such items as wrist watches, cameras, tape recorders, record players, and so on. Where does the cash come from?

Table IX lists sources of cash income for the period July, 1958 to July 1959. These estimates were made by the author, in consultation with the R.C.M.P. officer, the Northern Service Officer, and a few key Eskimo informants. It should be noted that the getting of a cash income does not mean that the Eskimo individual actually handles the cash. In the great majority of cases, the person is credited with whatever income he gets at the Hudson's Bay Company store and then draws on this credit to make his purchases.

TABLE IX

SOURCE OF CASH INCOME, ESKIMOS OF BAKER LAKE REGION, JULY, 1958 to JULY, 1959

	$
Wages (including both permanent and casual employment)	32, 000
Family Allowances	11, 000
Cash value of rations to certain employees of Missions, R.C.M.P., H.B.C., D.N.A., and D.O.T.	8, 500
Boarding out of school children and others	8, 000
Cash value of relief issues	7, 285
Cash value of fox and caribou skins	6, 500
Pensions (disability and old age)	4, 000
Handicrafts	700
TOTAL CASH INCOME	$ 77, 985

This table reveals that a total of $32, 285 was derived from governmental allowances, benefits, and relief. The remainder, $45, 700, was derived from the sale of goods and services by hunters, employees,

the proprietors of dwellings where people were boarded out, and artisans.

Almost half of the total cash income goes into the households of about fifteen families living at the settlement, the remaining half being distributed unevenly among the remaining seventy or so households in the settlement and on the land. Cash income distribution is set out in Table X.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF CASH INCOME BY HOUSEHOLDS, BAKER LAKE REGION, JULY, 1958 TO JULY, 1959

Income	Number of Households
$3000 or more	4
$2000 - $3000	6
$1000 - $2000	9
$500 - $1000	26
Less than $500	38
Total Households	83

The reason for the larger volume of cash income flowing into settlement households is, of course, that the full-time Eskimo employees, working for wages and in many cases wages plus rations, and most of the part-time employees reside at the settlement. Also, the income from boarding school children from the land and other people goes to settlement families. Although no Eskimo family in this area may be regarded as wealthy by Kabloona standards, by the standards of the Eskimos about fifteen settlement families are regarded as very well-off and five of these as exceedingly well-off. The gap in standard of living between these families and the majority of others is quite wide by any standards. Some of the implications of this growing inequality will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter VI.

The Employment of Eskimos

Fourteen Eskimo male and two Eskimo female heads of households in the settlement are in the permanent, full-time employment of Kabloona agencies. An additional eight male and eight female individuals get casual employment around the settlement as domestics, dog-team and

canoe operators, interpreters, chore boys, and so on. A large number of men from the land come to the settlement at ship-time and put in from four to eight days of labour, unloading the ships and storing the freight. In hiring men for this task, priority is given to those men from the land and to those in the settlement who do not have steady employment.

The kinds of service which Kabloona require of Eskimos are, apart from the menial, manual, and domestic chores, those in which the Eskimos are expert and in which the Kabloona are relatively unskilled: the handling of dog teams and canoes, negotiating difficult streams and terrain,the gutting of fish, building of temporary shelters on the land, and so on. This does not mean that the majority of Eskimo employees spend most of their time doing the jobs for which they are qualified. In actual fact, even the dog-team and canoe operators spend more time in domestic and manual chores around the settlement than they spend on the trail. Nevertheless, unless the Kabloona seeks an employee for strictly non-land work, such as settlement labouring or domestic service, they desire employees who are outstanding at typically Eskimo skills. Thus some of the more successful land Eskimos are enticed to take employment under Kabloona at the settlement, while some of the less successful land Eskimos who would actually like to work and live in the settlement, are discouraged from seeking employment and residence there. In fact, Kabloona tend to regard a man's incompetence at and lack of motivation for land living as evidence that he will not make a good employee at the settlement. This quirk in recruitment policy gives rise to the anomaly that some of the best land people--in terms of the pertinent skills and competence--are employed off the land, whilst some of the worst land people are constrained to remain on the land.

To some extent this recruitment policy is based, not on demonstrable ability to carry out settlement jobs, but on character. The Kabloona want employees of sterling character, people who are highly regarded by their fellow-Eskimos. Successful land people who are highly regarded are eagerly accepted as employees. Unsuccessful land people are not highly regarded by their own people and are likely to be stigmatised by the Kabloona as lazy and shiftless, and unlikely to make good employees.

Another tendency in recruiting employees, which to some extent counteracts the one discussed above, is to favour the offspring of people who already live in the settlement. Thus, six of the regularly employed young adults are the offspring of parents who themselves work or have worked for the Kabloona in the settlement. Mention was made previously of the growing inequality in wealth between some settlement and some land families. As an illustration of this inequality we point to the distribution of prized possessions. Of the thirty canoes and other boats

in the region, twenty-one are owned by settlement people. There are eighteen outboard motors and two inboards at the settlement and only five outboards on the land. Of the 173 dogs in the region, 71, or more than 40% are owned by settlement people, despite the fact that land people are much more dependent on dogs than those in the settlement. This inequality is a direct result of the accessibility of wage employment to the people in the settlement.

There is evidence that some land people resent and deplore the relative wealth of the settlement folk. As one Kabloona put it when reporting that certain prominent Eskimos from the land were expressing such resentment:

> "What to you expect? You get a man coming in from the land after breaking his back for months just to get something to eat. He might be practically in rags, and what does he see when he gets here? He sees Nick and some of these other characters zooming around in their 18-horsepower kickers (motorboats) like they were Cadillacs. They're all dolled up and full of good grub. And where do they get the money? From emptying honey buckets for the Whites and mostly sitting on their butts--no sweat for them. Can you blame them for thinking twice about going back to the land?"

Indeed, one of the most pressing problems faced by officers of the Department of Northern Affairs and the R.C.M.P. is to discourage land people from remaining at the settlement. As we shall see later, their problem is sharpened by the tendency to make the settlement more attractive as a place to live. To the extent that they succeed in doing this, increasing numbers of Eskimos are attracted and many must be somehow repelled because opportunities for wage employment are so very limited at the settlement.

It may be asked at this point, what about the opportunities for wage employment? What is the absorptive capacity at the settlement now and what is it likely to be in the future? We can dismiss the question about the present-day situation in a few words, for there is little to be said about it. In 1959 there was no wage paying job in the settlement suitable to the training and qualifications of local Eskimos which was not actually filled by a local Eskimo. In other words, in that year the local job market for Eskimos was saturated. But what about the future?

Suppose we assume, for the sake of finding a fixed reference point from which to calculate, that the number of wage paying jobs which exist at present will exist indefinitely in the region. Forgetting for the moment

about the qualifications needed to fill these jobs, let us further assume that they will be filled eventually by local adult Eskimos. Now we can ask, how many adult Eskimos can the local wage economy eventually absorb under these hypothetical conditions?

There are at the present time twenty-seven Kabloona employed full-time at the settlement and earning well over $100,000 per year which, incidentally, is considerably more than the entire cash income of the Eskimos in the region. As we saw earlier, fourteen Eskimos are employed full-time at the settlement. Under what conditions may we expect the twenty-seven currently Kabloona jobs to be filled by Eskimos. First, to the extent that a sufficient number become qualified educationally and through special training and experience; and second, to the extent that the Civil Service, the R.C.M.P., and the Hudson's Bay Company adapt their recruitment policies to give priority to local applicants. As the latter condition is not one about which the author is qualified to speculate, let us confine our discussion to the first.

For the sake of convenience, let us divide the settlement jobs into four categories as follows:

Category I: - Managerial-professional, including those positions requiring at least a high school education plus fairly extensive post-high school training...e.g., Nurse, teacher, policeman, Northern Service Officer, store manager. There are eleven jobs in this category.

Category II - Technical-clerical 'white-collar', including those which do not necessarily require that the incumbent have completed high school but in which there is a strong presumption that the incumbent has completed high school and has taken some specialized training thereafter...e.g., radio operators, meteorological recorders, technical officers in the Department of Northern Affairs, clerks. There are seven jobs in this category.

Category III - Skilled work, including those jobs which do not require high school completion but which require knowledge of the English language e.g., mechanic, welder, heavy vehicle operator, construction worker, cook, carpenter, plumber, electrician, etc. There are nine jobs in this category.

Category IV - Unskilled labouring, including jobs which do not require any schooling and in which fluency in English is desirable but not necessary. There are fourteen jobs in this category.

More than half of the wage paying positions require that the incumbent have an educational level, a degree of training, and a facility in English which no Eskimo in the region possesses at this time. As we shall see in Chapter VII, not one Eskimo in the region has completed fourth grade in school. At present only one Eskimo is employed in a Category III type job. All the rest are at the Category IV level. Two youngsters are taking courses which will enable them to compete for jobs in the skilled work category.

While it is true at the present time qualifications for existing jobs in the first three categories are lacking among the region's population, the newly established federal day school will begin to produce young Eskimos with these basic qualifications before many years have passed. Crops of graduates from the school will be produced beginning in 1962, youngsters who, with a little training, will be able to take over many jobs in the skilled worker category. Our estimate is that by 1963 about ten young men will have been graduated from the school who can, with the appropriate training, take over such jobs.

It will not be until about 1966 or 1967 that the local school will produce candidates for jobs in Category II, and these will require further training outside the community if they are to be successful candidates. Our estimate is that by about 1967 the school will have produced about twenty youngsters who could qualify for either type II or III types of employment. It is clear that all of these cannot be absorbed into the wage employment force at the level which they might aspire to: some will have to seek elsewhere for suitable employment.

The first of the children who began school at the normal age and who will continue through high school--presumably in Churchill or elsewhere outside the region--should be graduating about 1968. We predict that this first crop will number five or less. However, they shall be the first of a regularly produced crop for whom employment opportunities will have to be found. Eventually, some of them may be absorbed into the Category I type of employment, but as opportunities in this category are quite limited many of them will have to seek employment elsewhere. It is most unlikely that any of these graduates of the

school system will want to go back onto the land, unless living on the land is subsidized and made as attractive as is living on the farm in some regions of this country. It should be pointed out that about half of the graduates at all levels will be girls. Perhaps suitable employment for them within the vicinity will be more difficult to find than suitable employment for boys.

Thus, we suggest tentatively, that the prospect to be faced looks like something like this: unless a mine or some other form of industry is established in the region, the most we can hope for is that about forty or so full-time jobs will be available to qualified Eskimos by about 1970. We face the curious situation where, at present there are few qualified Eskimos chasing many jobs in the region whereas within less than a generation we can look forward to a large number of qualified Eskimos chasing a few jobs in the region. To account for this turn of events we need mention only the acute discontinuity in education, whereby an almost completely illiterate population is suddenly endowed with the facilities of education available in the south, a subject which is taken up in Chapter VII.

Perhaps it is not too unrealistic to envisage a local economy in which systematic exploitation of local resources, such as fox, fish, and caribou permits about 45 families--or about 200 people--to maintain a decent standard of living on the land, consuming part of their wildlife harvest and selling the rest to traders or to the settlement population. This would put the land folk in a position not unlike that of farmers in the south vis-a-vis the urban population.

The rational and systematic utilization of wildlife and other resources should be conducive to the development of local enterprises, operated by individuals and groups, such as co-operatives. Bold technological experiment is called for in the present situation. In an age when it is becoming commonplace to put man-made planets into orbit, surely it should be relatively simple to devise economic ways of utilizing a wide variety of resources in the local environment and to help create a kind of inter-dependence between settlement and land populations which is more balanced and less absurd than the current situation. [1]

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[1] Since this was written, the Department of Northern Affairs has posted a Project Officer, a specialist in wildlife exploitation, to the Baker Lake region. Working in collaboration with the Northern Service Officer and selected Eskimos, his task is to seek out the best locations for hunting and fishing and to devise improved methods of obtaining and storing an increased wildlife yield.

Relocation

It will have been gathered from what has been said so far about the economy that some planned relocation is necessary. Much of the relocation which has already occurred has been in response to immediate pressure, a kind of 'panic' relocation. For instance, the Garry Lake disaster of 1958 set off a wholesale emigration of the people from that district. There was starvation and hurried orders were given to shift the entire population of that locality. Royal Canadian Air Force planes were made available, flew in when the weather was favourable and carried off the dejected survivors of the famine to the settlement and its immediate environs. After a few weeks there, the hapless emigres were asked if they would like to relocate at the Keewatin Rehabilitation Centre at Rankin Inlet, on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Most of them chose to do so, not so much from attraction to Rankin Inlet, but because the move offered at least some hope for rehabilitation.

Not only were families from the famine area to the north of Baker Lake moved to the coast during the winter of 1958-59, but officials also took advantage of the facilities provided for that particular airlift to encourage two other groups of people to make the same move. One of these consisted of people from the Back River-Garry Lake district, an extended family of twelve persons who normally camped together, who had not been in the Garry Lake region during the famine but had been settled in and around the Baker Lake settlement. One of the younger members of this group, Teenak, a man of about 30, had acquired some experience in handling motors at the Department of Transport Installation and so felt confident that he could fit into some job at the coast. Teenak was regarded as a leader, even by able-bodied relatives who were senior to him--for instance, his father--and by the Kabloona, so that the other members of the extended family were encouraged to migrate with him.

Another group of people who decided to migrate at this time consisted of five related families, numbering 20 persons, from the Kazan River and from the lakes to the south and west of Baker Lake, members of the Harvaqtormiut sub-culture. By the authorities as well as from the point of view of many Eskimos consulted on the matter, this was regarded as a chronic problem group, with a history of mental and physical illness and such deviant conduct as rape and incest. It was felt that this group required special rehabilitative attention and so they were persuaded by the authorities to join the migration to Hudson Bay.

The relocation experiences of these migrants from both the Kazan region and the region to the north of Baker Lake were studied by the author

during the summer of 1960 on the west coast of Hudson Bay. Before dealing with these experiences we describe briefly the situation in the localities of destination of these migrants.

Rankin Inlet is about 300 miles to the southeast of Baker Lake. The place was an unremarkable Eskimo camping site until 1957, when the North Rankin Inlet Nickel Company began to produce nickel from its mine. Eskimos were attracted to the mine and, by 1958, about eighty Eskimo men were employed full-time at the mine, most of them coming from the relatively acculturated groups, such as the Aiviliqmiut of the coast of Hudson Bay from Chesterfield Inlet north to Repulse Bay. A fair-sized settlement sprang up, centred on the mine, most Eskimo and Kabloona employees living on mine-owned property and in mine-owned dwellings. [1]

In 1958, a second settlement, linked to the mining one, was founded by the Department of Northern Affairs. (D.N.A.) That department, alarmed at the deterioration of living conditions in the interior, set up a rehabilitation project. The original plan had been to site this project in 1958 at Whale Cove, about 60 miles south of Rankin, but this proved impossible at that time, and so the project was sited at a location called Itivia, about a half mile away from the mine. A number of small huts were built, as well as a store room and workshop, a school, and two houses for D.N.A. personnel. During the first year of operation no systematic rehabilitation scheme had been worked out at Itivia and the community there took on the vague character of a satellite to the Rankin Inlet community. The primary concern initially was to feed and care for immigrants from the famine areas and to maintain some kind of custody over them and other Eskimos who were infirm or incapacitated in some way. It was to this situation that the migrants from the Baker Lake region were introduced during the winter of 1958-59.

The immigrants were all directed to Itivia rather than to the mining village nearby, although a few of the men took up employment in the mine not long after their arrival. Because Itivia was a rehabilitation project, the people who inhabited it came to be defined as welfare cases, and there is ample evidence that the other Eskimos in the region, namely those in the mining village, held them in low esteem. This low esteem they shared with other Eskimos from blighted regions of the interior, in particular the Ihiarmiut whose tribulations have been described by Mowat. (1959)

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[1] For an account of the Rankin Inlet community as it was in the summer pf 1958, see Dailey (1961)

During the first months of operation, there was no systematic and comprehensive scheme of rehabilitation at Itivia. A few took up casual work for the D.N.A.; those who were sufficiently able-bodied and who could get the necessary equipment were encouraged to hunt and fish. A first concrete step in the rehabilitative direction was taken when the D.N.A. official responsible for the project got underway a program of craft and art manufacture. Part of the plan was to market the products through a local store which would be operated by the Eskimos. Two Eskimo families were brought over from the east coast of Hudson Bay. The heads of these families had been in sustained contact with the Kabloona for many years and were experienced in the manufacture of handicrafts and in the operation of a store.

A few of the families from the Baker Lake region came to benefit from this program, especially those from the region to the north of Baker Lake. Most of the rehabilitants from the Kazan, among whom were several physically incapacitated, emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded individuals not surprisingly failed to adjust to this regime. Family after family of them demanded to be returned to the Baker Lake region. At the time of the author's visit in 1960, only one Kazan family remained. Its members appeared to be making a satisfactory adjustment after a most dismal and unpromising beginning. It is worth taking a close look at this particular family, for their rehabilitative history is instructive.

The family consisted of a widow and her four offspring, three male and one female, ranging in age from 27 to 16. The oldest and youngest males were deaf mutes, the other members of the family regarded by Eskimos and Kabloona alike as emotionally unstable. Because the Itivia program, in the beginning, was not based on intensive case work, but was rather a 'keep-them-busy' and 'make-them-economically-self-sufficient' kind of program, families such as these were pretty much left to their own devices. In fact, they were left on their own devices because they could not measure up to the requirements of a program which came to depend primarily on 'normal' Eskimos, those with no outstanding physical and emotional defects and those whose skills and motivations were suitable for manufacturing, trading, hunting, and fishing. According to all the evidence we could gather, the morale of this family, which had been low enough upon arrival, sank so low that they withdrew from contact with those outside their own families and pretty much stayed in their huts except for occasional sorties for rations or to plead with officials to send them back to Baker Lake. This behaviour served to fortify the stereotypes which the Kabloona and other Eskimos

had formed about the rehabilitants as being 'beyond hope'.

During the second year of operation, the rehabilitation centre program became much more oriented towards the welfare of the physically and emotionally defective, leaving the 'normals' to fend for themselves at the mining community and elsewhere. The program concentrated on intensive casework with such families as the Kazan one under discussion. The D.N.A. official in charge of the welfare program deliberately sought out the 'written off' Eskimos and exploited whatever strengths appeared to exist among them. For instance, one of the deaf mutes was placed on a regular work detail responsible for transporting and storing D.N.A. goods at Rankin and Itivia. At the same time he was taught to read English, the method being to teach him to type words which he had learned to associate with pictures and objects. When the word got round that this man, who had been 'written off' as a silent imbecile could not only perform an ordinary day's work but could also read and type in English there was a perceptible change in attitude towards him, a change to which he in turn responded by taking an increasingly normal place in the community. Moreover, his equally deaf-mute brother was taught to bake bread which was then sold to householders in both Itivia and at the mining village. The widowed mother was encouraged to purchase a sewing machine and to pay it off by instalments earned through the sale of the products of her machine. The transformation in this problem family was remarkable. From the time of their arrival until the summer of 1960, they had continually requested the R.C.M.P. and D.N.A. to return them to the Baker Lake region, a request which was always turned down on the grounds that the family would likely be worse off in their region of origin than in Itivia. However, by the late summer of 1960, this family had apparently come to terms with the Itivia milieu and was in fact determined to entice some of their Kazan River relatives to settle in this location!

The intensive casework program was not the only one introduced at Itivia after the settlement crystallized. As mentioned previously, the original rehabilitation project was planned for Whale Cove, about 60 miles south of Rankin Inlet, a favourable location for game of many kinds: whales, seals, fish, and fox in particular. It was not until the summer of 1959 that a beginning was made in building this project. Families from stricken areas of the interior, both from the north of Baker Lake and from the southern part of the Keewatin District, were selected by D.N.A. to settle there. The family group under the leadership of Teenak mentioned above was one of those selected and given an important part to play in the new Whale Cove settlement. A store which was subsidiary to the Itivia

one was established and Teenak, who had received some training in store-keeping at Itivia, was put in charge of it. The major portion of work effort on the part of the Whale Cove population has been channeled into hunting and fishing with a small amount of whaling by those few men with boats large enough to engage in this activity. The plan is to dispose of the surplus wildlife product at Itivia and Rankin Inlet. During the first winter of settlement there, relief rations had to be delivered to the Whale Cove population, but officials hope that sufficient wildlife yields may be cached to see the population through future winters.

It is still too early to evaluate the success of this project from an economic point of view, but from a social and psychological point of view it appears to have been quite successful so far. Families which have always lived on the land, at least those with the material resources such as rifles, boats, and motors, have demonstrated that they can adjust to a sea hunting and fishing economy. As one would expect, the inland dwellers are still primarily oriented to caribou hunting and take advantage of every opportunity to strike into the interior on the hunt without, however, much success for the hinterland of Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet does not abound in caribou herds. Teenak and other able-bodied males in the Baker Lake group divide their time about equally between seal hunting and fishing on the one hand and caribou hunting on the other. When we visited them in the summer of 1960, they had ample stores of food and were living in houses which, compared with the Eskimo shacks of many families around Baker Lake, were substantial and commodious. The family group was esteemed by the other Eskimo in the Whale Cove settlement, although some social distance was maintained between groups from different regions of the Arctic. Our total and necessarily superficial impression was that this family group was fitting into a new environment in a satisfactory way, partly because they commanded the skills and resources which permitted them to exploit this environment successfully, and partly because of their link with a strong adaptive leader.

As most of the Whale Cove population had lived briefly at Rankin Inlet, we were interested in discovering how they compared life in the two communities. The consensus of opinion was that Whale Cove was a much better place in which to live. Almost everyone consulted mentioned the opportunity of daily hunting and fishing at Whale Cove as a singular advantage. To many the daily round of life was felt to be more like their pre-migration experience and much less routinized than the daily round of life at Rankin Inlet. The feeling was expressed by several people that living was more comfortable and free in Whale Cove because it is an Eskimo community. Only one Kabloona resident is settled there, a D.N.A. technical officer, whose role is to help the inhabitants maintain their equipment and physical plant. Three people expressed the feeling

that there were too many Kabloona 'bosses' at Rankin Inlet, pointing out that one or another Kabloona was in charge of every activity other than the purely domestic. One young married man indicated that where there were too many Kabloona in a community the Eskimos "feel like dogs who can't go in the tent." Here he was referring to the segregated social system at Rankin with its caste-like overtones.[1] One person jokingly remarked that the Eskimo liked the Kabloona "when there are only a few and when they are only visiting."

We have never been in an Arctic community where we saw more friendly interaction and spontaneous play than at Whale Cove. For instance, during our ten days in the community there were daily football games involving people of all ages and households, as well as square dances every other night. The immigrants from the Baker Lake region who were our main informants admitted that there were tensions and conflict between some households, but asserted that this was a much more cheerful place than either Baker Lake or Rankin Inlet. When asked whether or not they would care to return to their region of origin, they claimed that they were "too well off" at Whale Cove to think of such a move.

We have examined briefly the relocation experiences of two groupings from the Baker Lake region: the immigrants from the Kazan area who went to Itivia and one extended family from the north part of the Baker Lake region who settled at Whale Cove. What about the other Baker Lake region immigrants, the ones from the north part who are not at Whale Cove? Compared to the Kazan area immigrants, these have made a remarkably rapid adjustment, not without some difficulty in the beginning. By the summer of 1960 the majority of able-bodied immigrants from this group were working in the mine and were highly commended by the mine management. The few widows and old men from this group were also filling meaningful roles in Itivia and at the mining settlement to which some families have moved.

Three reasons may be suggested for the superior adjustment of these immigrants and their fellows at Whale Cove. First, they are physically and emotionally 'normal' Eskimo families whose rehabilitation

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[1] Cf. Dailey, (1961) for a discussion of the process of segregation at Rankin Inlet. Upon leaving the field we learned that additional Kabloona are scheduled to settle at Whale Cove. Missionaries from two denominations, a school teacher, and another government official will comprise the Kabloona element there. It will be interesting to observe how relations between this and the Eskimo element develop and what effect the Kabloona invasion will have on the morale of the inhabitants.

was made necessary by conditions mostly beyond their control, namely, the periodic shortage of caribou. We may refer to them as 'economic' rehabilitants, requiring above all else access to resources which permit them to maintain a decent livelihood. They have been provided with such access, some at the mine, others at Whale Cove. Second, these families are dominated by young, able-bodied family heads who appear to be adaptable to change and to be quick in the acquisition of new skills. Third, their commitment to the new milieu is rendered all the more profound because the regions they have vacated, far to the north of Baker Lake, have been virtually depopulated and the chances of their becoming redepopulated in the near future are slim. Thus, their migration has an all-or-none quality about it which impels them to make strenuous efforts to adapt to the new milieu.

The immigrants from the Kazan region, on the other hand, were not so much 'economic' as they were 'health and welfare' rehabilitants, special cases who needed special help. Only those who received this special help from qualified social workers made successful adjustments. Furthermore, these families were not dominated by young, emotionally stable, able-bodied males, but either by older people or by emotionally disturbed younger household heads whose personal adjustment problems prevented them from adapting to the new milieu and from providing the kind of leadership which would facilitate the adaptation of their dependants. Finally, these immigrants, compared with the ones from the north of Baker Lake, are closer to a home base which is still a going concern and this gives their migration more of a tentative than a permanent character. To withdraw from the new situation is comparatively easy: persistent pleading and agitation usually, but not always, results in an airlift back to Baker Lake. In the summer of 1960, for instance, one old couple from the Kazan group who had asked repeatedly to be returned home, were finally flown back by R.C.M.P. plane after threatening to walk the three hundred or so miles across the barrens to their camp near Baker Lake.

It is appropriate here to mention another form of emigration from the region: the sponsored movement of young men and, in a few cases, their families, to the Rankin Inlet settlement to work in the nickel mine. In the summer of 1958, thirteen men from the (land) camps in the region around Baker Lake itself were encouraged by officials to try their hand at working in the nickel mine. Their fares to Rankin Inlet were paid by the government. Of these men, ten had returned to the Baker Lake region by the spring of 1959, and one other returned early in the summer. One married man and his family and one single man remained at the mine. All these men were employed as unskilled labourers at a rate of .75¢ an hour, a rate which has since gone up to $1.00 an hour. We interviewed

seven of the returnees during the summer of 1959 and found the following attitudes to their experience. On the favourable side, the informants mentioned the gay social life at Rankin Inlet--dances, movies, and parties, and the possession of a predictable income to spend at will. Indeed, it appears that these men spent everything they earned, with the exception of two of them who returned with about twenty dollars each. On the unfavourable side, none of these men liked the work in the mine, nor did any of them take easily to the idea of having to work fixed hours and every week day. Three of the men spontaneously complained about the 'bossiness' of their supervisors. In fact one of them performed for us a hilarious imitation of a Kabloona supervisor shouting and waving his arms as though in a mighty rage. In short, these men found it difficult to adjust to the everyday requirements of time scheduling and authority, which is not surprising when we consider the cultural background in which they were reared. We do not want to suggest here that all Eskimos will be for all time unsuited to the kind of employment offered at the mine--we have already seen that some find the work congenial--or that the local men who tried their hand at this work reject it completely. Four of them claimed that they would try again if the fishing and hunting around the Baker Lake region got much worse. However, on the whole these men were more oriented to life in (land) camps than to the highly routinized life at Rankin.

The kinds of migration we have been discussing are not unlike the programs of relocating refugees and displaced persons or the railway-sponsored movements of large groups to Canada, except that there are, of course, great differences in scale. What we tend to think of as 'normal' migration, that is, the voluntary, unsponsored movement of individuals and families from city to city, from farm to city, from country to country, in search of economic opportunity, a more attractive social milieu, and so on, should become eventually a common occurrence in the Arctic. This kind of movement is not a new thing in the Central Keewatin region for, as we point out elsewhere, many permanent residents of communities in the region were born outside it or have spent years in communities other than the ones they are now inhabiting. This kind of migration has been most common among the Q uernermiut and Aivilingmiut, partly because they have long possessed comparatively large boats and have lived by waterways upon which long distance travel is easy.

During the period of field work there were two migratory moves of this normal type. In one, a young man of 18 with three years of schooling behind him and at least a degree of literacy in English, moved to the Eskimo camp at Churchill where he worked under the supervision of a Kabloona warehouseman. When last contacted this youth claimed to be satisfied with his move and vigorously denied a rumour that he was homesick and wanted to return to Baker Lake. In another, a young man who had been working as a handyman at the Department of Transport installation at Baker Lake, took his wife and family with him to Rankin Inlet, where he obtained a job in the mine. He lives in a frame house,

which he intends to purchase from the mining company and, when interviewed in the summer of 1960, claimed to be a permanent settler at Rankin Inlet. He reported this with some uncertainty, for he and the other people employed at the mine have hanging over them the possibility of the mine's closing within the next few years. Despite this uncertainty, he and his family appeared to be satisfied with living conditions there. Both cases of normal migration described here involve people who had always lived in settlements and had considerable experience in a Kabloona work culture, with its regular hours and structured authority. As the acculturated settlement population increases, we expect a constantly increasing flow of population moving in this normal way towards the localities of maximum employment opportunity.

Relocation outside the region is only one feature of the population shifts which have occurred in the past few years. Many groups have been persuaded to move their camps to other localities within the region. As we point out in Chapter II, this movement is in the general direction of the settlement. The primary reason for this trend is to make it easier for the R.C.M.P. and D.N.A. officers to patrol the camps. The reasoning goes as follows: the closer the camps to the settlement, the less likely it is that serious sickness or starvation will occur or go unattended. R.C.M.P. and D.N.A. officers on the spot would like to undertake relocation in a systematic way. This would require that certain areas be designated as undesirable, others designated as desirable and fruitful. It need hardly be said that such designations must be made on the basis of systematic research by the Canadian Wildlife Service. Until the results of such surveys are made available, internal relocation will be conducted primarily on a hit-and-miss basis.

Will direction of labour become the rule in this area? This procedure is against the principles which are generally accepted in Canadian society, but it is difficult to envisage a system in which the standard of living is raised and maintained at a desirable level, in which most people get to do the kind of work they want or are trained for, and in which not too many people derive the bulk of their livelihood from governmental allowances, without envisaging also some form of direction of labour. In fact, much direction is going on now under the guise of persuasion and guidance.

CHAPTER IV

KINSHIP, THE FAMILY, AND MARRIAGE

The Eskimos are traditionally a small group people. One hears of settlements which contained from twelve to twenty families at certain seasons of the year, but during most seasons the typical Eskimo camp seldom contained more than four separate households, if we consider a dwelling unit--whether tent or igloo--as a household. As we said earlier, the evidence suggests that, before the advent of the rifle, when group hunting prevailed, camps were larger than they are nowadays, at least during those months when the caribou migrations poured through the selected killing points.

The Eskimo household did not normally reside in the one camp during the whole year, but would move from one site to another with the seasons and in the quest for wildlife, occupying perhaps two or three different sites over the span of a year. It was customary, however, for a household to cover the same general territory year after year. Thus, while a household or a group of households were identified with a given territory, covering perhaps an area of a few hundred square miles, they were not identified exclusively with a particular campsite, and the campsites did not have the 'home-town' quality, with all the sentimental and proprietary overtones associated with the home-town notion, characteristic of hamlets and villages in more sedentary regions of the world. The focus of sentimental, and to some extent proprietary, attachment was the whole territory over which the household moved. When an Eskimo in the Baker Lake region is asked to point out on the map where he was 'brought up' and where his family 'comes from', he traces out with his finger an area which might cover about five hundred square miles.

This does not mean that the Eskimos have the family hunting territory pattern found among groups in many parts of the world, in which particular families enjoy exclusive rights to the game in a clearly delimited area. As far as we can gather from informants, theoretically anyone can hunt or fish anywhere without violating the rights of the people who normally reside in a given area. However, because households tend to follow predictable circuits from site to site within a particular locality, we find in practice that the members of one group of households seldom hunted over the territory which was known to be on the circuit of another group of households. This traditional pattern is changing because of the extensive relocations of camps and families referred to in the previous chapters.

The discussion of kinship, the family, and marriage was introduced with these comments on demography to provide a context for the material which follows. Being a 'small group' people, unanchored to permanent sites, one outstanding feature of the Eskimo social structure is the grouping into elementary families[1] and camps, and the absence of large aggregations of people, such as lineages, clans, and tribes.[2] Eskimo society in the Keewatin District was made up of a large number of elementary families, each interlocked with one or more others in mutual aid and the sharing of campsites. As we shall see, this characterization of Eskimo society is still true as far as those people who live on the land are concerned but is an oversimplification for those who live in the settlement.

In this region, the Eskimos never had corporate named groups beyond the elementary family based on descent from common ancestors. The closest approximation to such a condition is found where a father and one or more of his married sons occupy the one camp. This kind of grouping, a traditional ideal which is seldom encountered because of the early mortality of most men, resembles superficially what anthropologists call a patrilineage. Of the twenty camps in the Baker Lake region, only three are so constituted. The composition of these camps is given below:

Camp A - Head of camp, Teloole, 53, occupying a household with his two wives, an unmarried son, 19, and two younger unmarried daughters;

Teloole's son, Nookik, 25, his wife and child, occupying a separate household;

Kownak, 43, widowed step-daughter of Teloole, a daughter of one of his wives by a former marriage, occupying a separate household with her three children.

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1 The elementary family, or as it is sometimes called, the nuclear family, is made up of parents and their offspring, usually occupying a separate residence which we call a household. We use the terms elementary and nuclear to distinguish this unit from the broader family which includes grandparents, grandchildren, cousins, married siblings occupying other households, etc. Most individuals eventually belong to two elementary families: the family into which they are born and which includes their parents and siblings (brothers and sisters);and the family which they create through marriage and procreation, including spouse and children. It is conventional to call the former the family of orientation, and the latter the family of procreation. Linton, (1936) introduced this convention.

2 In some locations the Eskimos were grouped into kinship aggregates numbering from 30 to 60 people forming a composite hunting camp. This pattern was--and in a few places still is--found along coasts where the hunting of large sea-mammals was the dominant economic activity.

Camp B - Head of camp, Angosaglo, 64, occupying a household with his wife, Toodlook, 45, both of whom were widowed and have children by previous marriages, two unmarried step-sons, 18 and 19, two step-daughters, 7 and 9, and one daughter, 1. In a separate tent, an imbecile daughter of Angosaglo, 29, unmarried;

Angosaglo's adopted son, Seenateck, 22, his wife and child, occupying a separate household.

Angosaglo's adopted son Okyawaweeteck, 40, his wife and three children in a separate household.

Camp C - Head of camp, Kingeelik, 47, his second wife and their daughter, 6;

Kingeelik's brother Kakimut, 30, his wife and four children, ranging from 13 to 3; occupying a separate household;

Kingeelik's son, Toolooktoo, 24, his wife and two young infants, occupying a separate household.

As we have said, such camps resemble superficially the patrilocal fragments of patrilineages, but the Eskimos do not conceive of them in this way. What distinguishes these camps from so many others, is the continuing vigour of men past the age of 45 or so. The few men at that age on the land who still have the stamina to be fully active, are known as great hunters, strong in body and will. They tend to keep their male descendants under their wing and in a state of partial dependence.

However, as their vigour wanes, the married sons either strike out on their own or gradually take over leadership from the father who then becomes something of a dependent himself. In one of the camps described above this process is going on. Up to a few years ago, Angosaglo's camp usually had, not only an additional married son and his family, but also two married daughters and their husbands in its assemblage. Incidentally, the latter arrangement would be most uncommon in a patrilineal society with strict patrilocal residence. However, in recent years Angosaglo's powers as a leading hunter have been failing and his married offspring have been striking out on their own.

The most common arrangement in camps within the Baker Lake region is for the families of two or more brothers to form the core group of a camp, usually with the older brother as the head. Nine of the twenty camps in the region are of this type. Illustrations of what we might call the fraternal or sibling type camp are given below:

Camp D - Head of camp, Pootomeaktok, 45, his wife, an unmarried son of 19 and three other, much younger children, occupying one household;

Pootomeaktok's brother, Itkeelik, 36, his wife and two young children;

Pootomeaktok's wife's brothers, Pauyatuk, 34, and Kaleesuk, 31, their wives and families in two households. A further kinship tie within the camp exists between Itkeelik and Kaleesuk, whose wives are sisters.

Camp E - Head of camp: Nugyugalik, 50, his wife, five daughters and a son, ranging in age from 15 to 3 years of age;

Kadlo, 38, brother of Nugyugalik, his teenaged sons and two teenaged daughters;

Keluah, at 90 the oldest person by far in the region, mother of Nugyugalik and Kadlo, in a tent of her own;

Marer, 27, first cousin to the brothers, a 'loner' who is unmarried and moves from camp to camp, in a tent of his own.

Camp F - Not clear who is head of camp, which has three households:

Paunga, 39, his wife and fourteen year old son;

Paunga's brother, Ukeelak, 28, his wife and their infant child;

Eenukpuk, 34, sister of Paunga and Ukeelak, whose husband is away for several months acting as guide for a wildlife survey party, and her young children.

An interesting variation on the sibling-type camp is one in which the camp is shared by brother and sister married to sister and brother. Two of the twenty camps are of this type.

Three of the camps contain only one household most of the year, while the remaining three are made up of core families the heads of which

are not related to one another in the first degree.[1] It is interesting to note that two of these camps were set up as a special fishing project by D.N.A. In one case, the Eskimo participants were chosen to assist a D.N.A. officer set up an experimental camp. In the other, an Eskimo was asked to choose whom he wanted to share residence in his camp with by D.N.A. with a fish-drying shed, nets, and other equipment. He chose and then persuaded two men who are not related to him nor to each other to join him in the fish camp with their families.

Lest the impression be given of long-term stability in the composition of camps, it must be noted that not only do whole camps move frequently to new sites but also that households keep shifting from camp to camp. For instance, X and his family remain in the settlement for a few months, tending a trap line and fishing through the ice of the Lake during the deep winter. In March or April, X abandons his igloo, packs his belongings on his sled and with his family moves out on the land. He goes first to a camp not far from the settlement where his wife's father and married brother are settled, remains there until June, when he moves to a camp by a lake where the fishing is known to be good, a camp occupied by an older brother and the latter's son. He remains there until late August when the whole camp moves to a location known to be favoured by the caribou as a crossing place during the fall migrations. After six or seven weeks at that location, X moves back to the vicinity of the settlement with his wife and family and, as soon as the snow cover is established, sets out his traps for fox.

There is a nucleus of people in each locality who usually occupy only one or two camps the year round, going to the settlement only to trade fox, get supplies or medical treatment, or perhaps to earn some money unloading the annual ships in August and September. Then there are the relatives of these people who are more mobile, more likely to visit the settlement often, who come and go from their camps. Despite this mobility, however, the camps they form and move into are usually shared with kinsmen.

One concludes then, from the ways in which camps are organized that the sibling relationship on the male side is the dominant principle governing joint action, mutual aid, and the sharing of living space on the land.

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[1] For purposes of reckoning nearness of kinship in this report we use the civil reckoning familiar throughout the English-speaking world, in which one's mother-father, brother-sister, son-daughter are regarded as first degree relatives; grandparents, uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews and grandchildren as second degree relatives; first cousins as third degree relatives.

In terms of social action, the Eskimo kinship system is not unlike the system which prevails among the Kabloona, particularly among those living in urban centres. Theoretically, among the Kabloona one can trace one's kinship connections to the N^{th} degree, but in practice relatives beyond the 2nd and 3rd degrees (e.g., grandparents, first cousins, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews) are not effective kinsfolk in mutual aid, even in ritual and moral support, at least under urban conditions. With the Eskimo, too, only relatives within a very limited range are regarded as effective kin, as those whom one must 'take into account' in everyday living. Like our own system, the Eskimo one is bilateral, which means that people on mother's and father's sides of the family are more or less equally related to one. The slight patrilineal bias among the Eskimo who live on the land is probably paralleled by the same bias among rural people in our society.

Again, as among the Kabloona, the Eskimo are not divided into clearly defined, mutually exclusive segments of kinsfolk. Each person is the centre of a diffuse network of relatives, which includes in-laws as well as consanguineal relatives, and the network of any given married person is not exactly the same as that of any other person, as is the case in those societies which divide up the population in terms of membership in mutually exclusive lineages and clans.

Among the differences between the Kabloona and Eskimo we note the following: although the elementary family in both systems is the basic unit of kinship, among the Eskimo there tends to be more intense interaction between elementary families related in the first degree, particularly through brothers. Another way of stating this point is in terms of solidarity: among the Eskimos the tie between brothers tends to remain very strong, even after their marriage. Also in the Eskimo system more attention is paid to birth order and to gender differences: they have separate terms to denote older and younger siblings of the same sex as the speaker, and some relationships are called by different terms, depending on the sex of the speaker. [1]

The Eskimos appear to pay less attention than the Kabloona to lines of descent: for instance, they do not have surnames which facilitate the tracing of descent. As we shall see presently, certain personal names may shift from the mother's side to the father's side or vice versa, in the following generation, so that no clear line of continuity in naming can be discerned.

The Baker Lake folk follow the naming practice widely reported among Eskimos in many parts of the Arctic: they name their children after deceased relatives mainly, and usually after grandparents or relatives of the grandparental generation. To give a concrete illustration, let us consider the names

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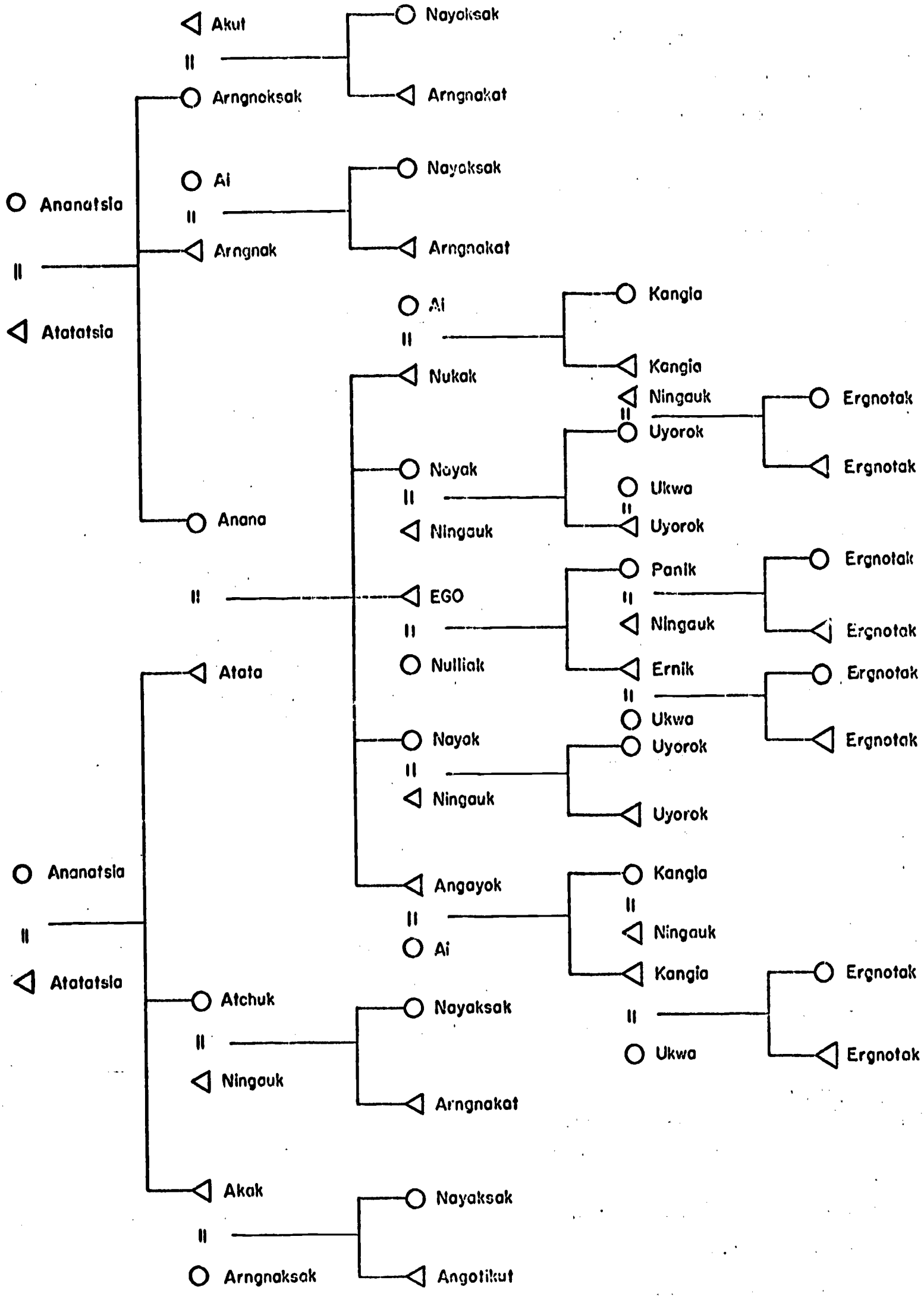
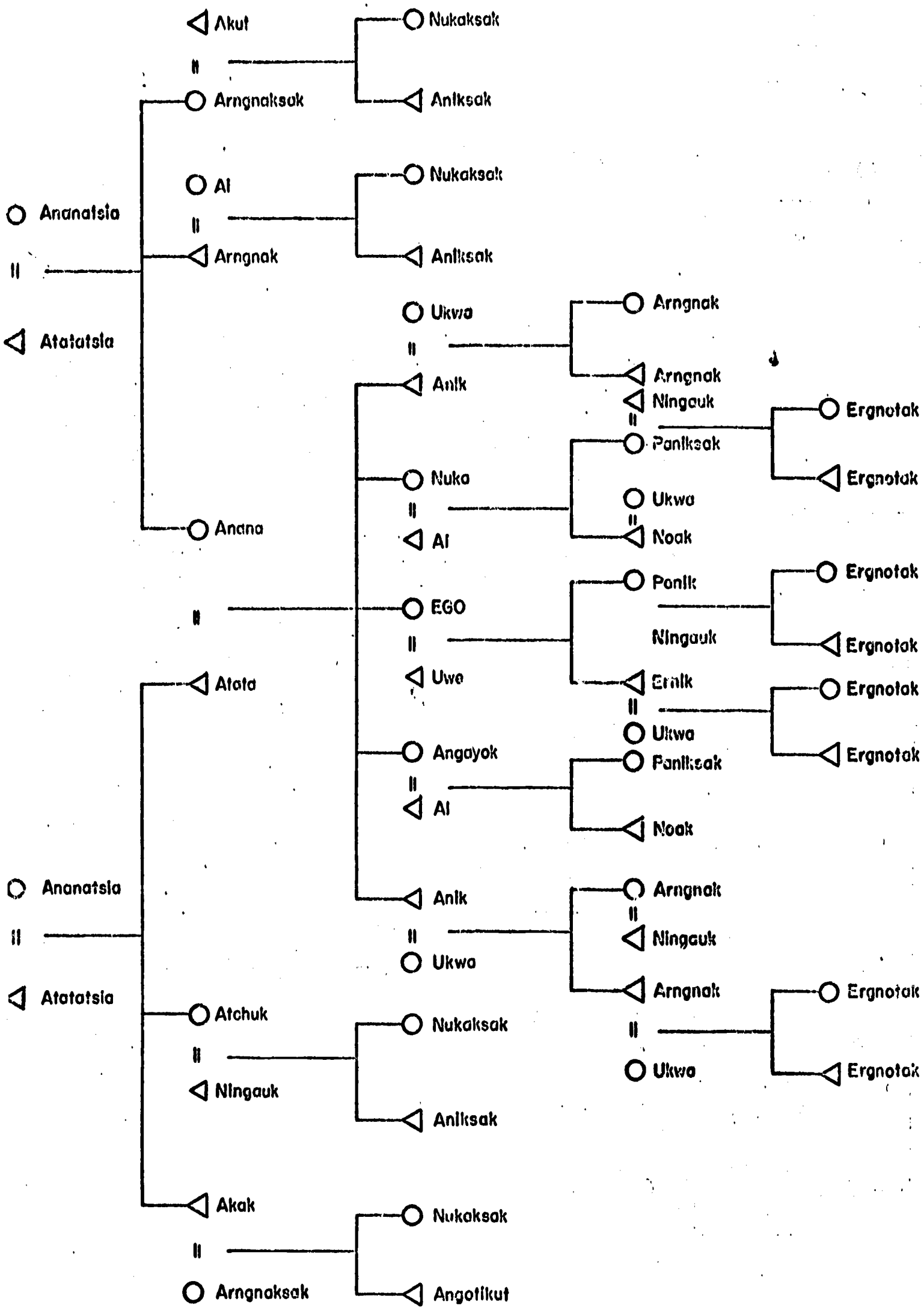
[1] Kinship terminology of the Baker Lake Eskimo is set forth in Figures 3, 4, and 5, pages 67, 68, and 69.



KINSHIP TERMS MOST USED IN BAKER LAKE REGION
(MALE) SPEAKING

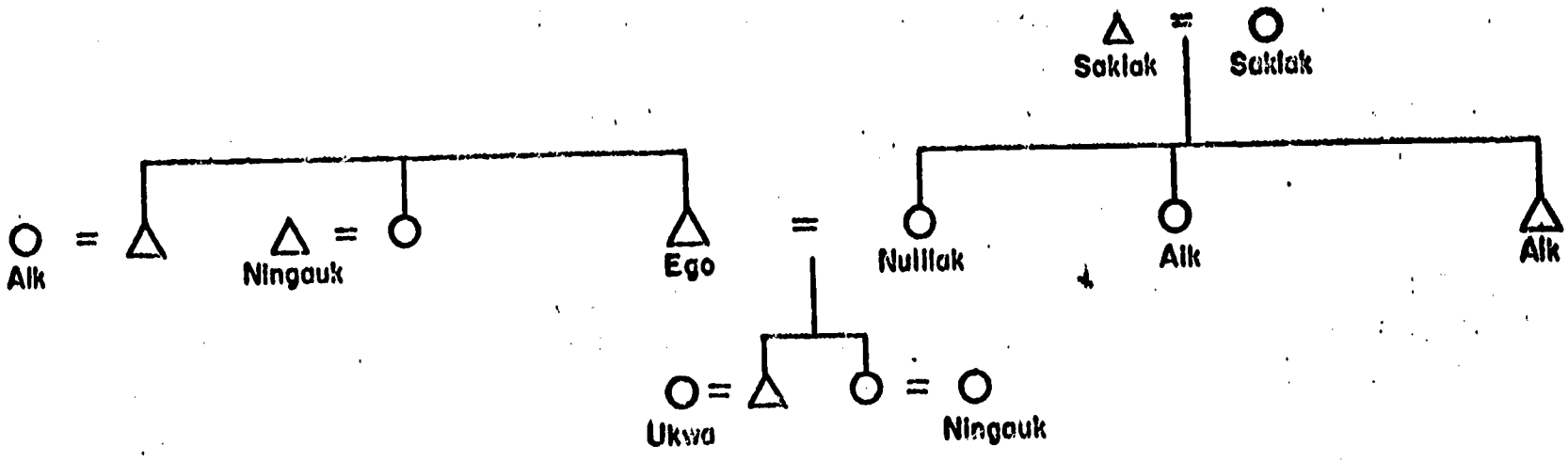
FIGURE 3



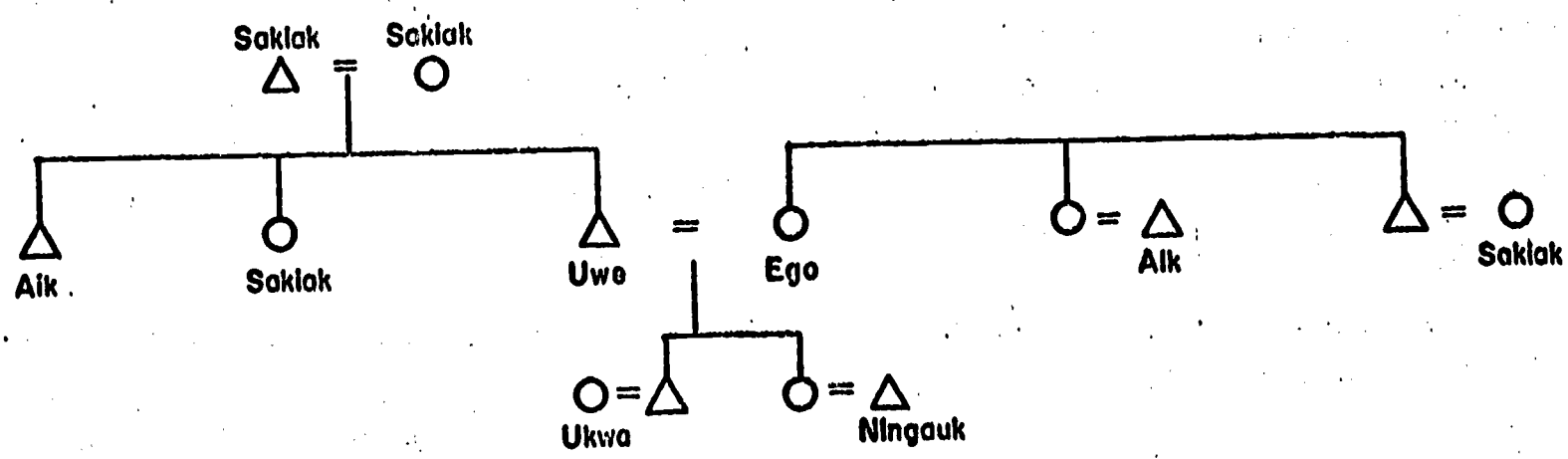
KINSHIP TERMS MOST USED IN BAKER LAKE REGION

(FEMALE) SPEAKING

MALE SPEAKING



FEMALE SPEAKING



AFFINAL TERMS MOST USED IN BAKER LAKE REGION

FIGURE 5

of three brothers, Naigo, Attungala, and Merkeayou, and their sister Tupik, the offspring of Malook and Anramaktar, the former dead and the latter still alive. Naigo was named after his father's mother, Attungala after his mother's father, and Merkeayou after his mother's mother; Tupik was named after a deceased sister of the father. It will be noted that names are not sex-linked, that males may be named after females and vice versa. A son of Merkeayou and a daughter of Tupik are both named Malook after their deceased grandfather.

Traditionally, to give a deceased person's name to a child was to endow the child with some of the qualities and some of the 'spirit' of the deceased. Thus, according to Birket-Smith,

> "The name is regarded as a kind of extra soul, and when a person dies his name wanders about helplessly until it is given to a new child. By this means the child inherits the qualities of the deceased. Until the naming has been performed, no one will mention the name of the deceased person, but refer to him only by innuendoes and indefinite phrases...If among the Caribou Eskimos a boy acquires the name of his father's mother, his own father will address him as mother, and his brothers and sisters as grandmother."(1959:155)

As far as could be ascertained by our investigations, the Eskimo nowadays do not regard the deceased person's soul as having been 'inherited' by the person named after him, although they continue to address and refer to the latter in terms of the relationship they had with the deceased. Thus, for instance, in the summer of 1959, one widow of about sixty years of age fondled her infant granddaughter who had just been christened and given the name of the widow's late husband. As she fondled the child she murmured: "Ah, my husband, my little husband!"

At this point we want to stress only that this naming practice accents the idea of continuity, in fact a kind of cyclical continuity, but it does not lend itself to the maintenance of distinct lines of kinship, such as we find where the surname is passed down through the male line or where all the descendants of a common ancestor in either the male or the female line share a lineage of clan designation. The absence of stress on descent through a particular line is reflected in a negative way by the lack of knowledge and concern about the identification of one's ancestors beyond the grandparents. A few informants could name one or two of their great-grandparents, but most claimed to know nothing about them.

The missionaries introduced a new naming practice a generation ago which is of considerable significance in the process of social assimilation now going on. For purposes of christening they endowed the Eskimos with Christian names. Among the Anglicans, most names are of Biblical origin--David, Moses, Matthew, Rachael, Sarah, and so on--although a number of names appear to be those which are common in English-speaking parts of the world, particularly in England, names like Hattie, Mattie, Victoria, Elizabeth, Margaret, and so on. Among the Roman Catholics, christening has been mostly at the hands of the Oblate Fathers, many of whom are French speaking by mother tongue, and the Eskimos have been given mostly French names, or the French version of the names of saints, such as Luc, Pierre, Dominique, Marie, Angele, and so on.

Many Eskimos on the land attach very little significance to these names, in fact a large number do not even know their Christian names, referring to themselves or others by the single Eskimo name. However, in the settlement, among those Eskimos who are close to the Kabloona, there is a growing tendency to use, and want others to use, one's Christian name. Eskimos can be graded along a scale of assimilation by counting the number of times their Christian names are used and by assessing the extent of knowledge about a given person's Christian names.

The use of Christian names is of such recent origin that we cannot say whether or not the passage of these names will follow the pattern described for Eskimo names. It appears that for some people the Eskimo name may become a surname in the next generation, thus raising some interesting problems of familial identification. For instance, take a family in which the father's Eskimo name is Kudloo, and the sons names are Oyama, Ipoot and Arakta. The father's Christian name is John, those of the sons Joseph, David, and Noah. Suppose this family is well on its way to assimilation and develops the habit of using both Christian and Eskimo names, the latter taking on the characteristics of a surname: John Kudloo, Joseph Oyama, David Ipoot, and Noah Arakta. At what stage of the assimilation process will these people and their descendants use the Eskimo name strictly as a surname, so that, for instance, all of Joseph's children are surnamed Oyama, all of David's Ipoot, and so forth? We predict that, if this development does occur, and the trend appears to be in that direction, it will take at least three generations for it to get established. None of the younger people interviewed, the parents of the future, expressed the intention of giving their own Eskimo surname as a uniform family surname to their children.

It is possible that in the future official pressure may be exerted to have the Eskimos alter their naming system and bring it into line with that of the Kabloona. It may be argued that the administration of affairs among the Eskimo would be rendered much easier, for instance in handling family allowance, claims for dependents, and so on, if members

of the one family shared the one surname. This matter was brought up by the Northern Service Officer at one of the Eskimo Council meetings as "something to think about", but the response of the Eskimos was one of only mild interest, bordering on indifference.

Returning to the subject of personal names, we find revealed in their usage and in their prohibition some significant features of Eskimo social structure. In most societies it is a mark of respect and deference towards a person to refrain from using his 'personal' name, just as it is a sign of intimacy, equality, and in some cases, patronage, to use it. Thus, in our society, close friends call each other by Christian names or nicknames; where the relationship is between people of unequal rank, frequently the superior may use the inferior's Christian name while the latter must use the superior's title, rank, or preface his surname with "Mister" or "Missus." Children do not call their parents by their Christian names, except perhaps among a small group of compulsive egalitarians; employers may use the Christian names of their employees, but this is not usually reciprocated; where the persons are of equal rank, but it is necessary to emphasize the mutual respect and social distance between them, they will likely use "Mister" or "Missus" to each other; and so on. Such observances tell us much about how relationships are ordered in our society. It need hardly be added that every society does not have the same conventional observance about naming, and the forms followed in a given society reflects the kinds of social relations to which the names apply.

Among the Eskimos, children never address their parents by the latters' personal name, using ananaga (my mother) or atataga (my father). The rule prohibiting the use of personal names in address is extended to grandparents, to relatives whom we would call aunt and uncle, to older siblings, and to relatives we would call cousins. Females may use their younger brother's personal name in address, but not their older brother's; the elder male sibling uses his sisters' personal names in address, but not those of his younger brothers. There are revealed in these conventions, 1) a respectful attitude towards people in the senior generations; 2) a respectful attitude towards senior males of one's family in one's own generation; 3) a respect bias slightly in favour of males in one's own generation. The social distance implied in the prohibition of personal names between cousins may reflect the bar to marriage between these relatives, who are actually referred to as brother and sister.

There are interesting differences between relatives on the mother's and those on the father's sides, in so far as terms of address are concerned. Three categories of relatives, the mother's brother, the mother's sister, and the mother's sister's husband--whom we would call 'uncle' and 'aunt' in English--use the kinship designation of their nieces and nephews (uyorok) rather than the latters' personal names in address. Five categories of relatives, whom we would also call 'aunt' and 'uncle' in English, are

permitted to use the personal names of their nieces and nephews: the father's brother, the father's brother's wife, the father's sister, the father's sister's husband, and the mother's brother's wife.

Between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law, kinship terms of address are used, rather than personal names. Similarly, personal names in address are not used between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. However, brothers-in-law call each other by their personal names and so do sisters-in-law.

One would expect these ways of addressing kinsmen to coincide with behavioural differences between collateral relatives, to reflect differences between maternally-linked and paternally-linked relatives in, say, mutual aid, inheritance, marriage preferences and prohibitions, and so on. As with so many features of Eskimo life in this region, the investigator of kinship encounters only vague tendencies and loose arrangements which informants themselves regard as the result of personal preference and circumstance rather than as patterned differences in social norms. Statistical analysis of marriage arrangements, observation of actual behaviour, and the questioning of informants shed little light on such patterned differences. Except that persons on the land tend to be brought into contact more with relatives on the father's side than with those on the mother's, we could formulate no general rules about behavioural differences appropriate to relatives linked through one or the other side. If such differences existed in the past, they were not noted by previous investigators.

While on the subject of general rules governing behaviour, we must remark again that what rules there are among the Eskimos are not applied rigidly and under all conditions. For instance, people who are not related to one by kinship may be addressed as kinsman; an 'uncle' who is considerably older than one's parents may be called atatatsia, grandfather; a cousin who is considerably older than one may be regarded as an uncle or aunt and treated accordingly. Briefly put, it is not so much the formal system of kinship terminology as it is the semantics of kinship which should receive close attention among the Eskimos in this region. In order to carry out such an analysis the investigator should be thoroughly familiar with the language, a facility which the present author does not possess.

We have already noted that the Eskimos in this region recognize kinsfolk only within a comparatively limited range: relatives beyond the third degree of kinship, that is, beyond what we would call first cousins, are not effective kinsfolk as far as mutual aid and bans on intermarriage are concerned.

In camps it is customary for two or more elementary families, linked through at least one member of each who are first degree relatives to each other, to live as an economic unit of production and, to some extent, consumption. We say 'to some extent, consumption' because in these camps a certain store of food, clothing, and other goods, and cash or credit income, are regarded as the exclusive possession of each household occupying an igloo or tent. For instance, each tent has its own stock of baking soda, flour, lard, tea, sugar, and tobacco. The woman of the household makes bannock[1] which is usually consumed by herself and the others in her household. However, in camps which are made up of closely related families, the men bring in their catches of fish and caribou and these are usually boiled in the camp pot and eaten by anyone in the camp whenever they feel hungry.

People cannot make the same claims on non-kinsmen as they make on kinsmen. In the minority of camps where the households are not linked through close kinship ties, there is some degree of concerted effort in hunting and fishing among camp members from different households, but one finds less mutual aid in such camps than one finds in the other type. Furthermore, in such camps there is less sharing among unrelated households. During the season when surplus meat and fish cannot be preserved because of the hot weather and the insects, sharing on a camp-wide basis or even between camps is the general rule, but at other times the produce of fishing and hunting are the possessions of those households whose members procure the game. Such produce is not shared unless members of other households in the camp are short of food and skins or unless the hunters and fishermen concerned bring in an exceptionally large kill. Except that the hunter who brings down a caribou is entitled to the front quarters of the animal and to the skin, there are no elaborate rules about dividing up the animal such as are reported from other parts of the Arctic[2]. The fox yield is regarded as the possession of the person in whose traps the fox is found, and the income from trapping as part of the household pool of funds.

The growing dependence on money is accompanied by interesting changes in customary patterns. Money, it is understood, is not subject to the same rules of sharing which apply to caribou. It is primarily a household possession, secondarily an individual possession. While the individual who gets the money is theoretically able to do just what he wants with it, the

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1 Bannock was introduced by Kabloona traders and whalers long before the turn of the present century. Like bread in many parts of Europe and America, it has become a household staple among the Eskimo. It is made with flour, baking soda, and lard.

2 Cf. van den Steenhoven, (1957) who discusses sharing the kill among caribou-hunting Eskimo south and south-east of the Baker Lake region.

understanding is that he or she will use it primarily on behalf of close relatives and especially those in his own household. To some extent the Kabloona are directly responsible for this informal rule: the R.C.M.P. and Northern Service Officer, through whom the bulk of Eskimo funds are channelled, discourage the Eskimos from spending on 'self-indulgent' objects. The officials see to it that family allowance funds, for instance, are not 'squandered' but spent on basic needs of the household. [1]

Further comments on the implications of the growing importance of money will be made later in this chapter. Here we wish to stress only that the possession of money or the credit into which money is translated makes the household less dependent on other households, compared, of course, to the high degree of mutual interdependence of previous times, and accents the growing independence of the elementary family from the wider networks of kinsfolk in which it is embedded. This tendency is most noticeable at the settlement among those who work for wages.

In the settlement each family occupying a household procures most of its own food through the efforts of its own members, and consumes most of its food within the household at regular mealtimes. [2] Nevertheless, even in the settlement people usually camp or build their dwellings close by their relatives, if they have any there. The accompanying sketch map shows the relationships between the household heads occupying tents and wooden dwellings around the fringes of the settlement. As we pointed out earlier, those who are employed by the Kabloona full-time live within the boundaries of the organizations they serve, most of them in houses provided by these organizations.

As would be expected, interactions in the camps between members of different households who are closely related is very frequent. People are constantly passing into and out of one another's tents and igloos and, when the weather is clement, just about everyone in the camp may spend many hours a day sitting around a fire at some central point in the camp, retiring to their own tents only to sleep.

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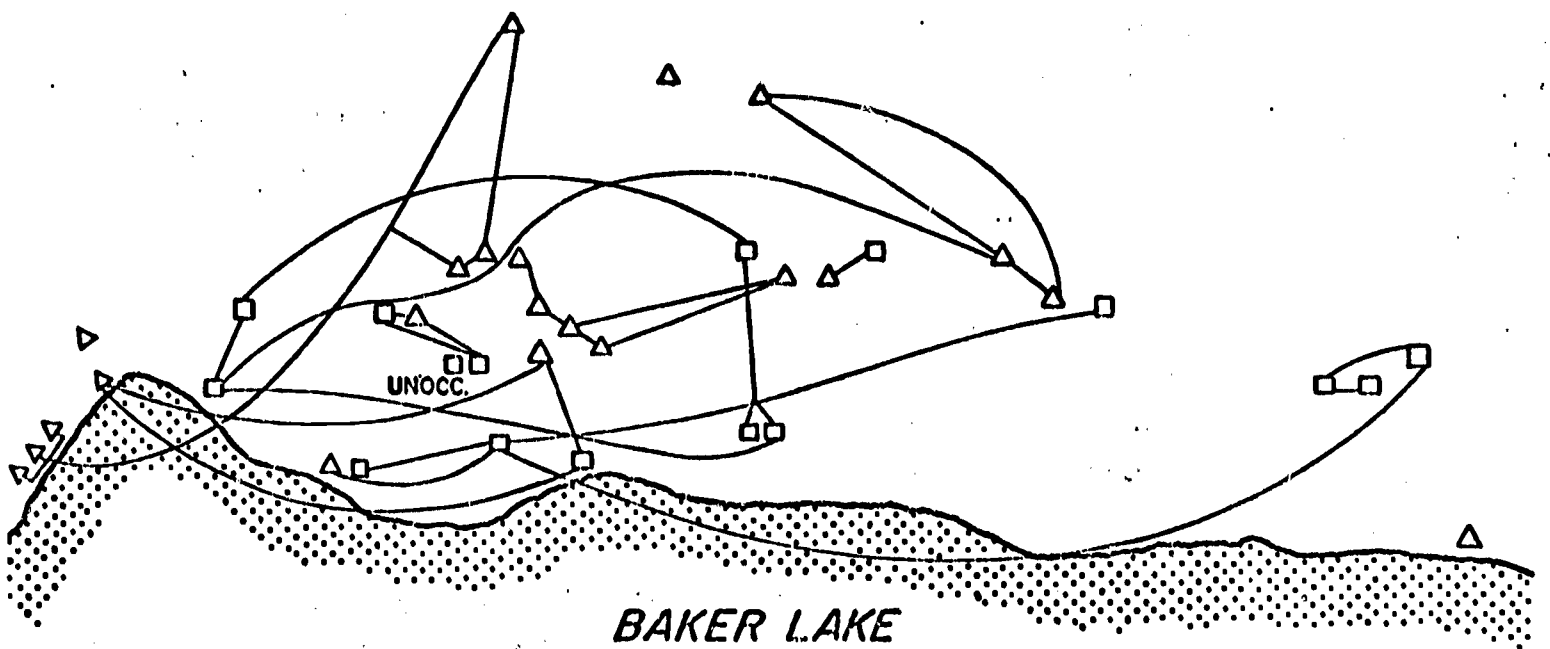
1 As has been mentioned, most of the cash income going to Eskimos is translated into credits to be honoured at the Hudson's Bay Company store, records of these credits being kept by the R.C.M.P.

2 The need to observe schedules in households where children go to school or where members work for the Kabloona compels settlement families to regularize their household arrangements whereas families on the land continue to live in a relatively unscheduled, irregular manner.



LEGEND

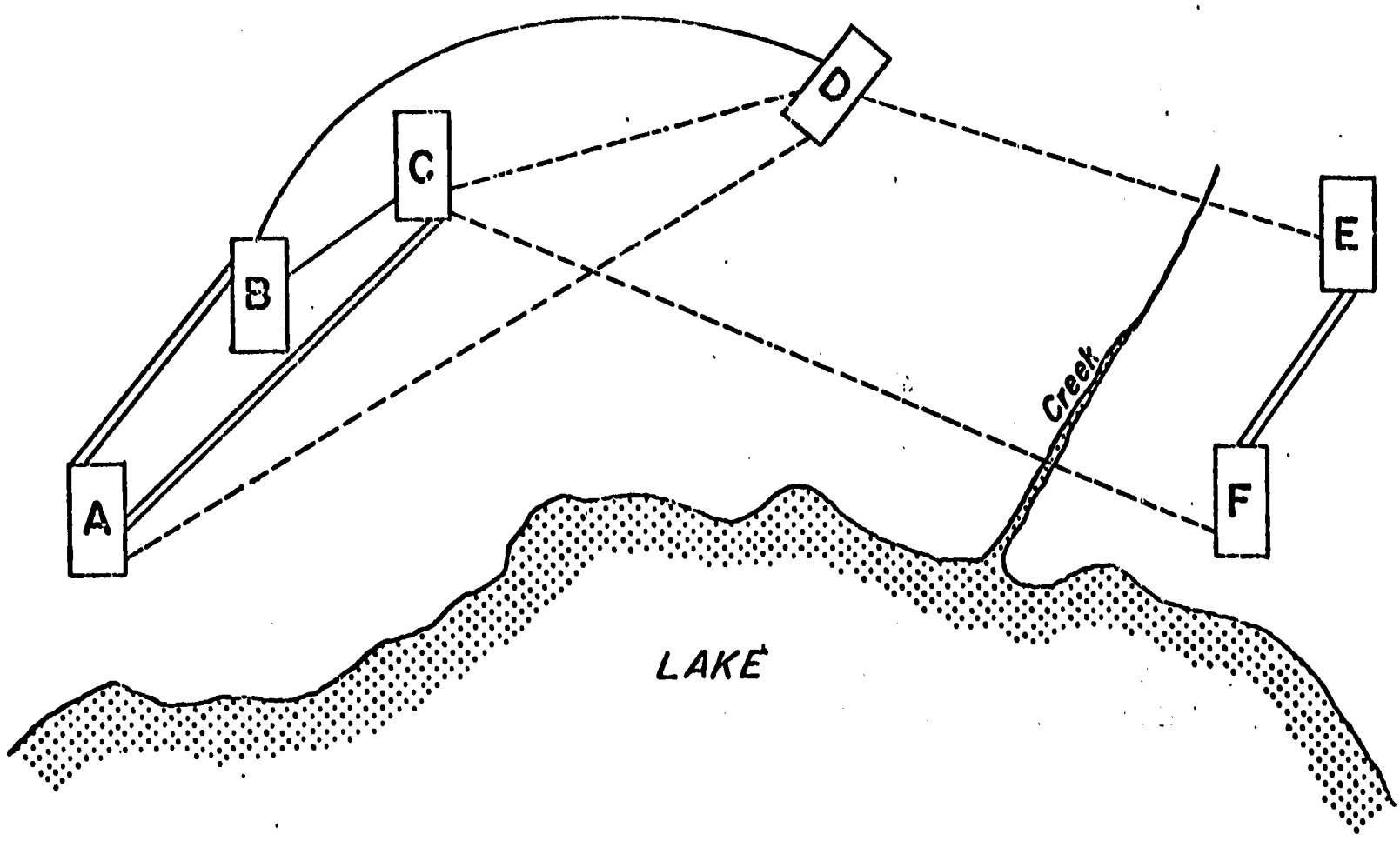
Wooden dwellings inhabited by Eskimos..... □

Tents inhabited by Eskimos..... △
(Kabloona houses and installations not shown)

Represents first degree relationships (parent-offspring, siblings).....———
among heads (and wives of heads) of settlement households.

SKETCH 2

Relations between Households, Settlement



LEGEND

Relationships Among Household Heads:

A and C are brothers;

B is their brother-in-law, married to their sister;

D is not related in the first degree to anyone in camp; he is cousin to B.

E and F are brothers, not related to others in the camp and are 'relocees' from a distant region.

Interaction in visiting and mutual aid between adults of camp households:

High level of interaction ═══

Medium level of interaction ——

Low level of interaction - - -

KAZAN "FISH" CAMP, JULY 1959

SKETCH 3

Relations between Households, Camp.

In the few camps which we visited where people in different households are not related by kinship, interaction between members of different households, excluding children, is noticeably less frequent than it is in the extended-family and joint-family camps. For instance, in one camp we visited, in which there were six family-households, there were four distinct kinship groupings represented. In sketch 3 we trace the patterns of inter-action between people in these households. People from all households would intermingle in religious services, held in tent B, and in gutting the fish which were taken from the nets tended by the men, but for purposes of sociability, the in-group and out-group lines were clearly drawn.

Compared to the camps in the settlement there are many more occasions where people intermingle in relatively formal, contrived, non-kinship settings. People meet others from different families and households several times a week, at church, at meetings, dances, movies, and at the store. At the same time, there is much informal, unplanned visiting. In the day-time when the men are at work or out fishing, hunting and trapping, there is much visiting between women. Sisters and sisters-in-law visit one another's dwellings; married daughters and their mothers are much in one another's company. If on the land people tend to be brought together primarily through their relationships with males, in the settlement the tendency is for people to be brought together in sociability and mutual aid through their relationships with females.

As illustrations we cite from our data on patterns of visiting between relatives within the settlement:

> Toodlik, 19, and her husband, Amarook, 21, constantly at the house of her parents--they practically live there;
>
> Louis' daughter Esa and her family live in adjacent houses--a constant interchange of visits;
>
> Kingualik, 60 year old widow, with unmarried daughters and adopted daughter in her tent; regular visitors there are her married daughters and children, her widowed daughter-in-law and family, her sole surviving son and his wife, who live next door.

One feature of the settlement situation which accents the importance of women as focal persons in interaction is the presence there of eight widows, four of them with large families consisting of both married and unmarried offspring. These women are heads of their households and their dwellings are visiting centres, particularly for their offspring and grandchildren.

Despite the constant visiting among relatives in the settlement it is still true to say that the elementary family there is becoming increasingly independent and relatively isolated. Economic independence of the household from other households is the rule there, due largely to the almost complete dependence on money income (which as we saw is not normally shared beyond the household.)

To sum up what has been presented so far in this section: the majority of camps are extended family and joint family arrangements, in which household heads are related to one another in the first degree of kinship--such as brothers--or through in-lawship, or both. In such camps, mutual aid and sharing among households is most pronounced. In camps where all household heads are not related in the first degree, inter-household co-operation and sharing are not so pronounced, except under certain conditions The latter type of camp is not as stable as the former type. In all areas, the elementary family, usually occupying a separate household, is becoming more independent of and isolated from other elementary families, this trend being most pronounced in the settlement.

Family Roles

The traditional Eskimo family was a co-operating team bent on wresting a living from the natural resources. From the age of six or so the children made their contributions to this endeavour, performing tasks which were graded according to their ages, sex, and abilities, until by the late teen-stage they were expected to set up households of their own and take on the roles of full adults.

In this co-operating team, the division of labour was not as rigid as that described by Weyer (1932) for the Eskimos in general. For instance, in the Baker Lake region most of the older women and many of the younger ones fish and hunt the caribou with rifles, although they do not hunt nearly as much as the men do. At least three women known to the author have patrolled trap lines. Widows and women whose husbands are temporarily or permanently incapacitated make brief hunting forays between spells of fishing, and in a few cases, trapping.

Nevertheless, as might be expected, the most common practice is for the able-bodied adult males of the household to bring in the big game, tend trap lines, and fish the waters which are distant from their camp. They build the igloos and, aided by the women, put up tents and erect wooden dwellings. The women work about the household, fish in the waters close by the camp, gather brush for fires, fetch water, make and maintain garments, gut fish, and prepare food.

Boys are gradually introduced to masculine tasks after an initial period when they help their mothers and sisters around the household. One crucial turning point in a boy's career is the day he brings down his first caribou. For most boys this happens at about age eleven or twelve and signals their emancipation from much of the domestic work which falls mainly to women. Girls are gradually introduced to the female tasks, not only through helping mother with domestic duties but also through play, in which they make clothing for home-made dolls which they nurse and tend as though they were babies. By the time a girl is about six, she is expected to take care of infants in the family.

In the settlement the pattern is similar in general although it differs in detail. The able-bodied adult males are expected to bring in cash income instead of caribou; this income is supplemented in several families by the earnings of wives and daughters who work as domestics for the Kabloona. Although caribou are not plentiful near the settlement, the men there take every opportunity during the migration seasons to roam the tundra in search of them. During the winter, both men and women of the settlement fish through holes in the ice, and when the Lake is clear of ice, whole families go out in boats, at times fishing until four or five o'clock in the morning.

A typical day among an Eskimo family on the land may go somewhat as follows. Let us suppose it is late summer and the family in question is camped near a lake which provides good fishing and which is not far from a favourite crossing-place of the caribou. They occupy a camp consisting of three tents: their own, that of an older brother and his family, and that of a younger male nephew and his family. Their tent is a rectangular one, about one-half of which is taken up with a sleeping platform made of wood. On the platform are piled sleeping robes, clothing, mail order catalogues, comics, school scribblers and home-made dolls. At the entrance of the tent there are, on one side, the primus stove and a few boxes containing provisions. Around the stove, on the floor, there are the remnants of yesterday's meals--pieces of fish, hunks of caribou, a few half-chewed hardtack biscuits, and a slab of bannock. Cups, spoons, knives, and a few plates are scattered about. Opposite the cooking area we find another box or two containing such household articles as soap, sewing materials, tools, and stacked neatly in one place, the bibles and hymn books of the family, each pair of bibles and hymn books in its own cloth bag closed at the top by a string.

Outside the tent, three dogs are sprawled in sleep, the remains of several days' meals of fish and caribou littered about them. Outside the tent, too, are water pails, a drum of naphtha for the primus, scrap lumber, perhaps an old oil drum serving as a garbage container, fishing rods, a

rifle wrapped in its canvas bag, a box full of paraphernalia which the family does not use every day but which they carry about with them.

Protruding from the jumble of robes and clothing on the sleeping platform are the heads of the husband, with that of his thirteen year old son on one side and that of his wife on the other. Next to the wife is a two year old infant and, finally at the other end of the platform, the seven year old daughter. We cannot predict when they will awaken: it depends on plans made yesterday, plans which pertain to hunting and fishing, and these plans are dependent on the weather. When they do awaken, scratch and stretch, the mother will emerge from the bed, pump and light the primus for tea water and reach outside for the child's pot, which is likely to be an empty two gallon tin, labelled Klim. There is a good chance that the mother will have been sleeping, like the rest of the family, in a suit of long underwear, familiar to men in the South. Over this she dons a long dress, and over her long lisle stockings she pulls on her rubber boots or caribou kamiks.

While she is 'potting' the little one, the others will be rummaging among the bedding for their clothing which they put on before going outside the tent to relieve themselves, the men on one side of the tent, the women at a little distance from them, all with their backs to one another. Returning to the tent, the bibles are brought out and the father reads the lesson for the day. Then the mother squats by the primus, pours the tea--first for the father, then for the son, then for the two daughters and herself. The infant's tea will be heavily laced with powdered milk; if this is not available the mother will give her breast to the child. The mother may hand out bits of food left over from the previous day or simply let persons fend for themselves. While the others are eating, the mother makes a pan of bannock for the husband and son to take with them, for the father and son will shoulder their rifles and fishing rods or hand reels and will strike out on the perpetual quest for food, joining the other men and older boys of the camp.

Dishes left from the meal--if anything but cups were used--will likely be rubbed clean with a rag or a piece of caribou skin, a kind of all-purpose wiper to be found in the vicinity of the stove. Mother and daughter will then straighten out the sleeping area somewhat. The daughter takes a pail to the lake for water, then returns to take the small child out to the tundra to pick berries. Mother remains around the tent, repairing clothing or making new clothing from whatever materials are at hand.

During the course of the day, the mother will remain busy around the tent, perhaps repairing the torn canvas, getting proper stones to hold down the sides, washing socks and heavy underwear, preparing a reserve

of bannock. The daughter's main responsibility is to mind the little one. For a good part of the day she carries the infant in a summer parka hood, as her mother does, or simply lifts the child onto her shoulders. In and out of the tent they go, occasionally picking up a bit of food to chew on. When the infant shows that it wants the breast, the mother will first offer some bottled milk or other soft food, then, if the child insists on the breast the mother will drop everything and feed it.

The daughter spends much time with other young girls and boys who are too young to go hunting. These others will also be tending an infant or two. When the little charges get drowsy, they simply go into the tents and put them on the sleeping platforms. The daughter we have been following might drop into a light sleep herself, but it is likely that the mother will give her some task to do if she is found just sitting idly by, or will suggest that she take a hand line down to the lake and try to catch a fish or two.

Out on the land, the boy will 'shadow' the father, following just behind him and copying his moves. He chokes with excitement to think that he might get his first caribou today. If so there will be gaiety in the camp when they get back. At the thought of this possibility he whoops and breaks into a jog. His father seeks to curb his ebullience with a soft reminder that this location has proved almost barren of caribou so far this year. The men trudge on over the land, stopping to fish occasionally. They carry large canvas bags into which they hope to stuff the kill. As with the people back at the camp, there is no shouting, no harsh commands. There is quiet talk, leisurely movement, a lack of crispness and precision in both speech and manner.

Occasionally they stop for a smoke or a cup of tea and bannock, for someone will have brought along a primus and a pot. During these halts the men discuss the advisability of moving camp to another location because of the paucity of caribou, but nothing firm is decided.

Suppose they return without any caribou and with only four or five fish between them. These will be divided evenly between the three household heads. The father and son we have been following approach their tent slowly, throw down the canvas bag with their share of the fish on a large rock beyond the reach of the chained dogs, where the woman will presently prepare them for boiling. She saw them coming and knows from the look of them that they have returned virtually empty-handed from the trek. There are no greetings. At their approach she put the tea water on the primus and before long it is boiling and ready for a few teaspoons of tea.

While they eat, the mother squatting in the cooking area, the others sitting on the edge of the sleeping platform, the father murmurs a few comments about the day, offers his analysis of the caribou situation: it is not good at this particular spot this year, they should have known from the 'signs'-- the absence of large numbers of bees, the scarcity of lemmings, and so on. Casually he mentions that the men have been considering a move to another campsite about thirty miles away. His older brother seems to feel that their present location, which proved so favourable last year, has been tried sufficiently and found wanting this year. But nothing definite has been decided. The older brother had spoken vaguely about walking the fifty miles into Baker Lake to get supplies. Are they short of flour, baking soda, Klim? The husband would like more tobacco, some fish hooks. The daughter needs a pair of rubber boots. He promised to buy his son a harmonica. Do they have any family allowance left? He does not know, but his brother will find out when he goes to the R.C.M.P. In any event, they can always get relief rations from the Kamaye (the Northern Service Officer) although this will not include the tobacco and harmonica! Then it is decided? The older brother is going to Baker Lake to get supplies for the whole camp? No, it is not decided: they had only talked about his going.

The two older children are playing with the children from the other two tents, scrambling over the rocks and among the muskeg lumps in a game resembling baseball. The mother takes up the infant and follows her husband as he drifts casually to the tent of his older brother. There they find the nephew and his wife, the latter squatting near the door, her husband sitting on the edge of the sleeping platform. The older brother has already begun to pack for his trip to Baker Lake. What do the others want him to bring back from the settlement? While the women confer upon this question, the men discuss again the advisability of moving camp during the brother's absence. But it is discovered that the older brother already assumes that the others will be at the new location mentioned during the afternoon when he returns. So it has been decided.

When should the big move take place? That depends on the weather, on how long it will take to pack, and, least predictable of all, on some contingency such as the sudden appearance of large numbers of caribou close to the present camp. And so this decision is left to 'work itself out' in the light of events during the following twenty-four hours or so.

The big decisions made, every one looks more hopeful than they had an hour earlier. Spirits rise as friendly banter is exchanged; incidents which seemed prosaic enough during the day become hilarious anecdotes in the re-telling. In reviewing their stay at the site, the women chide the men for their lack of success, the men tease the women about their domestic

prowess and laziness. A deck of playing cards is produced and a game begun. The camp children crowd around the tent entrance, their games finished. Tea and bannock are served all around, and the visitors disperse to retire for the night.

In such a description of a typical day we find ways of behaving and attitudes which are not peculiar to those who peopled the narrative. They are patterns of conduct which one may observe among many families in the settlement and on the land. In the settlement, as on the land, the woman's domain is the dwelling. Men are not expected to do much in the way of domestic chores within the dwelling, although there are no strict rules about this, and we have seen men do just about every task a woman would do, except breast feed infants, when their wives were ill or absent. In everyday practice, however, it is the woman's primary task to see to it that her menfolk are in fit condition to bring in the necessities for the household. Apart from preparing food for them, they make and maintain the male clothing, help them keep their hunting and fishing gear in repair, help with the harnessing of dogs and the preparation of sleds and canoes for travel. Generally speaking, the needs of the man are given priority, although in the settlement there are signs of change. For instance, on the land the fall and winter caribou skins were made into clothing for the men; whatever was left over from that manufacture would be made into clothing for the women and boys and into sleeping robes, tents, kayaks, and so on. Nowadays, in the settlement, when the family procures such skins, it is usually the woman whose clothing needs are met with their use, the men 'making do' with whatever they can get.

Such exception notwithstanding, it is the general rule that the man's needs are given priority. Included in the 'needs' of the man which are provided by the wife are, of course, sexual intercourse. It is the husband who demands this service of the wife, rather than she of the husband, for this is not considered to be a female 'need'.

Traditional priority attributed to males is reflected in the etiquette of serving, in female deference to males, and in the exercise of authority by males. When food is being passed around, the father is served first, followed by the older sons, if they are past their middle teens, while the mother, younger sons, and daughters are served last. Efforts to alter this pattern are being made by the teachers and other Kabloona who feel that their conventional priorities are superior to those of the Eskimo.[1]

Major decisions affecting the household, such as where and when to move camp, are made by the husband, or in the case of a number of households joined in a camp, by the male heads of households. The man does not brusquely order people about: brusque commands are considered

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1. See page 158.

to be in very poor taste by the Eskimo. He simply mutters his decision quietly, and most likely after having discussed the question with his wife and others in the household.

In the settlement the Kabloona have unwittingly given their sanction to this division of authority by confining the Eskimo Council to male participation, although in very recent times the Kabloona have been encouraging Eskimo women to play a more active part in community affairs.[1] To the outsider, one of the most salient characteristics of Eskimo women is their attitude of quiet compliance and acceptance. Indeed, vis-a-vis the Kabloona the Eskimo male also gives such an impression, but compared with the female is assertive and garrulous.

A foreshadowing of this difference in role between adult male and female occurs in childhood. Boys are expected to be noisier, more assertive than girls, although compared with the typical boy among the Kabloona, the Eskimo boy appears almost angelically peaceful and compliant, at least in the eyes of those Kabloona, like teachers and missionaries, who have to deal with them. This feature of Eskimo behaviour and attitude will be taken up again when we discuss socialization in Chapter IX. The discussion of how child-rearing methods may be related to adult personality and to ethos is reserved for that chapter.

Domestic authority is partly a function of age or seniority. As long as a father or a mother are not bereft of their physical and mental powers, as long as they retain sufficient vigour to enable them to take part in the work required to keep the household going, they will not be deprived of domestic authority. In traditional times when resources were scarce, the old and infirm felt superfluous and their passage out of the present world was readily if regretfully assisted by their offspring. A significant innovation altering the relation between the old and the young was introduced when the first old person received a government pension several years ago. Because the average Eskimo life-span is comparatively short, only a small proportion receive the old-age pension, but those that do have acquired a new source of independence and power which most old people in the South cannot hope to acquire. In three households where there is an old person receiving a pension, this pension exceeds the total income of the sons and daughters and the grandchildren combined, and the descendants of the old persons, all three of whom are widows, are much dependent on them for store-bought supplies. It is a commentary on the new economic situation that, where formerly the survival of families depended partly on the demise of the aged, nowadays the subsistence of some families requires that they keep these aged people alive!

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1. See page 200 for a discussion of attempts to form a Baker Lake Residents' Association.

As far as we could ascertain it was never common for old people to be neglected and their care does not seem to have been a source of conflict among their descendants. Almost always the wife survives the husband and formerly most widows were expected to re-marry. Nowadays it is customary for older widows to remain single and to be attached to the family of one of their married offspring. There are seven widows on the land, all of them encamped with married sons and their families, usually in a tent of their own. In the settlement there are eight widows, four of whom do not have married offspring. These four would almost certainly have re-married in olden days, for they are younger than forty-five years of age, but nowadays they can maintain themselves and their children through cash income from domestic work, lodging land children in the settlement, child allowances, and government relief. The other four widows in the settlement have married offspring there with whom they are closely attached. The point to note here is that, because of their newly found purchasing power, some old people and widows are economically more favoured than others, a situation which enhances their independence and domestic authority.

It is obvious that the opportunity to earn a cash income is a condition under which the earner, no matter of what age and sex, is enabled in some measure to work free of those upon whom he would otherwise be dependent. We have in mind particularly young unmarried adults and adolescents who are managing to exploit their earning power in the settlement and elsewhere. As this is such a novelty in the region and as so few young people earn anything but negligible sums, we are not in a position to generalize about trends towards independence and emancipation from parental influence, but it is useful to report the few relevant observations we have to make about this matter.

The only dramatic declaration of independence to record is on the part of a youth of 18 who went to the D.N.A. Camp at Churchill to work and learn a trade while there. After several months in this location, he applied for a similar training-cum-work scheme in a city far to the South of Churchill to which place his fare and expenses were paid by D.N.A. As far as we could learn, this young man does not intend to return to Baker Lake and has not written one letter to his adoptive parents. The latters' concern is shared by many Eskimos in the settlement as well as by many Kabloona. The expressed opinion is that the lad should keep in touch and want to return at least for a visit. A few people remarked that it would be proper for him to send small sums of money home, even though his adoptive parents are comparatively comfortable.

This is the only definite break from familial ties on the part of an earner which has occurred at Baker Lake. The few young people who do earn money at the settlement live up to the expectation that they remain under the familial roof while single and contribute to its upkeep. In fact, one of the more affluent earners, a young man of seventeen, is conspicuously responsive to paternal desires. He expressed the wish to go to Rankin Inlet to work and learn a trade and, although his parents were familiar with the area and are themselves settlement rather than land Eskimos, neither was enthusiastic about the idea. The father told the lad that he would not grant permission. Although the author knows that the youth had strongly desired to go to Rankin Inlet, there was not even a suggestion of challenging his father's decision.

In our discussion of socialization in Chapter IX we consider this matter of non-rebelliousness among the Eskimos in connection with how familial ties are cemented. At this point we want to indicate only that the potential loosening of parental influence and familial ties which we might expect to accompany the weakening of the 'economic sanction' remains a logical possibility and is not a fact, as far as our scanty evidence goes.

One effect of the growing significance of the money economy is to lessen the pressures on people to marry, especially at a youthful age. In the settlement there are five young women over nineteen years of age who are earning amounts varying from ten to thirty dollars a week, none of whom is married or apparently entertaining the prospect of marriage. We were not able to get confirmation of the rumour that three of these girls had turned down opportunities to marry young men on the land, in two cases over their parents' objections which, so the rumour goes, were not overly strenuous.

Marriage

By a marriage we mean a union between a man and woman which is regarded by the community as more than a temporary alliance, in which the man and woman involved are vested with certain rights and obligations with respect to each other, rights and obligations from which people outside the alliance are excluded except by special arrangement. These rights and obligations usually pertain to domestic service, economic support and sexual access. The couple involved may or may not have gone through a special ceremonial which the Kabloona call a wedding, but this is not to be confused with the marriage itself. The Eskimos take this distinction for granted. In many cases they have the wedding only three or four years after the marriage has been underway and, although the missionaries encourage all married people to have weddings, many of the older ones continue their marital

partnership without having had their marriage solemnized in ceremonial. The Eskimos had no wedding ceremonial, the couple simply taking up residence together in an igloo or tent.

In few societies could the environmental pressures to form an alliance with a member of the opposite sex have been so strong as they were among the Eskimos until very recent times. It was the traditional conception among the Eskimos that a man or a woman could not survive in solitude in this environment. Just as an infantryman or a fighter pilot requiresthe support of 'rearward' personnel to keep them and their equipment in fit condition to fight, so the hunter must be supported. It goes without saying that the economic need to keep the hunter physically and emotionally equipped for the chase was not the only, nor the most important raison d'etre for marriage: even within the narrow limits of the economic factor, when we stress the economic need of the man for the woman this is looking at the matter from a male point of view. From the female point of view there was an obvious need to link up with a provider for herself and her existing or future children. As in any society, the social and motivational pressures impelling people to marry were not analysed calmly and dispassionately by the people concerned into economic reasons, emotional reasons, group survival reasons, and so on. There was simply the unquestioned assumption that all those who were not thoroughly incapacitated would set up a household with a member of the opposite sex; that this was the right and natural thing to do; and that people who did not do it were either inhuman or superhuman.

The notion of compatibility, so crucial to the assessment of marital chances among people in our society, does not seem to have played an important part in Eskimo thinking. With respect to age, for instance, although the ideal seems to have been the linking of a male with a female a few years his junior, there are marriages recorded in the region in which the female was several years older than her mate. Where age disparities between husband and wife are considerable, the marriages are almost certain to have been a widowed and a non-widowed spouse, or between two widowed spouses. As we shall see presently, compatibility in age and other endowments are becoming increasingly important. Younger Eskimos scoff at the traditional practice of linking a youthful person with an older widow or widower. There is evidence, too, that people are growing reluctant to form matches with a partner who is disabled through blindness, partial paralysis of limbs, and the like. These disabilities did not in the past render one ineligible for marriage.

In bringing about unions, the initiative has always been on the male side. The man who could afford to maintain more than one wife had the

right to do so. Precise quantitative data on proportions of monogamous and polygynous unions at different periods are not available, but it would seem that the number of secondary wives would be roughly equivalent to the number of excess adult females over adult males in a given generation, for as we have seen, the ideal was for every able-bodied adult to live in a marital union with another person or persons. Because of the higher survival rate of adult females in this environment, despite the practice of female infanticide, to conform to such a pattern would imply that some females had to share a husband.

According to older informants and comments in the literature on this region, a minority of men had more than one wife at any one time. Birket-Smith claimed that about 25% of the men in this region had two wives in the early 1920's. (1929 I: 294) Hanbury, who visited the Baker Lake region at the turn of the twentieth century did not estimate the proportion of polygynous marriages, but talks of several men who had two, and one who had three wives, in the camps which he visited. According to Hanbury,

> "A double matrimonial arrangement does not disturb the domestic harmony. The two wives show no jealousy; they smoke the same pipe, rub noses (their form of kissing), eat together, and sleep together in tranquility." (1904:69)

In the entire region today only one household is polygynous, containing a man and two wives and offspring through both of them. The sharp decline in polygyny dates from the establishment of the mission about thirty years ago. Polyandrous unions, in which one woman lives with two or more husbands in a permanent arrangement, is unknown in this region, although it is said to have occurred among the Netsilik Eskimos to the north-east of the Baker Lake region. (Birket-Smith 1929 I:294, Rasmussen, 1931)

It is impossible to get reliable statistical data on the stability of Eskimo marriage before the advent of the missionaries, and what little evidence we have on this matter is ambiguous and contradictory. For instance according to Hanbury,

> "...there are no divorces. It is rarely that a husband sends his wife away. I was not acquainted with a single case, but was told that on one or two occasions a wife had been turned away for gross neglect of her children." (1904:69)

But Birket-Smith presents a different view. According to him,

> "Marriage is dissolved as easily as it is contracted, and as a rule both parties go through more than one before they finally settle down. In case of divorce the woman takes her personal property and the children. But otherwise the children are the bond which holds the parents most strongly together." (1929 I:294)

Of course it is possible that, between Hanbury's visit in 1901 and Kaj Birket-Smith's in 1922, there was a sharp rise in the rate of broken unions in this region, although there is no direct evidence of such a rise. However, purely on the grounds of what we know about the Eskimo family and kinship system we should not be surprised if there had been considerable 'turnover' of spouses. As we shall note when we discuss adoption and fosterage, one feature of Eskimo kinship and family organization was interchangeability of personnel: substitution of one person for another in various roles--parent, child, uncle, and so on-- was, indeed still is, a key feature of Eskimo life and one the possession of which has permitted them to survive the severe rigours of the environment.

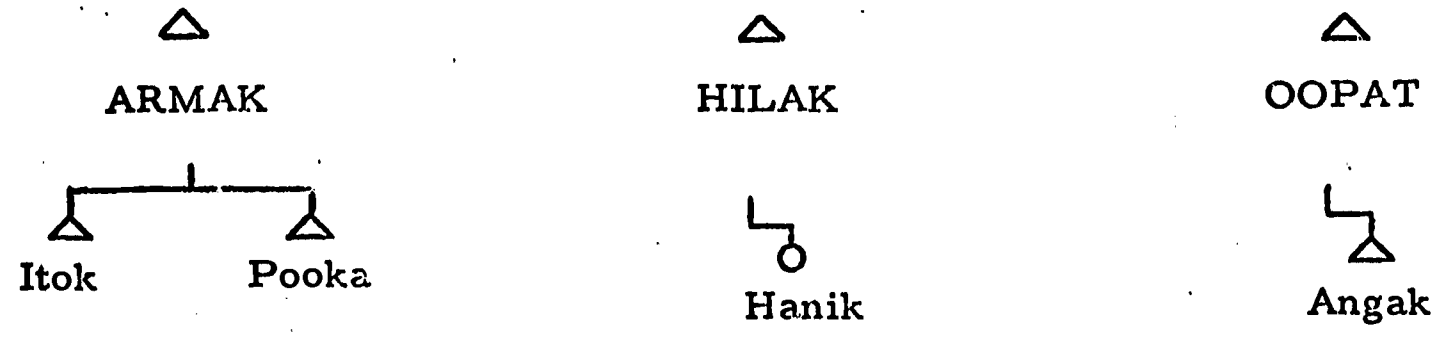
Whatever the situation was, one thing is certain: marriage could not have been more stable before than it was to become after the missions were established. We gather from the recollections of the missionaries and older informants that the Eskimos quickly came to recognize that the missionaries would not condone the frequent changing of partners and that many Eskimos saw to it that their long-term permanent marriage would be with a suitable party, for there was among several couples a shifting of partners with whom life had been shared up to that time and the launching of new unions which have been permanent. Apart from widows and widowers who have remarried, only four out of a sample of fifty-two married people for whom reliable information is available are not living with those to whom they were originally married.

If, as we suggested, compatibility in age and temperament was not given the significance attributed to it by the Kabloona, romantic love seems to have been endowed with hardly any significance as far as marriage was concerned. Informants say that until about twenty years ago, the great majority of marriages were arranged well in advance of the social maturity of the individuals involved, in many cases before their birth. The procedure, as related by many informants, was somewhat as follows: a father and mother with a young, perhaps an infant, son would seek a future wife for the son. They would seek the promise from the parents of a girl, preferably younger than their boy, that they would give her in marriage. If the promise were forthcoming, the boy's parents would give a present to the girl's--perhaps a rifle, tent, kayak, or some other considerable gift. If the parents were especially intimate with a couple who had not yet produced a daughter,

they would ask that the first daughter born be reserved for their boy. If the couple agreed and made the promise, the little boy would begin to use the terminology for in-lawship in addressing and referring to his future parents-and siblings-in-law and they would reciprocate by calling him son-in-law, brother-in-law, and so on.

The giving of a gift suggests that informants are right when they claim that the promise, no matter how early in life it were made, was solemn and binding and that some disruption and bad feelings would result from a disavowal. The most frequent sources of dispute and of informal litigation among the Eskimo in the past appears to have been conflict over rights to marital partners and the issues were usually reduced to questions of promises. The olderEskimos claim that where a couple had been promised from an early age and nothing intervened to dissolve the agreement between parents, the course of married life would run smooth and such a couple would not likely become a storm center of controversy over rights. However, where one partner to the agreement died before maturity, it was not clear whether the agreement between the two sets of parents should lapse or continue in force with application to someone who would take the place of the dead person.

Another situation which gave rise to disputes over marital rights between families was that where, for whatever reason, an arrangement was dissolved unilaterally either by the parents of one of the parties or by one of the prospective partners. We know of several variations on the situation, of which we describe only one, presenting a simplified version of the case and using fictitious names.



Hilak, the father of the girl Hanik, promised her to Armak for his son Pooka. However, just before she reached marriageable age, that is, when she was about fifteen, Hilak had a mild falling out with Armak over some obscure matter. At the same time he had got himself into the debt of Oopat, whose son Angak he admired. This enraged Armak, who protested that because his son had been promised to Hanik and had not been 'shopping' for another mate, he would be left wifeless for some time. Indeed, Pooka died wifeless at the age of 23 or so, but in his family the memory of the broken arrangement did not die. Armak's son, Itok married but his wife did not produce children. Meanwhile Hanik and Angak produced several children. Some thirty-five years after the initial arrangement had been made between Hilak and Armak, and many years after all three fathers

involved in this situation had passed away, Itok put forth a claim on Hanik and Angak for one of their children as a 'compensation' for the broken engagement between his late brother and Hanik. The couple complied and one of their children was formally adopted by Itok and his wife a few years ago.

The system of arranging matches long before the maturity of the people involved served to control competition for mates, a competition which, if left uncontrolled, could have had disastrous consequences among the Eskimo bands.[1] Although as we have seen the arrangements did not always work out as originally planned, the rights to partners established by parents in their arrangements were usually recognized. This lifted the onus of seeking a mate from the shoulders of the young persons and curtailed open competition between them. The stabilizing function of pre-arranged marriages was appreciated by the missionaries and they did nothing to discourage this practice.

During the past fifteen years or so there are two trends of considerable significance: one is the increasing tendency to break engagements made originally by the parents, the break being either unilateral or by mutual consent; the other trend is towards letting the young persons find their own mates with guidance from parents but without formal pre-arrangement on their part.

We were able to obtain relevant information about only twenty-one of the unions which were formed during the past fifteen years. Of these only nine brought together people who had been promised to each other from infancy or childhood. With four of the 21 couples there had been no arrangement for either partner: they had simply 'chosen each other'. The remaining eight couples contained at least one partner each who had been originally promised to another person but had, for one reason or another, not married the one to whom originally promised. We want to emphasize that these figures do not represent a random sample of unions, so that we cannot conclude that in this region during the past fifteen years about half of the pre-arranged betrothals ended in the marriage of the persons betrothed. We cite whatever figures we have in order to show that, at least for many couples, the intended unions do not materialize.

The reasons given for changing intentions vary from, "We don't know why, it just happened," through, "He got polio and was too sick," to "He like the other girl better!" We mentioned earlier a rumour pertaining to two girls in the settlement who (it is said) have decided to back out of arrangements which their parents had made for them because their intended

1. As we point out in Chapter IX, page 186 virtually all the incidents involving violence (fighting, murder) among the Eskimos were sparked by conflict over women.

husbands live on the land, a way of life which the girls have rejected for themselves. It was impossible to get confirmation of this rumour for the parents and girls are most reluctant to talk about it. We do know that several fathers of young men on the land have been prodding settlement parents to 'encourage' their daughters to link up with their sons, but with a conspicuous lack of success. The problem of getting to live up to their promises the persons linked with prospective mates on the land who have been pupils at the school and have lived in the settlement is one which will become rather acute in the near future.

We know of fourteen betrothal arrangements between children under sixteen years of age. In discussing the matter with these children we were struck by their 'wait and see' attitudes. They seem to accept the arrangement, perhaps in the same spirit that the Kabloona child accepts the religious affiliation of his parents, but do not rule out the possibility that the situation may change before they are at the marriageable age. It is noteworthy that all but three of these arrangements involve children whose parents are permanent residents of the settlement. Furthermore, the couples are graded in the sense that the parents are of roughly the same social status. For instance, the daughter of one special constable is promised to the son of another; the son of a prominent and relatively wealthy settlement Eskimo is promised to the daughter of an equally prominent Eskimo in another settlement about three hundred miles away. Other illustrations could be given of how families in roughly similar social and economic situations intend to get linked up through the marriages of their offspring. At the same time it is significant that these parents are ambivalent about the whole system of arranging marriages. One prominent settlement Eskimo who has made tentative arrangements for four of his children told the author, "Maybe it is not right. Maybe it was alright in the old days. The Kabloona do not like it, but we do it. Maybe they (the children) will change their minds about it when they get older."

Environmental pressure to marry has diminished appreciably in recent years. For many young people in the settlement, early marriage is simply not feasible, primarily because of the uncertain economic situation. Furthermore, the more personal choice is permitted in mate selection, the less likely it is that individuals will rush unquestionably into marriage at an early age. The Eskimos have learned that the celibate person is not necessarily sub-human or superhuman. They have met unmarried teachers, clergymen, Hudson's Bay personnel, policemen, government officials and others. Without the intense social and economic pressure to marry we may expect the marriage rate to decline and the age of marriage to rise, these rates coming eventually to approximate the rates for Canada as a whole.

Parents usually seek mates for their children outside their own range of close relatives, that is, outside the range of first cousins. Although marriage between first cousins is permitted in the Anglican Church and can be sanctioned in the Roman Catholic Church with a special dispensation, first cousin marriage has not been encouraged by the missionaries. Informants claim that traditionally the Eskimos themselves did not favour marriage between first cousins, nor between aunt and nephew, uncle and niece. They sought mates from within their own territory and cultural group, however, so that, for instance, only rarely would a Harvaqtormio marry a Hailinayormio, or a Quernermio marry an Utkuhikhalingmio. There was a kind of camp exogamy and district endogamy. As we note in Chapter VIII, it is nowadays customary to seek mates from one's own religious group. For the Roman Catholic minority this restriction narrows down the field of choice significantly.

Genealogical charts for the present-day grandparental generation are not sufficiently reliable to permit a statistical statement about rates of first cousin marriage in that generation. An analysis of 44 unions which have occurred in the past twenty years reveals that seven have been of the first cousin type. Of these seven only one was between what we would call 'parallel' cousins, in this case a man married to his mother's sister's daughter. Two were between men and their father's sister's daughters, and four between men and their mother's brother's daughters. No statement on generalized patterns can be based on such small numbers. Furthermore, informants could not formulate any general rule themselves, as they do not regard marriage with any cousin as ideal or preferred.

Our analysis of these forty-four unions turned up another interesting form of marriage: that between brothers- and sisters-in-law. Four unions consist of brother and sister married to sister and brother. In one pair of links between two families, two sisters are married to two brothers.

Among other prohibitions which older informants report from previous times we note two. Marriage between people who bear the same name is forbidden by custom-- we have already seen that names are not sex-linked and may be applied to both male and female-- as is marriage between couples whose parents were or are in a relationship which we may call iglorit. This is rather like the familiar relationship of 'blood-brotherhood' found in many parts of the world. As far as we can determine, there were among some men close bonds with other men to whom they were not related by kinship, men who lived within the same general territory but usually camped in a different locality. The men who were iglorit to each other exchanged certain privileges, such as that of singing the personal songs of the other, and having intercourse with the other's wife. In fact, it appears that the wives of the men who were iglorit to each other themselves had a special, intimate relationship. It is very difficult to get present-day

informants to elucidate this feature of their traditional culture, but apparently the assumption that one's father had frequent intercourse with the wife of his iglorit, and the mother with the iglorit himself, was the rationalization supporting the taboo on marriage between the offspring of those who were in this relationship.

It is worth noting that only a vestige of this iglorit custom remains. Officially or publicly--which in the Arctic means as far as the Kabloona are concerned--there is no special relationship between Eskimo males which sanctions mutual access to their wives. But privately Eskimo informants admit that a small number of men on the land have such an arrangement. We know of at least three Eskimos from the land who have been granted access to the wives of men residing in and near the settlement when these men have been visiting Baker Lake to trade and get supplies. One informant explained that it was better for married men away from their wives to sleep with married women--with the husband's permission--rather than with single women because no one could give permission to the latter. When the author asked why permission for access to an unmarried girl could not be requested of her father, the informant laughed and said that this would have been proper in the old days but not nowadays. The general principle pertaining to extramarital intercourse appears to be that it could proceed properly only where permission had been granted by the spouse or by the guardian of the woman. The iglorit bond implied a continuing permission and not one which had to be applied for every time.

Many settlement Eskimos who were questioned on this matter expressed the view that any extramarital intercourse is improper and "against religion". The attitude towards sexual relations between unmarried individuals on the part of these people is not one of approval, but is comparatively tolerant. "You can't stop some of these young people anyway, you can't tie them up like dogs!" The expectation that a woman bring her virginity to the marriage bed is not prevalent in this region.

Apart from the strong puritanical views of those few Eskimos who are leaders in the religious congregations, the typical Eskimo attitude towards sex appears to be that it is an appetite, strong in men and not so strong in women, which can be satisfied as long as the rights of people are not violated and as long as the sex partner is willing. The strongest feelings about sex are expressed when one touches on incest, which is unequivocally condemned. We learned of only four cases of incest (or suspected incest) within living memory of our informants: three involved fathers and daughters while one involved brother and sister. When informants were asked about mother-son incest they could not recall a case and seemed to regard the possibility as inconceivable. There was no special reaction against incest except that of avoidance and, in one case, complete ostracism.

As we saw in our discussion of kinship, the married couple more often than not live in a camp with the relatives of the husband although there is no strict rule about this and, of course, the practice does not apply at the settlement. A couple is expected to produce children early in the marriage, for children are deeply desired. We could elicit no reliable information on 'family planning' and spacing and the statistical data on births show no special pattern. Because of the high infant mortality rate, many women who have produced large numbers of children reach their menopause with only a few survivors.

In scanning the birth and death records available we found a tendency for a much larger number of infant daughters to die among the Back River people than among other groups in the region. This suggests that the practice of female infanticide, or of comparative neglect of female children, was more common among that group than among others, but because no informants would admit that infanticide was ever practiced we can offer no conclusive generalizations on this matter.

If after a few years of marriage no child is produced, it is likely that the couple will adopt one. To the Eskimo, a household is not complete without at least one child in it, and couples or widowed people whose offspring have left or set up households of their own are expected either to foster one or more of their grandchildren or to adopt one or more children from non-relatives.

Thirty-four of the 106 persons under eighteen years of age are living with adoptive parents in the Baker Lake region. One out of every four households in the region contains at least one adoptive child and some contain three and four. The majority of adopted persons are not fully orphaned: only ten of the thirty-four have lost both parents through death; the parents of eight are both still alive; in four cases the father is still alive, the mother dead; while in twelve cases, the father is dead but the mother still alive. Thus, in the majority of cases a death to either parent or to both parents sparks the adoption, most of the adopted children going to homes of non-kinsmen.

In the older generation many people who were brought up by adoptive parents are the issue of Kabloona fathers. In fact, many of the prominent settlement Eskimos are the progeny of Eskimo mothers and three Kabloona 'Old Hands': one of them a Hudson's Bay Company manager from a coastal area, the other two R.C.M.P., long since retired from the force. Their progeny have been adopted by Baker Lake Eskimos, now in the grandparental generation, and are not at all 'stigmatized' because of their extra-wedlock origins. In other words, the Eskimos do not have a problem of illegitimacy, regarding any person born as a potential son or daughter,

no matter what his or her origin. Of course, we expect their new religious compunctions to create such a problem in the future.

The easy shifting of children from family to family highlights the principle of interchangeability or substitution of personnel which is such a prominent feature of Eskimo culture. In theory the adopted child becomes fully integrated into the family, although they are distinguished from 'natural' children by termin. ogy. Another distinction is that the adopted person reckons his kinship for marital purposes in terms of his natural parents and not his adopted ones; there are several cases where the adopted offspring of people have married the latter's nieces and nephews without these marriages being regarding as 'cousin' marriages.

The introduction of family allowances does not seem to have affected the practice of adoption and fosterage which continues in much the traditional way. As to treatment of adopted children, it is difficult to make firm generalizations because of the variability in the way they fit into different families. Our observations lead us to conclude that comparatively unfavourable treatment, in which excessive demands are made on children, is more likely to be the lot of the adopted orphan, whose parents are dead or whose father is dead, than it is to be the lot of children who were given by their parents to build up the adoptive parents' family. The attitude is that the adopted orphan owes something to his adoptive parents; the adoptive parents who were given a child to build up a family, on the other hand, owe something to that child and his natural parents. [1]

Like other features of traditional Eskimo social organization, the kinship, marriage, and family systems are loose and adaptable, and, except for the practice of arranged marriages, very similar in form to the Kabloona systems. Thus we do not expect that present and future socio-economic changes will create much disruption in this area of Eskimo life.

It is possible that the comparatively sudden emergence of a kind of 'urbanism' in the settlement and the formal education of children of illiterate parents may produce a wedge between parents and children which could prove disruptive of family life. This possibility is considered in Chapters VII and X.

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1. Cf. Chapter IX, page 182 where we remark on the 'alienative' behaviour of three youngsters who are orphans and who have been passed from family to family over the years.

CHAPTER V

THE KABLOONA

Introduction

The most striking feature of the social system in many Arctic communities is the overall differentiation between the Kabloona and the Eskimos. The Baker Lake settlement is no exception in this respect. In a sense we have here two interlocking social systems. The Kabloona in the settlement are part of non-Eskimo networks of relationships which are centred outside the community. With the exception of the clergymen, the Kabloona community is made up of 'birds of passage' here from one to three or four years to represent those commercial and government agencies that operate in the Arctic. So, while we can talk of a Kabloona community, it must be borne in mind that the Kabloona are primarily oriented to groups and relationships outside Baker Lake. The Kabloona at Baker Lake form a community rather like one formed by passengers on a long cruise: they are in intimate contact with one another for a period, but are always aware that this contact is likely to be broken once the fellow-passengers leave the ship.

The literature dealing with Arctic communities presents the Kabloona element as a homogeneous group in sharp contrast to the Eskimo. One reason for this feature of the literature is that much of it describes communities where there are only a few Kabloona, such as those where we find only a missionary, trader, and policeman. However, since World War II the Kabloona element in many communities has increased greatly in numbers and has become much more diversified. Any study which purports to analyze the human situation in an Arctic locality and which neglects the Kabloona element or treats it as a homogeneous lump must be regarded as incomplete or biased, or both. The attitudes and behaviour of the Kabloona and the social relations among them have important implications for the Eskimo, as we shall see presently.

In some respects the Kabloona element at Baker Lake is uniform in values, behaviour, and role; in other respects the Kabloona element is heterogeneous in values, behaviour, and role. Under certain conditions the Kabloona present a united front vis-a-vis the Eskimo; under other conditions they do not. Within the Kabloona community there is co-operation and solidarity, but there are also competition, conflicts, and strain. It is the business of this chapter to explore the similarities and differences among the Kabloona with respect to values, behaviour and role, and to discuss some general features of the relations between Kabloona and Eskimos in the Baker Lake region.

General Features of the Kabloona Element

The following section is not intended as an exhaustive account of the non-Eskimo residents of Baker Lake, but only as a sketch of highlights selected by the author as significant. With the exception of the people connected with the missions and with the Hudson's Bay Company, (H.B.C.) all Kabloona residents are connected with some government agency. The largest representation here is that of the Department of Transport (D.O.T.): its radio station has an officer-in-charge and three radio operators; its airport has a maintenance foreman and three skilled tradesmen; its weather station has an officer-in-charge and three technical officers. The wives and children of six D.O.T. personnel live in the community, each family in a separate house. The single personnel and those whose wives are in the South live in the main D.O.T. building and eat in the mess there, the food being prepared by a Kabloona cook. Two Eskimo family heads are employed full-time by D.O.T., one as a tractor driver, the other as a handyman; one Eskimo woman is employed full-time as assistant to the cook. A varying number of Eskimo women are employed casually as domestics by D.O.T. personnel.

Although the D.O.T.'s primary function is to serve the Canadian public in general--it is not there to serve particularly local or Eskimo interests --it is an indispensable community agency at present. For one thing, the power generated at its plant is used by other Kabloona agencies. For another, it maintains the airstrip and the only road in the community; its vehicles are used in both summer and winter for a variety of community purposes. Finally, its mess and recreation room are focal points for Kabloona community activity; there they hold parties, show movies, play billiards and cards.

D.O.T. personnel differ in several respects from those in other agencies. They are not directly involved in Eskimo affairs, although individuals may be in frequent contact with Eskimo people. Then, their employment does not involve the notion of a 'calling' to the extent that the employment of others does. A calling is not simply a job; it is a job, plus a kind of dedication to some mission, whatever that may be. In our society the callings par excellence are those of clergyman and doctor. At the settlement we find that not only the clergymen, but also the R.C.M.P., the Northern Service Officer, (N.S.O.) the nurse in charge of the nursing station, and to some extent the teachers and the H.B.C. personnel feel that what they are doing is more than a job, pure and simple.

Two aspects of the calling should be mentioned here; on the one hand, we have the sense of mission, of dedication to some cause; on the

other, we have the feeling of loyalty, of esprit de corps, for the group--the clergyman for his parish and denomination; the soldier for his regiment; the doctor for the medical profession, and so on. The R.C.M.P. literally exude this feeling of dedication and esprit de corps. The personnel of the H.B.C. encountered reveal such feelings for their company, which they consider more than a purely commercial undertaking. The Northern Affairs and Northern Health Services personnel encountered exhibit a sense of mission, although their identification with their respective agencies can hardly be expected to be as intense as those for such long-standing, world renowned, institutions as the R.C.M.P. and the H.B.C.

In varying degrees the jobs mentioned in the last paragraph involve their incumbents in human relations with the Eskimos and require that they maintain certain kinds of attitude and behaviour vis-a-vis their Eskimo clients, customers, parishioners, and so on. For the government personnel especially, what they do is defined as 'for the good' of the Eskimos, and this is the rationale supporting their presence in the community.

We do not suggest that the D.O.T. personnel are less personally concerned about the Eskimos, that they are not as conscientious as the rest, that they do not value their jobs highly, that they are only in the Arctic for the money. We simply indicate that their occupational roles do not entail the kinds of expectations and demands entailed in the roles of other Kabloona at the settlement.

Although they personally interact very much with the others, this interaction is not part of their terms of employment. Their jobs are quite segregated from the rest of the social milieu in the community. Where one's job involves direct and intense contact with others in the community, this colours one's interaction with them off the job also. Because of this segregation, the D.O.T. personnel do not have to maintain any particular kind of attitude or relationship to the Kabloona and Eskimos in the community. Theoretically, as long as they perform their jobs, they are quite free to mingle with anyone or to ignore anyone. They are quite free to take an interest in community affairs or to ignore community affairs. Because of this degree of freedom, we find a wide range of difference in the attitude and behaviour of D.O.T. personnel, making it very difficult to generalize with reference to them. Some of the most equalitarian and easy-going interaction between Kabloona and Eskimos occurs between the latter and personnel of D.O.T. On the other hand, there are a few D.O.T. members who hardly ever move out of their buildings and who come into contact only with those Eskimos they encounter at the D.O.T. installation or at the Hudson's Bay store.

The main problems of chronic concern to the D.O.T. personnel are those connected with their jobs: working conditions, equipment, pay, relations among people in their own work group, and so on. Of course, people in other agencies at the settlement are also concerned with such problems, but these are not of such primary concern to them. Their key problems have to do with their relations to the Eskimos and other Kabloona, and with the evaluation of their work by their superiors outside the community and, indirectly, by the public at large.

This is particularly applicable to the R.C.M.P. officers and the N.S.O. The Baker Lake detachment of the R.C.M.P. has a corporal in charge and a constable to assist him. Two Eskimo special constables complete their staff. The corporal's wife and child reside at the settlement. Theoretically, the R.C.M.P.'s function is that of law enforcement, but traditionally this has been one of the least significant aspects of the role of the R.C.M.P. in the Arctic, where they have been administrators, registrars, census takers, ambulance operators, allocators of relief, mailmen, and rescuers. As other institutions move into the area, some of these functions are being taken over from the R.C.M.P.

At Baker Lake, besides being responsible for the registering of births, deaths, and marriages, and for law enforcement, the R.C.M.P. control the allocation of family allowances and pensions to the Eskimos. Family allowance and pension cheques for Eskimos are deposited with the R.C.M.P. These cheques are not cashed. The Eskimos are given credit to the amounts deposited in the Hudson's Bay store whose manager is kept informed by the R.C.M.P. as to how much credit the people have. However, should an Eskimo desire to draw on his credits to spend elsewhere--say, to make a purchase through a mail order firm--this can be arranged through the R.C.M.P.

A good deal of the R.C.M.P. corporal's time is spent on issuing relief and on keeping records of Eskimo funds from government sources, jobs which he feels are more appropriate to the office of the Department of Northern Affairs. (D.N.A.) We were given to understand that these functions would indeed be transferred to D.N.A. in 1960. In fact, many people already assume that the N.S.O. is the one to whom an applicant for relief should apply, and there is already some overlap in the administration of relief, the R.C.M.P and the N.S.O. co-operating in this.

As the settlement grows larger, problems of maintaining order are bound to increase, and the function of law enforcement should demand an increasing amount of attention and time. For instance, every summer an increasing number of motorboats use the waters of Baker Lake, giving

rise to traffic problems, especially along the shores of the settlement itself. The R.C.M.P. must see to it that traffic discipline is maintained, that proper signal lights and life-saving equipment are carried in the boats. During the summer of 1959, one accident and several near accidents directed the attention of Kabloona and Eskimos alike to the need for the enforcement of traffic discipline. The great increase in the use of fuel oil and gasoline for a variety of purposes creates a hazard which must be taken into account methodically by the R.C.M.P. Furthermore, as the Eskimos become more assimilated to Kabloona ways, we expect an increase in the kinds of deviance which are normal in the south--delinquency, pilfering, assault, and so on. Therefore, it seems clear that the law enforcement function will become magnified in significance as the R.C.M.P. are relieved of other administrative and welfare functions. This will have the value of clarifying and specifying the role of the police, a development which is perhaps overdue in many parts of the Arctic.

It has already been pointed out that some of the operations formerly carried out by the R.C.M.P. are being taken over by the N.S.O., a position which has become of key importance in many Arctic communities. The wife and three children of the present officer at Baker Lake reside there with him. During 1959 the Department was also represented by two young women of the Education Division, and for about five months of the year by a member of the Wildlife Service engaged in research. The terms of reference of the latter and of the teachers are straightforward and do not require description here. Each of the three agencies of D.N.A. in the community has an Eskimo household head working full-time as handyman.

The position in the community with the least clarified definition of function is that of N.S.O. He is told that he is the senior government representative in the community, but what this implies in specific terms is not made clear. The present officer did not advertise this feature of his role in the community, much to the relief of the other senior officials, such as the R.C.M.P. corporal, the officer-in-charge at the Nursing Station and at D.O.T. It is said that any N.S.O. who tried to implement this aspect of his position by giving orders to those outside his particular Branch or by flaunting his superior position would encounter hostility and resistance.

As the D.N.A.'s overriding concern at the present time is with the condition of the Eskimos, the work of the N.S.O. is almost entirely concentrated on those people. He keeps an open file on each family in the region, with notes on their whereabouts, their health records, and their receipt of relief allocations. He keeps records on the location of patients who have been evacuated to hospital, arranges for the lodging of patients in

transit between the settlement and elsewhere. He provides technical assistance and materials to Eskimos in their efforts to get a living off the land. He attempts to draw the Eskimos into local affairs by calling meetings to discuss community problems. Finally, he oversees the maintenance of D.N.A. installations.

In all these endeavours the N.S.O. works with the officials of other agencies in the community and particularly with the R.C.M.P. The latter has a much more extensive knowledge of the region than other Kabloona, with the exception of the veteran missionaries, and the N.S.O. is much dependent on this knowledge and experience.

The Northern Health Service of the Department of National Health and Welfare has a nursing station with a male nurse in charge. One Eskimo female assists him at the station and an Eskimo handyman is employed full-time. The male nurse is primarily occupied with the treatment of patients at the station itself, although his terms of reference include the maintenance of satisfactory health and hygiene standards in the community as a whole, a matter which is discussed later in the report.

Because in Chapter VIII we discuss the functions of the two missionaries in the region, nothing will be said here about their relations with the Kabloona and Eskimos in the community. We conclude this brief sketch of the Kabloona element with a few comments on the Hudson's Bay Company.

A visible indication of the changing role of the H.B.C. in the Arctic is the new self-service supermarket type of store being built in several communities. Such a store was almost completed when the author left Baker Lake in September, 1959. In charge of the store is the H.B.C. manager, whose wife and two children also reside in the community, and a single male clerk. An Eskimo man and woman are employed full-time by the Company for domestic and other service.

Employees of the H.B.C., like other 'Old Hands' of the R.C.M.P. and the missions, in the past performed a variety of functions in the Arctic. Their main concern, however, has always been to extract from the environment whatever resources could be exploited economically. Thus, their relations with the Eskimos were not so much merchant-customer as they were buyer-producer. That is, the Eskimos were more valuable as producers of furs than they were as consumers of goods. Now the emphasis has shifted and it is the Eskimo as consumer, spending money derived from wages, allowances, and--to a dwindling extent--from trapping, which occupies the H.B.C. personnel and guides their operations at the community level.

In summarizing this section, we note that not only has there been a sharp increase in numbers of Kabloona in recent years, but also a sharp diversification, especially in function. This diversification, or specialization, has created new patterns of relations among the Kabloona and between them and the Eskimo. To cite one illustration, consider how Kabloona in the three institutions of long standing were linked with the Eskimos. To the mission, R.C.M.P., and H.B.C., people the Eskimos were souls to be saved, producers to be kept on the land in search of wildlife, sick to be cured, stone-agers to be civilized, and so on. There was a diffuse quality to the relationships between Kabloona and Eskimos which is disappearing. The trend now is towards specific, limited, precisely defined relationships. As we have pointed out, to the H.B.C., the Eskimo is becoming primarily a customer; to the R.C.M.P., he is becoming primarily a citizen who must be protected and who must observe the laws of the land; to the Department of National Health and Welfare he presents primarily a health problem, particularly when he becomes a patient; to the teachers he is a pupil or the parent of a pupil; to the N.S.O., he is becoming primarily a client who needs certain kinds of help; to the missionary, he is becoming primarily a parishioner.

This trend towards specificity is accompanied by a tendency to deal with the Eskimos in a less personal way than was formerly the case. This tendency towards partial and impersonal relations between Kabloona and Eskimos is given support by the rapid turnover in Kabloona personnel, a matter which deserves some comment.

Turnover of Personnel

In former years the Kabloona of Arctic communities were not shifted about as frequently as they are now. For instance, in the Baker Lake settlement, the previous H.B.C. manager resided there for thirty years. The Anglican missionary has been there since 1929. Compare their incumbency with that of the Federal School teachers: in three years four new teachers have come and gone. In five years there have been two new N.S.O.'s, two new R.C.M.P. officers, three new Northern Health Service nurses. The turnover in D.O.T. personnel has been even more frequent. This constant upsetting of the Kabloona element in the community has militated against the crystallization of a core of people committed to lengthy residence there and has created an atmosphere of temporariness and makeshift.

One problem arising from this constant renewal of personnel has to do with continuity of local policy and methods.[1] In the present day situation much discretionary power is vested in local officials, who are given rather vague orientation about the goals they are to pursue and imprecise instructions about the means they are to employ in achieving these vague goals. This is of course truer of those who have to do directly with Eskimo welfare than with D.O.T. and other officials. As we shall see later, it is perhaps desirable that the policy goals and means be vague and indeterminate in the Arctic today; at this point I want only to mention some of the consequences in the local community of a high rate of turnover of personnel operating in a vaguely defined situation and away from close supervision from superiors.

As illustrations, I mention only a few recent examples of discontinuity. One R.C.M.P. corporal allocated very little relief, turning away applicants on the grounds that they "didn't really need it," were not really trying to trap and hunt." His replacement was much more liberal and permissive. One nurse-in-charge was most permissive, his successor rather authoritarian. One teacher apparently held to the milieu theory of education, the following ones abandoning this and following the curriculum described in Chapter VII.

What do such changes in policy at the local level mean to the Eskimos? They mean that the rules of the game appear quite arbitrary and due to the idiosyncrasies of individual Kabloona. Many Eskimos encountered did not comprehend the differences in function between the various Kabloona agencies. To expect them to understand the differences in approach between the representatives of these agencies is unrealistic.

With these brief sketches of the Kabloona element completed, let us now consider significant features of Kabloona roles, the relations between the Kabloona and the Eskimos and the relations among the Kabloona themselves. We begin with the last mentioned matter. For convenience in presentation we discuss relations among the Kabloona in terms of co-operation and solidarity; competition; strain and conflict.

Co-operation and Solidarity

A person moving into the Baker Lake settlement from southern Canada quickly discovers, if he does not know it already, that he is expected to adopt attitudes and to operate willingly under certain restraints which do not apply in non-Arctic communities. He is expected to co-operate with

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1 It is realized that turnover as such need not be disruptive for the organization. For instance, in a military organization in combat there is a high rate of turnover, but little discontinuity. The goals and the methods are laid down so explicitly, the personnel trained in such a uniform way, that a high degree of continuity is maintained, despite the constant change in personnel.

the other Kabloona, to seek their guidance--particularly if he is a New Hand--and to mix with the others in social activities. Like the other Kabloona, he is expected to be a good example to the Eskimos, to refrain from excessive drinking, overt sex play with Eskimo women, swearing, off-colour stories, and so on, in front of the Eskimos. He learns that he must maintain the appearance of solidarity with other Kabloona, even if he is at odds with some of them. For instance, he learns that disputes between Kabloona are not to be argued out in front of the Eskimos. With the latter he is expected to be friendly but not overtly intimate: some social distance must be maintained.

Needless to say, not all Kabloona who come to the settlement abide by these informal rules, but the majority do. In such a small isolated community, where every Kabloona sees every other one just about daily, the pressures to conform are so strong that they are almost visible. Deviation from the rules touches off immediate reactions, such as gossip, scolding, ridicule. Where the violations are against the law, reaction is more definite and severe. In short, among the Kabloona, there is a low tolerance threshold for deviance which makes the Kabloona look bad in the eyes of the Eskimos. One person in the settlement put it this way:

> "When the Whites don't stick together this is bad for everybody concerned. A couple of years ago there was bad feeling between (officials of two government agencies) and this came out into the open. This cut the community right down the middle. Everybody was upset, the Eskimos just as much as the rest. The same thing happens when some character gets out of line, like when (name of a Kabloona, since jailed on a morals charge) practiced his filthy trade. This place was misery. What do the Eskimos think of us?"

This frequently expressed concern over what the Eskimos think reveals an underlying feature of the Kabloona position in the Arctic which will be discussed later in this chapter--the role of socializer of the Eskimos. For the moment I want to emphasize only the pressures operating to maintain a front of solidarity, co-operation, and respectability.

We would have little difficulty in documenting instances of co-operation among the Kabloona which would fill many pages. Suffice it here to illustrate a few cases of co-operation from the trivia of everyday life noted in our diary:

> Friday....A. (D.O.T. Maintenance worker) helps H.B.C. manager install a new electrical circuit, looks in to check trouble with D.N.A. outboard motor on his way back.... Father C. (missionary) returns from fishing, sends part of

his catch to three Kabloona households....R. (R.C.M.P. constable) stops by to borrow accordion which I had borrowed from D. (D.O.T. Weather Station). R. is going to Anglican Mission to help Canon teach Eskimos new hymns for Sunday service....

Saturday...M. (Wildlife Service) returns from trip on land, volunteers information to R.C.M.P. corporal and N.S.O. re Eskimo camps he visited....Mrs. D. (Wife of an official) at nursing station, helping with newly arrived patients....W. (Radio Operator) volunteers to repair our broken tape recorder.... Party at D.O.T. mess to which H.B.C. manager donates a bottle of rum.

As I have indicated, such instances of informal, everyday co-operation could be multiplied to illustrate the diffuse quality of friendly co-operation which permeates the Kabloona element in the community. It is in the setting of this atmosphere of overall solidarity and co-operation which we must consider instances of competition and conflict among the Kabloona.

Competition

By competition we mean the efforts of people to achieve the same scarce goals or objects, operating according to written or unwritten rules. Competition may be carried on consciously, in which case we have relations of rivalry, or unconsciously, as for instance where movie makers compete with sports promoters for Sunday afternoon audiences without being necessarily conscious of a competitive relationship.

The Kabloona are involved, whether they like it or not, in a competitive system which has its locus outside the community. Civil servants and H.B.C. personnel are accepted for posts only if they measure up to certain standards. In their work they must maintain specified levels of performance simply to remain where they are. In order to move ahead, or to prevent others in the same group from surpassing them, they must have more than seniority and do more than fulfill basic requirements.

It would be naive to assume that forging ahead in career is a seething ambition with the Kabloona in this region. To impute such a dominating motivation to any of them, without concrete evidence, would be as unjustifiable as the attribution to them of a high-minded altruism and self-abnegation. For our purposes, the important thing to note is that competition in job performance involves any given person at Baker Lake with others outside the community rather than with those who reside in it. For instance, the performance of the N.S.O. is assessed in terms of the requirements laid down by his department and in comparison with the performance of N.S.O. in other

communities. The same observation holds for the R.C.M.P. and other civil servants. Within the community, then, people are not competing against one another for improvements in position within the one organization.

There are, of course, other forms of competition within social systems besides job promotion. People may compete for adherents, for goods, for power and influence, for prestige and esteem, as well as for a variety of other goals and means. Of these, the competition for adherents between religious denominations, for facilities, for power, prestige and esteem deserve some comment here. As competition in the religious sphere is discussed in Chapter VIII, it need not detain us here except to note that such competition is covert, indirect, and rather mild.

Slight competition for facilities occurs within the community, but this cannot be regarded as a serious problem. For instance, the more crowded the settlement gets, the more likely it is that competition for desirable space will occur between the various agencies in the community. This competition is likely to be fought out at higher levels than the one represented at the local community, but its repercussions may have a divisive effect on the Kabloona element.

Some competition has occurred between divisions of D.N.A. which is the most expansionist agency in the community, for desirable space and for the use of existing buildings, and mutterings of dissatisfaction have been heard from deprived dividions, but the blame for such decisions has been displaced to headquarters personnel and disruption of relations within the community has not occurred because of them.

In summary, competition for facilities is not acute, but we can expect it to grow in significance as the government and commercial agencies seek to expand and make claims on the scarce supply of funds, shipping space, desirable locations and other objects. Hostility against the winners in this competition cannot always be displaced and projected onto headquarters outside the community and, unless special co-ordinating machinery is set up at the community level, the hostility and antagonism generated will have to be contained somehow.

Dunning (1959) has described the power struggle between Kabloona representatives in northern Canadian communities. He notes that where the status hierarchy is not clear-cut, where there is no definite order or rank and precedence, there is a lack of integration of leadership. "In these circumstances, leadership in a community is chronically unstable, relying as it must on each crisis situation for specific leadership to emerge." (Dunning 1959:119)

Dunning describes the various ways in which the relentless competition for leadership is fought out: through the forming of local alliances and seeking local support for one's policies and combatting the policies of others; through gaining contact with and the support of the Eskimos; through the reporting to higher levels of misdeeds by one's rivals; and through other means. Dunning does not distinguish between competition and conflict, between prestige, esteem, and power, but treats all of these in the one context of a status contest.

The situation at Baker Lake does not conform closely to the picture he presents, for we found no evidence of an overt contest for power and leadership. Certainly there is competition and some conflict, but these are not the dominant features of relations between Kabloona there, nor do the competition and conflict arise primarily from an overriding drive for leadership and high status in the community. Competition and conflict at Baker Lake apparently arise from a variety of conditions, such as the attempt to maintain certain rights which the individuals feel are vested in their positions; from the shifts in function from one agency to others; from the vagueness of role definitions; from conflicts in function and in basic values; and from the attempts to maintain a stable, familiar community system in the face of the influx of newcomers.

Let us begin with an illustration which is familiar in many communities in the Arctic. Word is received that some dignitary or party is to visit the community. Depending on which department of government the dignitary or party is most closely associated with, the news of such a visit will go to one or the other agency in the settlement. However, the word quickly spreads to all the Kabloona. Typically, the wives of the leading officials in each organization initiate plans to receive the dignitary and/or party. These plans usually include some kind of buffet or meal. It is understood that the wife of the official whose department is most closely connected with the visitors should officiate at this ritual and should be given prominence of place. Furthermore, it is understood that the appropriate official and his wife should have, not necessarily a monopoly, but a greater share of the visitors' time and attention than the others have. This means that if the party is to visit various homes and installations in the settlement, they will complete their tour by visiting the home of the appropriate official, leaving from there to board the 'plane. It occasionally happens that someone feels slighted because a visit to their place was not made, or because they were not invited to the official reception, if there was one. However, such visits do not usually disrupt the local social system among the Kabloona.

On the other hand, where the visiting dignitary or party is not closely associated with one or the other department represented, questions of precedence and privilege arise. In the past, it was incumbent on the R.C.M.P. officer in charge to take the leading role in the reception of dignitaries. But, if the N.S.O. officer is the senior government representative, as mentioned earlier, should this office not fall to him? Should all the Kabloona in the community be involved in the visit, or should participation in the ritual parts of the visit be restricted to some or all officers-in-charge of various installations?

Rituals symbolize social relations and the places of people in social systems. The people involved may not care a whit about the actual ritual, in fact they may find it rather a trial and a bore, but they usually do care about what is symbolized in the ritual. If the N.S.O. comes forward and assumes the role of official community host for visiting dignitaries from outside his department, his act affirms his position as senior government representative, a position which the senior officials in other agencies are loath to recognize. Then, if A is invited to participate in the ritual and B is not, the latter may conclude that in the community social system he 'doesn't matter' as much as A. It was the author's impression that the wives of the community are much more concerned over such matters than are their husbands, whose preoccupation is with their jobs rather than with their places in the informal system of community relations.

Were there no precedents in such matters, many of the difficulties mentioned would not occur. For instance, if the R.C.M.P. had never been official host in the past, whatever claim he might care to make in the present would have no more weight than that of any other senior official. The problem here is that the intrusion of the D.N.A. has forced an alteration in customary patterns, has upset the ritual procedure and with it the local status system which that procedure reflected.

Lest this account give the impression that status competition, as manifested in receptions, is a burning issue, let us restore perspective by pointing out that on only two occasions during 1959 did such issues arise and in both cases the slight disruption of informal relations which ensued was healed within a few days.

The illustrations cited point up the need for some community body to act as official community host, a body which represents people as citizens of a community rather than as the officials of a particular department. Needless to say, election or appointment to such a body should not be limited to the Kabloona or to the civil servants among them if it is to be truly representative of the community. There are of course other and more pressing reasons for the creation of a unit of local government, and

these will be discussed later. The matter was introduced at this point to show its relevance for the community's handling of those ritual problems which have a bearing on the informal status system.

Status competition in a community may be manifested in the drive to acquire and maintain a 'front', including style and quality of clothing, house, furnishings, car, and so on. These are symbols of social status, rather than criteria. Where social status is fixed primarily by the criterion of, say, grade in the civil service, any amount of conspicuous consumption will do little to alter the individual's or family's status, as long as the position or grade is known in the community. At Baker Lake there is little one can do, through spending, to acquire symbols which would differentiate one conspicuously from other Kabloona. One obvious reason for this is that housing and furniture are provided by the agencies to which the persons are attached rather than by the persons themselves.

If power and status, or prestige, competition is minimal among the Kabloona at Baker Lake, there does occur what may be interpreted as competition for esteem among them.[1] One way in which this is manifested is through spontaneous and uncalled for service to the Eskimos. Because what we say here may be misconstrued, it is advisable to explain that we are not talking about the motives which move a person to offer such services; we are concerned with the ways in which others in the community interpret the motives. This can be clarified with an illustration.

A new official arrives in the community. After settling in, his wife perceives what she feels are defects in the care and education of the Eskimos. She takes steps to remedy these defects, for instance, by circulating among the Eskimos enquiring after their health, or by setting up special meetings to entertain and enlighten them, or by giving out part of her family rations to the needy. Her motives may be the purest, but to some of those who are entrenched in the community system her actions imply that they were not doing well by the Eskimos before she came. Her actions reflect on the other wives and, perhaps, on their husbands as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that she will be accused of 'currying favour, showing off, playing Florence Nightingale', and so on.

Now, should a person who has been in the community longer than all or most other Kabloona decide to offer such spontaneous and uncalled for services, a different reaction may be expected. It is likely that such a person's lead would be followed by the others, for the person of long-standing in the community already has considerable esteem simply by virtue of having been there longer than all or most of the others. In short, allocation of esteem is determined partly by period of tenure or seniority.

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1 Cf. page 132 for distinction between prestige and esteem.

In the long-term perspective, the Old Hand in the Arctic expects and often gets esteem simply because he or she is an Old Hand. The same principle applies in the local community. Even if the resident of longest standing has been in the community for only about five years and is not an Old Hand in the global, Arctic sense, the resident will be considered an Old Hand in the community context. There will be a strong presumption, particularly on the part of the person himself, that he knows all there is to know about the Arctic or about the community in question. Thus, we suggest that one way of sorting people out according to the esteem they 'deserve' is in terms of their length of residence in communities such as Baker Lake. The newcomer in our illustration would be upsetting the accepted pattern and shifting the basis of doling out esteem to a different set of criteria--that of helping the Eskimos.

The problem of what is and is not appropriate behaviour for a newcomer in a community is not peculiar to the Arctic.[1] In most social groups, be they neighbourhood, nation, congregation, platoon, or whatever, the newcomer is seldom allowed to call the tune or to innovate without the express approval of those who were there earlier. Until he is incorporated into the established social body, there is the usually unspoken expectation that he will defer to the established members, look to them for guidance in ways of behaving, and adopt their attitudes. To the extent that he does not conform to these expectations, the newcomer invites criticism and hostility from established members of the group, no matter how valuable and admirable his actions are in any objective sense.

Perhaps this widely found reaction against the upstart in the small group or community is similar to the reaction at the institutional level against new agencies entering a field where other agencies have been long established: new departments in universities, new branches within a plant, new government departments in a country. The author has heard many criticisms of the D.N.A. voiced by Old Hands or by New Hands in established agencies and, while some of these criticisms have no doubt been justified on purely rational grounds, others were apparently based on little more than the feeling that it is inappropriate for a newcomer to invade, innovate, fail to show the proper deference, and seek the guidance of the veteran. Frequently such non-rational but understandable criticisms have little to do with actual policies and programs.

What is suggested here is that bad feelings between individuals in communities or between agencies cannot be attributed simply to some conscious or unconscious competition for power, leadership, or privilege, although such competition may indeed be an element in the situation.

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1 Cf. Jones (1956)

Frequently such bad feeling arises from resentment felt by people against upstart newcomers, particularly if the efforts of the latter reflect rather invidiously on the past efforts of the former, tarnishing the esteem to which they have grown accustomed.

Conflict, Dilemma, and Strain

Our discussion moves from a consideration of competition to one of conflict, which differs from competition in that people in conflict engage in a more deadly struggle and are not so much concerned with following the rules of the game. Conflict between individuals and groups is only one kind and, in many cases, not the most significant kind of conflict. We have to consider here also conflict of values, which go on within a particular individual, role and organizational conflict. These conflicts give rise to dilemmas, in which the individual is forced to choose between alternatives neither of which seems particularly attractive to him.

Between Kabloona in the settlement the author observed no overt conflict between individuals or agencies which could be regarded as a chronic, patterned feature of community life there, although reports of acute conflict in the recent past were noted both from informants and from an article describing some features of the Baker Lake community. (Wilkinson, 1959) As in any other community, there are personal clashes, differences in points of view and in the emphasis on various goals and the means likely to achieve them, but to classify these as conflict would be stretching the term too far.

It is fitting to comment on how conflicting values and goals in the society at large are reflected within the community. Consider first the familiar conflict in values reflected in the following statements: "To each according to his need," and, "To each according to what he produces and how he behaves." An oversimplfied generalization of this conflict in familiar terms could be stated as one between the welfare state ideal and the private enterprise ideal. Does such a value conflict appear at the local level? If so, how?

First, let us note that there is no clear alignment of people within the community attached to one or the other ideal, no simple 'left wing' versus right wing , at least among those who administer Eskimo affairs. Most of the Kabloona consulted are in two minds about which value should inform their behaviour and attitudes. This is not surprising when we consider that they were reared in a society which subjects its members

to torrents of idealogical matter elevating these values to the sphere of the sacred and demanding commitment to one or the other set. It may be thought that this matter is rather academic and of little significance in the local scene. To show that it is not, let us cite an illustration.

The N.S.O. is informed by Ottawa that during the summer of 1960 eight rigid-frame houses will be shipped to Baker Lake as a beginning of an Eskimo housing project. His instructions about the allocation of these houses are not specific. He is told that they can be bought outright (for about $700.00) or by instalments; or can be rented for about $15.00 per month. For people who are living off relief rations and whose housing is inadequate, the rent will be paid by the government. He is not told which of the categories of applicants for the houses should be given priority. What schedule of priority should he devise?

If allocation according to merit (as defined by the Kabloona) is to be the main criterion, then those who can afford to buy or rent the new houses would be given priority. Almost all of these are already living in wooden dwellings of their own construction, although by Kabloona standards most of these dwellings would be regarded as shacks. On the whole, these are the people who are defined locally as go-getters, people who demonstrate initiative. But they are already in wooden dwellings and therefore do not need the new houses as much as do those in dilapidated tents. Most of the latter cannot afford to pay for the new houses and, except for some widows with a number of dependent children, are defined as lazy and lacking in initiative. If they are to be given priority, those who have demonstrated initiative to the Kabloona's satisfaction may feel deprived and may feel that the way to get rewarded by the Kabloona is to remain on relief and maintain as poor a front as possible.

Suppose, then, it is decided to give priority to those who can afford the houses, arranging for the needy to take over the shacks which the solvents vacate? Is this fair to the needy? Perhaps it is to the 'able-bodied' poor, to use the terminology of the nineteenth century, but is it fair to the sick paupers and widows with families? And so the debate goes on, a manifestation in concrete terms of the value conflict mentioned earlier.

The N.S.O. seeks the advice of the Eskimo Council, hoping that there is some precedent in Eskimo culture which will swing the balance one way or the other. In this hope he is disappointed, for in this particular regard the traditional Eskimo culture was not unlike that of the Kabloona. People who were dependent because of their social role (e.g., women and children) or because of infirmity, deserved as much as the most successful and vigorous hunter when provisions were available. People who were dependent because they lacked skill or initiative were kept alive and allotted some share of the family or band provisions, but their share was smaller than that allotted to others.

This problem had not yet been solved by the time the author had left the community, but apparently the urgency about it has abated because the annual ship did not carry the complete set of materials for the houses and their occupancy will have to wait until late 1960.

It is common knowledge that, as with the values just discussed, there are a number of broad issues pertaining to the Eskimos in which there is a lack of consensus regarding goals and means. Again to present an over-simplified statement of opposing points of view: on the one hand there are those who stress the need or desirability of maintaining as much continuity with the Eskimo past as is possible; on the other hand, there are those who stress the need or desirability of helping the Eskimos change in order to fit into the new situation in the Arctic, even if this means rejecting the traditional way of life.

Briefly the first point of view is based on the idea that the Eskimos are very much different from the Kabloona in personality and culture and that it would be personally and socially disruptive to force them into a position where they must conform to the way of life of the society at large. In this view, the Eskimos should be encouraged and helped to maintain a self-reliant hunting economy; some education is necessary but it should be oriented to the milieu in which the people live rather than to the typical curriculum followed in other Canadian schools. For the sake of convenience in discussion, we label this the separatist point of view.

The other approach is based on the idea that the politico-economic situation in the Arctic has changed so drastically that the traditional Eskimo way of life is doomed, and to concentrate on preserving it is to create generations of destitute, second-class citizens. In this view, the Eskimos should be encouraged and helped to take advantage of whatever social and economic opportunities become available. This condition will not be achieved until the Eskimos receive an education equivalent to that in other parts of Canada and are given rights equal to those of any citizen. In its extreme form, this may be labelled the assimilationist position.[1]

How are these different points of view manifested at the settlement in Baker Lake among the Kabloona?

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[1] It should be noted that people who hold either of these points of view are likely to resent the labels of either separatist or assimilationist and, if forced to label themselves, are likely to adopt 'integrationist'. In contemporary discussion of human relations, the term integration is in high favour. Everyone is quick to use it but loath to define it. Cf. p. 207.

There is a tendency for the missionaries to lean towards the separatist position, but they do not make an issue of this in the local community. Those officials who are responsible for Eskimo affairs are so much concerned with immediate problems and actions that these long-term considerations are hardly ever entertained among them. Theirs are the problems of tactics rather than strategy. However, their decisions have important implications for long-term, strategic goals, whether or not they are aware of this.

The conflict between these orientations has its parallel in miniature at the level of local tactics. In Chapter III we mentioned that the drawing power of the settlement is attracting people at a rate which alarms local officials. Those who are attracted most to the settlement milieu value the security it offers: one is unlikely to go hungry living within yards of the stores, to go sick without attention living within the shadow of the nursing station. People mention frequently the opportunities for sociability and entertainment at the settlement. For many it is only at the settlement that they can comfortably wear the Kabloona clothing they esteem so highly; use the Kabloona paraphernalia they are wont to collect; and earn the cash income with which to purchase these things. The location of shop, school, and church attracts to the settlement, just as the location of such facilities attract people to urban areas in the South.

As we have seen, opportunities to earn a steady livelihood are much limited at the settlement and it is the aim of local officials to discourage from remaining there those who are able-bodied and cannot be absorbed into the work force. Such people, when they show signs of hanging around, are pressed in various ways to get back out onto the land.

The problem of discouraging some Eskimos from living at the settlement is perceived by local officials as more than a simple economic problem, although the economic aspects are given most prominence in explanations of why it is desirable to maintain only an earning and dependent population at the settlement. There is also the basic assumption that, because a person is an Eskimo, he should want to live on the land and try to wrest a living from it. The feeling has also been expressed by Kabloona in the community that it is fitting and proper that a large core of Eskimos remain on the land, maintaining some continuity with the group past and preserving at least some of the traditional culture, although few people feel very strongly about this.

There is a dilemma here. The Kabloona have much to do with making the settlement attractive and, in so doing, unwittingly draw people in from the land. Many of these people have then to be hustled back out again. How do the Kabloona make the settlement more and more attractive? For one thing, all the facilities for communal activity are provided directly or

indirectly by them. Without the school there would be no adequate community recreation and meeting centre; without the projector and films from the South there would be no movies; without the missions there would be no large-scale services. Furthermore, it is either Kabloona or settlement Eskimos who organize these efforts, and in some cases provide the entertainment.[1] The well-attended handicrafts, arts, and adult education classes are Kabloona inspired and run mostly by Kabloona wives.

A situation similar to the settlement-land dilemma arises from pressures on local officials to encourage Eskimos to vacate the region for a distant settlement, notably the nickel mine at Rankin Inlet. In a previous chapter we described how a number of men were encouraged to try their hand at work in the mine. Local officials were not favourably impressed with the results of the experiment and reacted unenthusiastically to suggestions that they encourage others to try. They do not justify their present attitude by proclaiming the separatist argument, but do so in terms of the concrete experience of 1958. The dilemma arises from the fact that encouraging men to go to the mine would ease the economic strain in the Baker Lake region, a goal which local officials would like to achieve. If they embraced the extreme assimilationist position, or if they had strict orders from above, they would undoubtedly continue to encourage men to migrate to the mine and to other places where they could be absorbed into the industrial work force. But because they tend to be pragmatic and do not calculate their moves in terms of a clear, long-term goal, the outcome of many deliberations about what to do next is frequently unpredictable and determined by local circumstances.

This observation leads us to consider conflicts and dilemmas which do not have their source so much in values as in the lack of a fixed hierarchy of goals; the vagueness of function in certain offices; poor integration of functions both within a given office and between different offices; and the strain between the demands of the external system - e.g., rules and regulations laid down in headquarters--and the demands of the local community. Let us consider examples of each of these kinds of organizational strain and conflict.

We have already noted that there is no fixed hierarchy of goals, each with a certain degree of priority, set forth for the official administering affairs among the Eskimos. In the discussion of the local officials' attitudes towards migration to the mine, we noted the absence of clear-cut goals pertaining to the channeling of Eskimos into this or that life stream. Another

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1 For instance, three staff members from the D.O.T. station and the R.C.M.P. constable usually provide the music for dances and operate the projector, although there are settlement Eskimos who also provide these services when the Kabloona are not available.

illustration is given in Chapter VII, where we note the difficulty of deciding whether health needs or education needs--both as perceived by the Kabloona--should have priority where the lack of facilities does not permit the satisfaction of both at once.[1] Other illustrations could be given, but enough has been presented to indicate that the lack of a clearly defined hierarchy of goals puts considerable discretionary power in the hands of officials and keeps them in the rather anxious state of not knowing whether specific decisions are fitting into some larger meaningful pattern. It is understood, of course, that in the present-day situation in the Arctic it is perhaps impossible to devise a graded list of goals to which all would agree and which would make sense in every community. This matter is taken up again before the end of this chapter.

We mentioned earlier that the N.S.O.'s functions are, for a civil servant, rather vaguely defined. Let us give one illustration pertaining to the welfare part of this function. On one occasion, the N.S.O. was requested by one of the missionaries to intervene in a family quarrel between an Eskimo widow of one denomination and her daughter, who was taking instructions in the other denomination with a view to marrying a man from that denomination. The missionary himself suspected that some of the Kabloona were exerting pressure to discourage the girl in her design, but did not want to intrude directly into the family quarrel because he felt that he would be suspected of proselytizing. The N.S.O. was understandably apprehensive about intervening. He felt that it was a domestic issue and not a public one, and that his intervention might be construed as partisan by one of the denominations. On the other hand, this was a problem family, and he felt that his terms of reference included the easing of tensions within the community. Also, he had been requested to intervene and see that no undue pressure was being brought to bear on the girl to change her design. In the end, after long deliberation, he decided to limit his intervention to explaining very carefully to the girl and her mother their legal rights in the matter of choosing marital partners.

In an earlier section of this chapter we noted the uncertainty surrounding the functions of the N.S.O. and R.C.M.P. with respect to representing the community. Another area of faulty integration of function which has not had serious consequences so far, but which potentially is disruptive at the local level, is the relation between the officials of the three units of D.N.A. in the community--the Administrator of the Arctic's Field staff, the Education Division and the Canadian Wildlife Service. The local representatives of each of these units report separately to their own senior officers (at the regional level or in Ottawa) from whom they derive

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1 Cf. page 153.

their instructions. Again, the N.S.O. is the titular senior officer, but in effect would find it difficult to exercise authority over people in the other divisions and, at the same time, maintain harmonious relations with them. During the period of research no such occasion arose.

In some bureaucratic systems with a variety of operations it is difficult to mesh these operations together in a harmonious way, especially at the local level where functionaries from different sections of the system are in daily contact with one another and where they share the same clientele. Chronic friction between functionaries in such situations makes difficult the achievement of the major goals of the total organization. A classic example of such friction may be found in institutions like prisons and mental hospitals where one set of functionaries is oriented to custody, to the maintenance of order, while another is oriented to therapy. The first set of functionaries lean towards an authoritarian, highly routine and impersonal approach as the one most likely to achieve the aims of custody. The second set lean towards a more democratic and personal approach as the one most likely to achieve the goals of rehabilitation. The custodians tend to assess their 'clients' in terms of how easy or difficult the latter make their job of maintaining order. The therapists tend to assess their 'clients' in terms of how much or how little each individual needs help. The scientific literature is full of illustrations of such organization conflicts.

Parallels may be found in larger Arctic communities, such as Rankin Inlet, where we find not only several separate agencies--the mining company, the police, the government, the churches--whose aims are not always mutually compatible, but where we also find organizational friction within the one agency. Among the D.N.A. officials at Rankin Inlet, for instance, there is a more complex division of labour than is found at Baker Lake. Some officers are responsible for general administration; others for the construction and maintenance of the increasingly large and elaborate physical plant; others for formal education; and still others for the welfare and rehabilitation of the Eskimos.

At certain points the requirements of each of these jobs bring their incumbents into conflict with others in the same organization. Partly coinciding with such conflictful alignments and partly cutting across them are divisions according to professional practice and identification. Social workers, for instance, pattern their behaviour with reference to a professional group which transcends the organization for which they work. One ethical requirement of the professional group is that certain items of information pertaining to their clients be treated as confidential: the client, Eskimo or otherwise, has the right to maintain a zone of privacy around his affairs, sharing confidences only with the social worker who handles his case. The administrator, on the

other hand, if he is in a superior organizational position, may feel that the achievement of his own work aims would be greatly facilitated if he had access to such confidential information.

Conflicts which are built-into the organization are exacerbated where the functionaries are rigid in character and where their fundamental values are in opposition. It is a common practice in such situations to locate the source of conflict in the other person's personality or to project it onto headquarters. For instance, one official says of another, "If he weren't so downright authoritarian we could get along much better here." One official once told the author, "That _____ Division is out to build an empire, and I'm damned if they're going to do it with my help!"

This is not to say that competition between organizations or between branches of an organization is necessarily unproductive, for under certain conditions competition may sharpen the wits and impel officials to put forth their best efforts in the achievement of the goals of their organization or branch. Even conflict in methods and goals may impel officials to re appraise their purposes and the machinery used to achieve them, the re-appraisal leading to clarification and improved handling of affairs. In any event, the situation outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, whether productive or unproductive, is likely to occur in the larger Arctic settlements, such as Rankin Inlet, Frobisher Bay, and Inuvik. The official division of labour at Baker Lake is comparatively simple, with the N.S.O. encapsulating within himself the roles of administrator, superintendent of buildings and works, and welfare officer.

Let us now consider situations in which the demands of the larger system in which the local community is embedded make it difficult to meet satisfactorily the demands of the local situation. In any large-scale organization the rules and regulations which govern the total effort and which make sense in terms of the goals of the organization cannot always be carried out according to the letter at the local level without causing considerable strain there.

An obvious example of the precedence of demands from outside the community may be found in those places where the dominant institution is under pressure to produce at a maximum rate, whether the items of production are nickel, oil, or sparkling communications in weather and defense networks. Where the raison d'etre of the dominant institution is the production of something of value to the larger society, it frequently happens that those responsible for production at the local level take a short-term view of the human relations problems around them, if indeed they pay any attention to them at all. Such short-cut solutions to human relations problems as segregation in order to protect Eskimos from Kabloona

and Kabloona from themselves, may satisfy those who have to keep supplies of valuable materials and communications flowing at a high rate from the community, but may impede the work of others whose purposes are primarily the prevention or handling of human relations problems. In communities like Baker Lake local problems can be approached in a more leisurely and experimental manner than is possible in places like Rankin Inlet, because at Baker Lake the Kabloona are under only mild pressure to produce for the benefit of their superiors in the South.

However, there are instances at Baker Lake of strains arising from the need to take into account the formal demands of the larger system while maintaining an optimum degree of harmony and co-operation in the local community. In fact, officials are frequently faced with difficult decisions in trying to balance local and remote demands. To cite one case: in 1958 one of the Kabloona assaulted an Eskimo youth in an angry outburst. The other Kabloona regarded this as a very serious offence and some of them pressed the R.C.M.P. to have the assaulter charged and prosecuted. However, when the parents of the Eskimo youth learned of this, they insisted that no charge be laid, and the matter was dropped. In 1959, there were reported in one day two thefts from Kabloona houses amounting to about $100.00. After a short investigation the young Eskimo victim of the assault case was questioned and admitted to the theft. As he had already been involved in a petty theft, for which he was not charged, the R.C.M.P. felt impelled to lay a charge. However, he expressed the hope that ordinary criminal proceedings, such as occur in the south, would not be followed and wrote a strong recommendation to that effect to his headquarters, a recommendation which was accepted. One factor which entered into his thinking was the reaction of the Eskimo community to the lad's prosecution after they, the Eskimos had been instrumental in cancelling the prosecution of the Kabloona assaulter.

Other illustrations of the need to take into account the local situation and to shape formal requirements to suit this situation are given on pages 148 and 150. No doubt the peculiarities of Arctic as compared with other communities, the existence of two cultures in a given region and the relative paucity of administrative precedents make it more likely that formal statements of rules and regulations as laid down in the South require a great deal of interpretation at the local level.

In summary then we have touched on a variety of strains, conflicts and dilemmas to which Kabloona officials are subject in dealing with Eskimo affairs in this community. These conflicts, strains and dilemmas have their sources in:

1) variations in values in forming the behaviour and attitudes of the Kabloona;

2) lack of a fixed priority of goals to be pursued;

3) lack of specificity in the functions of some administrators; overlap in functions between some administrators; conflicts of function and aim between some administrators;

4) potential conflict between need to follow rules and regulations of external system and at the same time maintain harmony, good relations with other agencies and with the Eskimos.

It may be suggested that one way to minimize the strains deriving from sources 2) 3) and 4) would be to devise an elaborate and precise set of orders from above covering every possible circumstance and specifying very clearly what is required of each local official. However, it would be folly to impose a rigid bureaucratic system in the administration of affairs in the Arctic. There is a conspicuous lack of uniformity in situations in different communities and officials do not have even an Act, such as the Indian Affairs Act, to provide a general guide for action. Similarities in situation occur, of course, but differences often outweigh them in significance. Furthermore there is no national consensus on the question of ultimate goals pertaining to the Arctic and its inhabitants, nor is there sure knowledge of how best to achieve the goals which are in fact being pursued. In such a situation, a rather loose mandate to officials seems to be in order, and that is what they are given.

An official dealing with Eskimo affairs must, of course, develop an operational routine, a set of informal rules of his own. If these are flagrantly out of line with the policy and methods prevailing in his headquarters he might be sanctioned eventually, but because of the infrequent personal contact with his superiors and because he has control of official communications relating to Eskimo affairs in the region, his regime could last many months or years. The passivity of the Eskimos and their capacity to adapt to almost any kind of regime mean that sanctions on a regime from that quarter are likely to be weak. Such a situation is conducive to prima-donnism and arbitrary rule-making on the part of officials, no matter what kind of personality make-up they bring with them into the field.

Where officials are vested with wide discretionary powers and are not under constant supervision, the organization must be particularly careful in its selection of candidates for field posts. Informants in the Baker Lake region were mostly of the opinion that the present complement of officials is most satisfactory, although they cited examples of incompetence and personal despotism in the past on the part of a few officials who have since been replaced.

It appears inevitable that, in order to administer affairs under conditions which call for flexibility and local initiative, an element of considerable risk is involved when field appointments are made. The original screening process, if careful enough, should reveal how candidates are predisposed but is unlikely to help one predict how the candidate will react in what is, for a civil servant, a relatively unstructured situation. We suggest that tests for field office include the setting up of a series of imaginary problems, gleaned from actual problems encountered in the field, to which a number of alternative solutions are provided. The candidate's choices from among these alternatives should give at least some indication of how he is predisposed to act.

Apart from problems of initial selection, it would certainly benefit field officers from many communities to meet at least once a year to discuss problems peculiar to their areas and their methods of dealing with them. Any means of providing guidance for action without imposing a set of rigid rules from above should be taken to ease the strain on field officers and help them articulate a set of goals and methods which is more than simply a personal creation or their version of what their superiors want.

In his article on ethnic relations in northern Canadian communities, Dunning suggests that "many of these non-ethnic persons (i.e. the Kabloona in our discussion) hold the fundamental assumption of membership in a caste-type society. They have power, comparative luxury, feel superior in their technological knowledge and, if all else fails, they are 'white men' who by self-definition are always right ... It is not suggested that all non-ethnic leaders are authoritarian. Judging from the observed behaviour in five communities, however, it is my hypothesis that a substantial number of these contact persons do not represent normal Canadian ethical standards... This type of non-democratic person who seems to operate most successfully in the power position of an undifferentiated ethnic population might be called the 'marginal man'." [1] (1959: 120-122)

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1 Dunning's use of the term "marginal man" differs from the usage found in most of the literature, where the term refers to a person who has a 'foot in two different camps' and is not accepted fully in either one.

It would be interesting to test these hypotheses empirically, using well-known tests of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, among those who hold positions in the Arctic, to see whether and in what degree they differ from other Canadians in the same age, sex and socio-economic class. The reason for administering such tests would be to separate personality predispositions from role requirements. For instance, a person may be authoritative, particularly if his position demands that he give orders or wield authority, without being authoritarian in the sense of the usage of this term in social and psychological science.

Unfortunately, we cannot report the results of such tests among the Baker Lake Kabloona, for none were given, but we can offer our impression, gleaned from interviews and from observing everyday behaviour, of the prevailing attitudes towards the Eskimos and prevailing modes of relating to the Eskimos.

Kabloona and Eskimo

Relations between Kabloona and Eskimos in the Baker Lake region are marked by an absence of overt conflict, a diffuse friendliness, an informal segregation, considerable restraint, and control over interaction on the part of the Kabloona. This is a very general statement which admits of several exceptions. For instance, relations between Kabloona and Eskimos of the adolescent and childhood stages do not feature restraint and in them the Kabloona youngster does not dominate the relationship as much as the parent would. What we mean by dominating a relationship is simply that the Kabloona partner rather than the Eskimo tends to initiate and break off the interaction, the Eskimo more often playing the role of the passive receiver of interaction, messages, objects, and so on. Again we stress that we are talking about a pattern; we could cite individual cases where this pattern does not hold, but these individual cases are so noticeable that they prove the rule.

The absence of overt conflict is partly accounted for by the absence of competition between Kabloona and Eskimos for short-term goals, such as jobs, money, women. As Honigmann (1952) points out, in communities where there is competition between cultural groups for short-term goals, hostility between those in conflict is likely to be generated, as, for instance, in communities where there are large numbers of single, male workers or soldiers who grant themselves a license to pursue the native women.

As we have said, interaction between Kabloona and Eskimo is marked by a diffuse friendliness. With few exceptions, this friendliness does not shade over into true intimacy as between friends in the usually accepted definition of this word, for another feature of Kabloona-Eskimo relations is a diffuse segregation between them; with the exception of the couple in one mixed marriage, no Eskimo shares a house with Kabloona, although this segregation does not hold when the Kabloona and Eskimos are on the trail, in which case they share tent or igloo. Eskimos are seldom invited to Kabloona parties; few Eskimos would present themselves at Kabloona dances or movies, although there is no formal rule about this.[1] Younger Eskimos who occasionally wander in to such events are not ejected. There is simply the tacit understanding that Eskimo sociability has its locus at the school, Kabloona sociability in their houses and at the D.O.T. On the other hand, many Kabloona feel free to join the audience or dancers at a movie or dance held in the school for Eskimos.

This informal pattern of segregation appears to be common throughout the Arctic, leading some authors to categorize the situation as one of caste rather than one of social class. When segregation is a formal rule, as it is, for instance, at Rankin Inlet where the mining company forbids its employees to visit the Eskimo village or to attend Eskimo dances, the situation does have some of the characteristics of caste. Moreover there are other features usually associated with caste generally found in Arctic communities, such as the feeling of superiority on the part of Kabloona, the submissive demeanour of many Eskimos, the residential segregation, and so on.

However, in Arctic communities known to the author one finds other patterns of interaction which would not be tolerated in a caste system. Both at Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake a small minority of prominent settlement Eskimos exchange visits with Kabloona individuals. That is, if the Eskimos' social and economic position is sufficiently high, his informal contacts with the Kabloona may be comparatively frequent. We have been informed that at Frobisher Bay an Eskimo sent to work there by Northern Affairs is invariably invited to Kabloona social functions. Of course, social acceptance here is largely determined by the fact that the Eskimo shares membership in the same work organization with the Kabloona: they are colleagues. One Eskimo from the western Arctic who was sent on government business to Frobisher Bay put it this way, "Gee, I was so surprised, all those white big shots drove me around in their cars and brought me to

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1 A few Eskimos attend the Kabloona showing of a movie to scrutinize it with a view to evaluating its suitability for showing to the Eskimos at a later date in the school. They are the Eskimo element in the censorship board, as we have called it.

their parties and all over the place."

Other uncaste-like features may be cited from Arctic communities. For instance, at Rankin Inlet there is an Eskimo priest of the Anglican Church who comes from Baker Lake and who conducts services for Eskimos and Kabloona alike, something which would not be tolerated in a caste system. The crucial test differentiating class from caste is, of course, marriage across status lines. Where this occurs in an unpatterned way, one would expect negative reactions from the superior caste. The Baker Lake situation provided only one test of this kind: a government employee is married to an Eskimo girl from the eastern Arctic. This couple is accepted without any reservations by the other Kabloona and no unfavourable comments or dire prophecies were heard by this author. This particular couple mingle with Kabloona and Eskimos alike, go to the functions of both groups, although they are categorized as part of the Kabloona community. There is no 'myth of pollution', as Davis (1949) calls it, to use as a justification for the maintenance of a caste system between Kabloona and Eskimos. Social and economic position happen to coincide with ethnic group membership in most Arctic communities, but those members of the disadvantaged ethnic group who improve their social and economic position gain thereby a measure of social acceptance as equals.

There is considerable interaction between some Kabloona and certain Eskimo employees. We noted earlier that each Kabloona institution employs one or more Eskimo household heads, usually in a domestic or handyman capacity. In most of these cases the relationship between Kabloona and Eskimo is not simply one of employer-employee, but rather one of patron-client. The employer and his wife take a paternalistic (or maternalistic!) interest in their employee and his family, doing special favours for them, offering them advice, scolding them for untoward behaviour, even where this has nothing to do with the job.

The author had vivid confirmation of the paternalistic quality of the relationship between employer and employee when he met, far from the community, an Eskimo who had lived most of his life in Baker Lake but is now doing Kabloona-like work in another settlement. The man asked us about a junior official of a government department, who, incidentally, was younger than he, and for whom he had worked while in Baker Lake. "He was like a father to me", the Eskimo person said, with considerable feeling.

This brings us to a consideration of a feature of the Kabloona role in the Arctic which has to do with socialization. It is necessary at this point to digress for a few pages from the Baker Lake situation itself to consider the socialization process, what it means, how it works, and how it is pertinent to our understanding of the relations between Kabloona and Eskimos at Baker Lake.

Socialization is the process of grooming people to perform in various capacities as members of society. We apply the term to the training and preparation of a person for a specific position or role, such as doctor; or, in a more general sense, to the training and preparation of people for diffuse comprehensive roles, such as citizen, respectable married woman, and so forth. From the point of view of the person subjected to it, the process is one of acquiring the skills, attitudes and motivations appropriate for the given role. Needless to say, such acquisition is often, perhaps most often, the result of an unselfconscious, unplanned process, having its setting in the family, play group, neighbourhood, and so forth.

In most discussions on the subject of socialization, only a few phases or stages command attention: namely, infancy, childhood, and adolescence. However, socialization is not a stage-bound process. For instance, adult immigrants and refugees are in many respects "socializees"[1] in the diffuse general sense noted earlier: they abandon some social and technical skills, attitudes, styles, and so on, which are not appropriate in their new settings, acquiring others which are appropriate. In so doing they are guided by the example and, in some cases, the explicit instruction of the 'natives'. In the world of organizations we find several illustrations of formal adult education--for instance, language classes. Some organizations are concerned with re-socialization of deviants who have failed in one or another respect to meet the role requirements of the groups they belong to. Alcoholics Anonymous, Dale Carnegie courses, Toastmaster Clubs, and many other organizations are in this sense concerned with grooming adults to perform in roles which are normal in the groups to which they belong or to which they aspire. In all these cases, the adult socializee is regarded by the socializers as inadequate in certain respects and steps are taken to remedy this inadequacy.

What are the outstanding features of the role of socializer? First, they are exemplars: the teacher in school; the 'dry' alcoholic, etc., who show that the standards can indeed be achieved and lived up to. The socializees are by definition inadequate in these same performances and look to the socializers for guidance.

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1 Unfortunately from a literary point of view, there is no term in the English language to denote the person who is on the receiving end of a learning process. The term 'learner' conjures up images of people taking driving tests; 'pupil' and 'student' are associated also with specific roles connected with schools. The term socializee which we are forced to use here was suggested by Frank E. Jones.

Second, whatever inadequacies the socializers suffer from must be concealed from (the socializees), lest they see the reality behind the curtain and become disenchanted. Thus, one officer should not criticize another (i.e. suggest he is inadequate) in front of the other ranks; parents should not fight in front of their children; teachers should be careful not to betray their ignorance of matters in which their pupils are knowledgeable. There are two significant aspects of such concealment. One has to do with maintaining the favourable image of the exemplar; the other has to do with the maintenance of a show of solidarity between superiors in the face of inferiors. Both aspects are relevant to socialization.

A third feature of the socializer's role has to do with control over the allocation of rewards for conformity, and of penalties for deviance. It need hardly be pointed out that these rewards and penalties are not necessarily tangible and material or physical entities. Approval, disapproval, esteem, denigration--these are often more potent sanctions than the use or the withholding of such tangibles as corporal punishment, money, facilities, and the like, although these are also of considerable significance.

Ideally, the socializer controls the allocation of these rewards and punishments, which we can reduce to conceptual shorthand by calling the 'sanction system'. In tightly organized groups, such as in the army or in the school system, the socializers are clearly in control of the sanction system; likewise in the family, where the parental generation's control of the sanction system is reinforced by their offspring's dependence on them. But even in the other groups which we chose as illustrations, one finds that control of the sanction system is vested in the role of socializer: the dry sponsor withholds the birthday symbol of the 'client' who has not remained dry for one year since his introduction to A.A. or since his last 'birthday'.

Control over the sanction system suggests a fourth characteristic of the role of socializer, and that is the attribution of superiority to the person performing this role. This superiority may be vague and diffuse or it may be precisely spelled out and supported by all manner of rules requiring rituals of deference and degradation on the part of the socializees. It should be stressed that we are not imputing an absolute superiority to socializers; rather we mean that the socializer role is conventionally defined as superior to that of the socializee, so that persons performing this role are likely to feel superior in fact. This is an important point to bear in mind when considering the usual 'ethnocentric' explanation of why people in certain ethnic groups feel superior to others.

If we view socialization in this way, we can say that nearly all Kabloona in the Baker Lake region assume the role of socializer vis-a-vis

the Eskimos there. With the exception of a few individuals who are not directly involved in Eskimo affairs, every Kabloona encountered feels impelled to change at least some features of Eskimo behaviour and bring them into line with his or her conception of the desirable person. Of course, some representatives of Kabloona institutions have explicit instructions to teach the Eskimos some or all of the skills, attitudes, and standards of behaviour which are regarded as desirable by their institutions. We refer here to the missionaries, teachers, nurse, N.S.O., and R.C.M.P. However, other Kabloona, such as the spouses of these persons, some D.O.T. and H.B.C. personnel, also feel impelled to adopt a teaching and protective attitude with the Eskimos, young and old.

Supporting and used to justify this tendency for the Kabloona to play the role of socializer is the widely held view that the Eskimo is like a child. This view in turn is buttressed by the naive evolutionary assumption that the Eskimo culture, often referred to as a stone-age culture, is at a low stage of moral and intellectual development and must pass through other, more advanced, stages before its people can be regarded as mature and worthy of treatment suitable for complete or full adults. This view is proclaimed in its extreme form by the separatists and is used to justify such practices as telling the Eskimos what is good and bad for them and handling their funds until they learn how to use cash properly. In a milder form, this view is prevalent at Baker Lake. That is, most Kabloona there regard the Eskimos as being in some ways like children. Differences of opinion about the degree of protectionism and paternalism suitable for the occasion are quite frequent among Kabloona at the settlement, but these may be likened to disputes between parents as to how much independence and responsibility to vest in their offspring.

It is a well-founded generalization in social science that people tend to react in the way in which they are defined by significant others in their environment. Many a wild, irresponsible private is transformed overnight into a competent, responsible person by giving him a stripe; that is, by defining him as one who is worthy to bear responsibility and wield authority. As we mentioned earlier, the person joining the Kabloona community learns that the appropriate attitudes to the Eskimos held by the majority of those in high status at the settlement, are somewhat parental. That is, the feeling is that they should appear to the Eskimos in somewhat the same light as parents appear to their offspring: they should conceal strains between one another (you shouldn't holler at me in front of the children!);avoid obscenity or sex talk (don't talk like that in front of the children!); control the viewing of movies, explain things carefully and slowly, and so on. To the extent that the Kabloona 'front' presented to the Eskimos is parental in quality and to the extent that the Kabloona hold the reins of power--or control the sanction system--we expect the Eskimos to respond in the appropriate 'childish' way. They try to please the 'parents', conceal their

own 'sins', keep part of their world concealed from the prying Kabloona.

What happens where Kabloona individuals refuse to abide by these informal social rules and treat the Eskimos as they would treat anyone of equivalent age and sex anywhere? So few occasions to observe this phenomenon were presented during our field work that it would be unsafe to generalize. We suggest that, initially at least, the Eskimos would be as much disturbed by such a switch in pattern as would the more conventional Kabloona. A younger Kabloona in the community did follow the course of relating to the Eskimo as he might relate to individuals anywhere: that is, he did little to conceal his interest in the opposite sex; was wont to use the obscenities the Eskimos themselves use when away from Kabloona; was ready to trade gossip about anyone in the community, Eskimo or Kabloona. This individual was definitely unpopular with the majority of Kabloona, and particularly with the senior officials. It was more difficult for the author to gauge Eskimo reaction to him, but it was our impression that many were not sorry to see him leave the community. In future research we intend to pay particular attention to the ways in which the Eskimos react to different Kabloona approaches.

If most of the Kabloona see themselves as socializers of the Eskimo, if they feel impelled to groom the Eskimo, then what image do they have of the kind of ideal person they are grooming the Eskimo to be? Our answer to this question has been pieced together from the fragments of remarks, replies to questions on the subject, and observations of what Eskimo individuals are rewarded for (praised, given help, encouraged) and what they are punished for (avoided, given little or no help, scolded). Generally speaking, the image of the ideal Eskimo of the future which emerges from an examination of such data is that of a steady, predictable, bourgeois adult who has a sentimental attachment to the Eskimo past, who is proud of the way in which the Eskimos have manipulated nature and kept alive, but who has turned his back on other features of the traditional way of life, such as the traditional religion, unusual marital arrangements, and certain features of daily living.

What are the elements of which this total image is made? Let us take the more superficial, conventional elements first. Among the most noticeable of these are neatness and tidiness about the person and habitation; an eagerness to converse with Kabloona; and precedence of females over males in serving, passing through doors, etc.

If we look at the ideal Eskimo, put together from these fragments of data, in terms of the reference groups he identifies with, we find something like this: he should have the feeling of being Canadian first, Eskimo next, although everyone admits that this could take more than a generation to accomplish; he should identify primarily with the north and

want to stay there, although not necessarily in his region of origin; he should adhere to some religious organization and be a regular church-goer, although consensus on this latter question was far from universal.

As for social skills, he should know both Eskimo and English; he should possess a community consciousness, an ability to organize and to deal with community matters within the framework of parliamentary procedure. If he has the proper approach to the important things in life, he will be diligent and hard-working and will plan for the future; he will know the 'value of money' and not waste it on 'luxuries'; he will be independent economically and reluctant to depend on government benefits and charity. Finally, at what so many mean by the 'cultural' level, he will be interested in arts and crafts and will want to make things which the Kabloona consider to be in the traditional Eskimo style.

If, as pointed out before, many Kabloona at the settlement are not clearly briefed on goals of policy and methods, they do have some sense of direction with reference to the goal of making the Eskimo over in the image described.

In a previous chapter we noted the prevalence of an 'existentialist' approach to life on the part of many Eskimos in this region, what we called a present-- rather than a future- or past- orientation. We pointed out there that this outlook is in some ways to the advantage of Kabloona who want the Eskimos to adopt their religion, technology, ideas about education, sanitation, and the like. However, this present-orientation is also accompanied by attitudes which conflict with certain attitudes held to be sacred by many Kabloona who administer Eskimo affairs. We conclude this chapter with comments on these conflicting attitudes.

With a few notable exceptions, the Kabloona encountered during this research appear more future- than present-oriented. Such persons see their own lives as part of a purposeful, logical, goal-directed process in which energy expended in the past and in the present will pay off in the future in terms of self-fulfillment or in terms of career achievement for self or offspring. Whatever happens must make sense in terms of this over-riding goal of self-fulfillment or achievement or both. This presupposes careful planning, calculation, and the postponement of those gratifications which might impede one's passage to the goal. Thus, one must resist impulses to expend energy or wealth in ways which interfere with such achievement. The only wasteful expenditure tolerated should have something to do with the maintenance of one's prestige or status.

The present-oriented person is not likely to see his life's course in this way. One takes what one can get through effort or luck and one uses what one gets for enjoyment now. Enjoyment might be derived from giving

things away or simply from spending. To such a person, there is not much point to saving, accumulating, calculating, balancing, except in terms of the immediate future. Again, unlike the future-oriented person, the present-oriented one sees no pressing need for order and predictability. Incidentally, there were four Kabloona at the settlement who are closer to this orientation than they are to the future-orientation.

Differences between the Eskimos and many Kabloona on these counts are a source of despair to those who see themselves as socializers of the Eskimos. The latter complain of the Eskimos' poor spending habits, lack of order and neatness in dwellings, lack of planning for the future and so forth. An official deplores expenditures on tape recorders which the purchasers hardly ever use; or the purchase of wrist watches for children who are poorly clad by both Eskimo and Kabloona standards; or the apparent lack of interest in the future of their community and race. Such instances are then used again and again as evidence that the Eskimos are, after all, very much like children and, therefore, not to be treated as full adults are supposed to be treated in Kabloona society.

There is no evidence that the Baker Lake Kabloona who feel this way are more ethnocentric or marginal than the great bulk of Canadians. We shall see in the following chapter that an increasing number of Eskimos are coming to feel the way they do about such matters.

CHAPTER VI

NUNAMIUT AND KABLOONAMIUT

Introduction

If our analysis of contact situations is to transcend the over-simplified stereotyping of large groups we must be careful to differentiate among the population in terms of the variety of goals, motivations, and behaviour which exists. This is true not only of the dominant Kabloona group in the contact situation but also to a large extent of the minority group, in this case the Eskimos.

Many writers on group relations have called attention to differences within minority ethnic groups. For instance, Antonovsky (1956) describes the variety of responses to their minority group position on the part of the Jews of New Haven, mainly in terms of the degree to which they maintain an identity with their own group. Strong (1946) spells out the differences among American Negroes in the ways they come to terms with the Whites, describing the Uncle Tom, or the White Man's Nigger, the Mammy, the Race Leader, and so on. Writers on acculturation have noted how the populations they have studied can be sorted out along an acculturation continuum. Voget, (1951, 1956) for instance, identified four sociocultural types living in Canadian and American Indian reserves. He calls these the native, native-modified, American-modified, and American-marginal types. Bruner, (1956) the Spindlers, (1957) and many others have offered similar classifications based on differences in outlook, personality, social participation, group identity, and so forth.

For the Canadian Eskimos, Willmott (1961) has called attention to the increasing differentiation between settlement and camp people at Port Harrison. Balikci (1959a) refers to differences in social role vis-a-vis the Kabloona among the Eskimos at Povungnituk and Great Whale River. These are first steps in the right direction. However, the task of producing a systematic classification of sociocultural types and groupings among modern Eskimo populations remains to be done. In this chapter we attempt to pave the way for such a systematic classification by describing the sociocultural differences between groups of Eskimo households and by analysing how people in these different groupings relate to the Kabloona and to one another.

The Settlement and the Land

So far in this report we have referred several times to differences in behaviour between the people of the settlement and the people of the land. Distinctions between land and settlement Eskimos are gaining in significance. That the Eskimos recognize the importance of this new differentiation between people is indicated by their invention of labels to describe two types of Eskimos: Nunamiut (people of the land) and Kabloonamiut (people of the White Man).

By Nunamiut they mean simply those who live outside the settlement and derive the largest proportion of their livelihood from hunting, fishing, and trapping. The denotation of Kabloonamiut is not very clear-cut at present and is applied in a loose fashion by only a few informants. In its most specific sense, Kabloonamiut denotes those Eskimos who are employed by Kabloona and who live in the settlement. In a slightly more general sense, it refers to anyone who lives permanently at the settlement, whether employed by Kabloona or not, and parallels the English usage of urban as distinct from rural. In its most general sense, it denotes those Eskimos who are at ease with the Kabloona and who are more conspicuously imitative of Kabloona ways than are the majority of Eskimos.

For purposes of this report, we classify people as Nunamiut where they:

1) reveal a desire to live on the land rather than in the settlement;
2) choose a way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land;
3) choose to follow what traditional conventions still exist in the culture, such as in living arrangements and habits, in the ways they bring up their children--in short, those who appear to be oriented more to the traditional way of life than to the Kabloona way of life.

By reversing these criteria we arrive at a crude definition of Kabloonamiut, as those who:

1) reveal a desire to live in the settlement;
2) reject a way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land;
3) choose to follow certain Kabloona-like customs where they could just as well follow traditional ones.

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[1] It should be noted that there is an Eskimo 'tribal' group called the Nunamiut in Alaska. The term is also used by many coastal Eskimos to denote those who live in the interior. Our usage is a purely local one. It should be stressed that the term Kabloonamiut is not very widely used by the Eskimos. We employ it here because it is a convenient designation for a new and growing category of Eskimo origin.

As these criteria, considered as variables, are continuous rather than dichotomous, one cannot divide the population neatly into one category or the other on the basis of them. A dichotomous variable is one which splits the population into two exclusive segments, such as female and male; Republican and Democrat; urban and rural; and so forth. A continuous variable is one which can be defined only in terms of more and less. For instance, a person might want intensely to live at the settlement, or may favour land living over settlement living only slightly; one might have a slight inclination to prefer dependence on wage labour rather than on wildlife resources, another might prefer to use wage labour and other sources of income simply to supplement what he gets on the land, while still another might be passionately attracted to hunting and trapping and repelled by wage labour; a person may show a mild preference for some aspects of Kabloona culture, such as in clothing or in living arrangements, while another may be more Kabloona than the Kabloona in these respects. Clearly, at present we can only divide the population into a rough gradation in terms of whether they are very much Kabloonamiut or very much Nunamiut, with marginal grades in between. We emphasize here the tentativeness of our classification and note that in future research more refined and reliable techniques should be used to elicit data which will permit us to identify persons as being in this or that category and which will permit us to provide reliable estimates of the proportions of persons and families in this or that category.

Although we could not contact every adult Eskimo in the region, we did attempt to get information on each through officials and through friends and relatives of those we did not meet directly. It was found that, not surprisingly, where a household head scored high according to Kabloonamiut criteria, the spouse and children could also be regarded as Kabloonamiut. However, where a household head scored high according to Nunamiut criteria, it sometimes occurred that his offspring and, in a few cases, his spouse were not so clearly Nunamiut. We cannot go into the kinds of complications which arise where the family or household is not homogeneous with respect to the characteristics we were interested in, but will press on with the discussion of how household heads rated in our rough scoring.

On the basis of the criteria mentioned, we estimate that approximately eleven household heads are clearly Kabloonamiut. In our judgment twenty-five household heads are marginal-Kabloonamiut, in the sense that they are not markedly Kabloonamiut, but are closer to the Kabloonamiut than to the Nunamiut in outlook, style of living, and so forth. We placed eighteen household heads as marginal-Nunamiut, regarding them as not markedly Nunamiut, but as closer to the latter than to the Kabloonamiut. Finally, we judged twenty-six household heads to be clearly Nunamiut. Expressed in terms of percentages of household heads in each category, the crude and tentative picture looks like this:

Kabloonamiut	14%
Marginal-Kabloonamiut	31%
Marginal-Nunamiut	22%
Nunamiut	33%

The Nunamiut

Twenty of the twenty-six household heads whom we classed as Nunamiut come from the northern extremity of the E-2 district, around the Back River and Garry Lake areas. Of the remaining six, two are from the southern extremity of the district, around Ferguson Lake, while four are from the 30-Mile and the Aberdeen-Beverly Lake areas.

Because of the extensive relocations in recent years, most of the Back River and Garry Lake people who remain in the district are to be found outside their territories of origin and closer to the settlement than they were in former years. However, they still consider themselves to be land people and they go to the settlement only rarely.

Among the Nunamiut we find the most prominent and successful hunters and trappers. No Eskimo man or family gets more esteem from other Eskimos and from Kabloona than those who are consistently successful in the quest for subsistence on the land. Stories of prominent Nunamiut are related in awed tones: Sicotee brought in twice as many fox as anyone else in the district; Ikenooloo brought down fifty caribou in a bad season; Pootomeaktok walked and paddled two hundred miles last summer seeking a good location for a camp; Angosodlo and the men of his camp scored a large kill after many discouraging weeks of effort during which they garnered hardly enough to feed their dogs; and so on.

While it is true that the successful hunter and trapper is highly esteemed by his fellowmen, our impression is that the prestige which goes with the position of Nunamiut is being undermined by the emergence of a sedentary settlement population. It is convenient to distinguish between esteem and prestige. Esteem is given to someone who performs well at some task. For instance, a good carpenter or a good football player, indeed a good pick-pocket, is admired for his above-average performance. Prestige, on the other hand, goes with certain positions, or statuses, in a society. To illustrate, the position of doctor is a prestigeous one in our society. One can be an average or perhaps slightly below average doctor and still receive the deference and respect, not to mention the material rewards, which the society allocates to doctors, as compared, say, to carpenters. Applying this notion to the Baker Lake region, it

appears that the status of Nunamiut is being compared unfavourably in terms of prestige to the status of Kabloonamiut. Some Eskimos at the settlement refer to land people as backward and behind the times, in the same way as some city people might refer to those from remote regions of the countryside as 'hicks'.

In the traditional Eskimo society, both prestige and esteem were given to those who had mastered the skills of living off the land. New criteria of evaluation are entering the social scene: the mastery of such skills as those required to mix easily with the Kabloona, and command of the English language in particular; ability to perform work which is highly valued by the Kabloona, such as the operation, maintenance, and repair of machinery; criteria such as these are becoming as significant as the more traditional ones in determining how people are evaluated. However, it is still true to say that the individual and family who are consistently successful in the quest for subsistence on the land are regarded with admiration and respect.

Actually, no more than ten Nunamiut camps may be regarded as consistently successful in this quest, not for want of trying, but for want of caribou. During local depressions, the Nunamiut, like others, are drawn to the settlement and the sustenance to be found there. However, they usually remain there only long enough to re-stock with supplies before setting out once more for the land. The Nunamiut are likely to reject the land way of life only under conditions of extreme and prolonged deprivation. However, as we pointed out in our discussion of the economic situation, deprivation is a relative concept: the felt needs of the Eskimos on the land increase in proportion as the level of income and standard of living of settlement Eskimos increase.

As an illustration of this process, Sicotee, one of the consistently successful Nunamiut, complained that families around the settlement who were living on relief rations, family allowance, and the occasional few dollars earned in part-time chore work, were living as well or better than the people in his own camp who expended much energy in hunting, trapping, and fishing. To the extent that living conditions at the settlement continue to improve, Sicotee and other prominent Nunamiut are almost bound to feel increasingly deprived, because the standard of comparison is not so much how other Nunamiut are doing but rather how the Eskimos at the settlement are doing.

Can we expect to witness a growing tendency to reject the status or role of Nunamiut in the future? The rejection of a status or role which is defined by many people as undesirable is quite common, provided the

social and economic pressures to remain in the position are not overbearing. For instance, despite the considerable monetary and other incentives held out to British youth in order to entice them into the mines, or in order to attract them to and keep them in the agricultural labour force, the pool of British youth willing to become and remain miners and agricultural workers is so tiny that people must be imported from abroad to perform these tasks. There is a rejection of these occupational roles by British youth. At least among many miners, the role is accepted for the self but rejected as a desirable one for the sons. Here we may have a parallel among the Nunamiut of the Baker Lake region. Nunamiut parents, themselves deeply attached to the way of life of the land, have expressed to us the desire that their children be spared the anxieties and suffering which all too often accompany living on the land in this region. It is of more than passing significance that Nunamiut parents we met wanted their children to attend school.

In many camps people are ambivalent about the desirability of remaining dependent on the land or moving to the more secure environs of the settlement. Among those who are not whole-heartedly drawn to settlement living, but who are not doing particularly well on the land, the prevailing feeling may be expressed in this way: "If we could be guaranteed a good catch of caribou, a profitable fox yield, and a regular catch of fish, we should like to remain in the camps, visiting the settlement occasionally to see friends and relatives, shop, go to a movie or dance, and attend the chapel."

They may be likened to farmers whose living is not secure and who are attracted by some features of town life. A government subsidy which raises the level of security and standard of living might just tip the balance in favour of remaining on the farm, provided that the farm is not too far from town or out of reach of such amenities as electricity, T.V. reception, and so on. In the same way, government subsidies and other assistance, technological improvement of hunting, trapping, and fishing methods, a miraculous return of the caribou in large numbers, would likely have the effect of keeping these marginal Nunamiut on the land, provided they were not too remote from the settlement.

Most of the adults of the Kazan summer fishing camp, mentioned in an earlier chapter, could be described as marginal Nunamiut in the sense outlined above. Drawn towards both land and settlement living, but with the scale weighted a little more on the land than on the settlement side, they appeared to be more than content when the fish catch reached

a high level and there were caribou over the hill. On the other hand, they were close enough to the settlement to permit frequent visits for a variety of purposes.

In the camps we also met adults whom we would classify marginal Kabloonamiut, although most of the adults in this category were at, or in the immediate vicinity of, the settlement. Prominent among the marginal Kabloonamiut who live on the land are those who, for one reason or another, cannot make a go of it on the land and who would rather live in the settlement. They are discouraged from living at the settlement by the R.C.M.P. and the N.S.O., on the grounds that there is no work for them to do there. Kabloona employers in the settlement regard these men as failures, for they have demonstrated that they cannot live off the land successfully when some of their fellowmen have demonstrated that they can. On the general principle of failure on the land equals failure in the settlement, these people are encouraged to remain on the land. We predict that this element, given the declining motivation for land living among younger and future generations, will grow in number and provide the authorities with some nasty problems in welfare in the decades to come.

The Kabloonamiut

In this chapter we give prominent place to the description of the Kabloonamiut because of their crucial significance in the process of acculturation which is going on. Their significance in this respect has two obvious features: first, they are Eskimos who are carrying the Euro-Canadian culture to the Nunamiut, in the sense that they are becoming stylistic and behavioural models; second, they are becoming key figures in the networks of interaction between the Kabloona and the Nunamiut.

It should be emphasized that the Kabloonamiut are not simply regarded as the White Man's Eskimo, in the sense that some Americans refer to the White Man's Negro. Attitudes toward the Kabloonamiut vary, but they are regarded as Eskimos, first and foremost. Although they have rejected the way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land, they have not given up the skills associated with the land. On the contrary, some of the best travellers, hunters, and fishermen are Kabloonamiut, and some of the Kabloonamiut women excel at the traditional womanly crafts.

Except for one young married man who would gladly move to the settlement if someone would maintain him there, all household heads whom we classify as confirmed Kabloonamiut live permanently at the settlement. Furthermore, the majority of households classified as marginal Kabloonamiut also live in the settlement. It should be made clear that not all adults who live at the settlement are either Kabloonamiut or marginal Kabloonamiut in our classification. Some old and infirm people, widows with sizable families, in short, some people who are not in a position to

fend for themselves and their families on the land, are compelled by circumstances to live at the settlement, although they still maintain a land orientation. Then there are four young married men and one bachelor who live at the settlement but use it as a base of operations from which to patrol their trap lines, to hunt and to fish. That is, these men are still oriented to the land, although they live at the settlement.

Notable among the marginal Kabloonamiut at the settlement are the younger widows with children to maintain and some of the younger married men who are highly skilled travellers and hunters, men who have been invited to take up employment in one or another Kabloona agency, such as the Canadian Wildlife Service, D.O.T., and the Roman Catholic Mission.[1] What differentiates these people from the confirmed Kabloonamiut are the retention of certain traditional traits, such as in dress and hair style, the lack of fluency in English, and the recency of their move from the land to the settlement.

With a few exceptions, the confirmed Kabloonamiut have been long-time residents of either the Baker Lake or some other settlement in the Arctic. A comparison of the family histories of these household heads with other family histories reveals some significant differences. Unlike the majority of household heads in the region, the Kabloonamiut household heads were either born outside the E-2 district or have lived for lengthy periods outside this district, particularly in settlements along the West coast of Hudson Bay. Two were born at Repulse Bay and are Aivilikmiut in origin; four were born in the Tavani region (E-1 district); four were born at Baker Lake but spent considerable periods of time as permanent residents of coastal locations before moving back to the Baker Lake area. Some moved with their Kabloona employers when these were reposted; others moved in search of a more satisfactory livelihood. This characteristic of mobility extending outside the Baker Lake region also occurs in the backgrounds of a few household heads whom we have classified as marginal Kabloonamiut.

Another characteristic in the histories of some Kabloonamiut families is the existence of what we have called a patron-client relationship with a Kabloona person. No less than five household heads of the leading Kabloonamiut are the offspring of parents who were themselves linked with some Kabloona person, such as missionary, H.B.C. Manager, and R.C.M.P., in a patron-client relationship. The acculturation process has been mediated through these patrons or sponsors; today the clients themselves are the mediators between the Kabloona society and the Nunamiut.

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[1] The implications of this particular recruitment policy are discussed on pages 46 and 47.

All Kabloonamiut in the settlement live in wooden dwellings, ranging from small shacks to comparatively commodious three-room houses. A few marginal Kabloonamiut also live in wooden dwellings, but the majority inhabit igloos in winter and tents in summer. There are young adults and teenagers among the Kabloonamiut who have never dwelt in igloos and tents except on trips to the land.

All Kabloonamiut heads of households in the settlement work for Kabloona agencies, deriving their entire livelihood from wages earned in such work, although most Kabloonamiut hunt, trap and fish in their spare time. Indeed, some Kabloonamiut households get a larger catch of fish over the year than their fellowmen on the land, primarily because they are better equipped in terms of boats, nets, and rods.

The Kabloonamiut do not simply passively accept the Kabloona way of life, or those features of the Kabloona way of life to which they are most attracted; they are actively oriented to the new way of life. Those whose comprehension of English is weak take lessons in the night school. Kabloona living arrangements, styles of adornment, eating habits, and other conventions have been adopted by Kabloonamiut.

Kabloonamiut have a much higher frequency of interaction with the Kabloona than do other Eskimos. In fact, one definition of Kabloonamiut given by our interpreter was as follows: "He's with the Ka'bloons all the time." All Kabloonamiut are familiar with the interior of Kabloona houses in the settlement, although the majority of Eskimos in the region have seldom, if ever, set foot inside a Kabloona house.

Having listed the outstanding features which distinguish the Kabloonamiut from others, we now ask, do the people whom we have classified as Kabloonamiut form a distinct stratum in the community? The evidence suggests that they do. Numerous social bonds link Kabloonamiut with one another. With the exception of two household heads in this group, the Kabloonamiut are more linked with one another by kinship and affinal ties than they are with Nunamiut. Thus interaction based on shared membership in kinship groups and on in-law relationships tends to set off the Kabloonamiut from the other Eskimos. As we saw in our discussion of marriage and the family, the tendency is for the Kabloonamiut to arrange and encourage marriage of their offspring with the offspring of other settlement dwellers rather than with land dwellers. Future marriages of this nature will serve to crystallize the now rather amorphous

stratum of Kabloonamiut, setting it off as an even more distinctive grouping than it is at present.

What we are witnessing is the emergence of a socio-economic class system among the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region. Economically, a class system exists when a stratum of people possesses a larger share of wealth than other strata and where there is unequal access to the facilities and resources which are economically valuable. It will be recalled that in Chapter III our estimate was that almost half of the cash income flowing into the eighty-three households from all sources goes to the households of fifteen settlement families. These include ten of the households which we have classified as Kabloonamiut. If full-time jobs are to be considered a scarce but valuable resource, then these families have a kind of monopoly on that resource. The development of a money economy makes it possible for people to accumulate wealth in a manner which was hardly possible in the traditional society. While no Eskimo family would be considered wealthy by Kabloona standards of the south, the gap between the average Kabloonamiut family and the average land family is very wide. As one Kabloona official put it, "If things don't change around here we'll have two kinds of Eskimos--the haves and the have-nots."

Socially, a class system exists when a stratum of people who interact much with one another are given more prestige than is received by other groups in the community, and where the people in that stratum perform important leadership functions in the community. More systematic research will have to be carried out before we can make definite and reliable statements about the allocation of prestige among the Eskimos in this region. These statements will have to be based on observations concerning the patterns of deference and respect as between people in the different Eskimo groupings.

We are on surer ground in considering the community leadership role of the Kabloonamiut, for here we have an abundance of data. The most striking feature of their position in the community is the role of mediator between the Kabloona and the other Eskimos. Kabloona regard the Kabloonamiut as spokesmen for all Eskimos in the region. As key figures in the interaction system between the Kabloona and the bulk of the Eskimo population, the Kabloonamiut play both diffuse and specific mediating roles. Most Kabloona in the region, and all of those who do not speak Eskimo, usually have to pass through a Kabloonamiut screen

before getting messages across to, or receiving a message from, an Eskimo person. The Kabloonamiut are there, always willing to help in this diffuse sense, although as we shall see later, they are usually more willing to transmit messages to the Eskimos than they are to transmit Eskimo messages to the Kabloona.

This mediating position is dramatically ritualized in the Eskimo Council[1] meetings, held in the school. The chairmanship of the Council, which rotates every four months, always falls to one of the Kabloonamiut. He sits in the central position at the head table with the interpreter between him and the N.S.O. The other Kabloonamiut group themselves around the head table, although this means that some must turn their backs to 'the floor,' the remainder of those attending forming a kind of audience, as though they were simply spectators at a seminar on behalf of the N.S.O. and the Kabloonamiut grouped around the table.

At these meetings the N.S.O. is obviously in control, although he may not want to be, expressing the desire to see the Eskimos handle affairs themselves. But cues are taken from him. The only initiators of action, apart from the officer, are those grouped around the head table. Rarely does anyone else present initiate a topic of discussion. Usually, the Kabloonamiut person directs his communications to his confreres around the table rather than to the floor. Usually, what determines whether a topic is discussed or not is the response on the part of the Kabloonamiut at the head table. The N.S.O., through his interpreter, launches a topic for discussion, this having been decided beforehand by the N.S.O. with or without consulting the Chairman, who is little more than a figurehead. The interpreter announces the topic to the house. A silence ensues, while the group awaits some comment from the head table. If this is forthcoming, the discussion goes on; if not, the N.S.O. may suggest some other topic or return to the previous one, seeking in some way to get a reaction from the table. If someone from the table does speak to the topic, discussion may spread eventually to the floor, but only after the Kabloonamiut have had their say. This is one illustration of what is meant by mediating in a diffuse sense.

The advice and guidance of the Kabloonamiut are sought frequently in a wide variety of matters affecting the Eskimos: how to allocate new Eskimo houses, what to do about an Eskimo delinquent, whether or not a particular movie should be shown, how to organize the disposal of community garbage, and so on, are among the everyday matters which

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1 For further discussion of the Baker Lake Eskimo Council see pps.

are referred at some point to the Kabloonamiut for their consideration. They are taking on a role of representatives of the whole Eskimo community vis-a-vis the Kabloona.

As for mediating between the Kabloona and the Eskimos in a specific sense, this role is most clearly seen where direct interpretation is required. We distinguish between two kinds of language interpreting: official and unofficial. There is only one official, paid post of interpreter in the community, associated with D.N.A. This post is usually filled by a seventeen year old lad who learned most of his English at the Anglican Mission School. On those occasions when he is not available, another youth of roughly the same age is paid for this job. Infrequently, two other younger teenagers, who acquired their English in sanatoria and in the Federal Day School, are asked to interpret for various non-Eskimo persons and are usually paid for this service. All of these young men are from Kabloonamiut families.

There is also much unofficial, unpaid interpreting during the everyday course of events, undertaken by the youngsters mentioned and by adult Kabloonamiut, most of whom have an adequate comprehension of English, although they do not all speak it. As Eskimo and Kabloona grow more dependent on one another, an ever-increasing number of messages must be passed between them; as an ever-increasing number of Kabloona new hands who speak no Eskimo enter the community, the more significant becomes the role of the Kabloonamiut. They have already become key figures in the communication network of the community and their influence is being steadily enhanced because of this situation.

While on the subject of communication, this is an appropriate place to discuss some features of the Eskimo's use of English, features which might appear trivial but which we believe have important implications. First, let us point out that there is a marked tendency for the Kabloona to overestimate the Kabloonamiut's grasp of and fluency in English. One frequently hears comments such as the following: "Oh, old Katik understands just about everything we say and he can talk a lot too, I'll bet, but he doesn't let on." On the other hand, there is some evidence that a number of Eskimos in the region who do have a grasp of English are extremely reluctant to speak it, although they are usually willing to translate English into Eskimo, to pass messages from the Kabloona to the Innuit. There is, however, a general reluctance to translate Eskimo messages into English. Where the Eskimo message is a simple assertion, such as 'yes' or no' or 'I am

sick', it will likely be transmitted by the unofficial interpreter to the Kabloona. That is, where the Eskimo message does not require the unofficial interpreter to verbalize much English it will likely be transmitted. But where the message requires the construction of a lengthy sentence in English, such as, "He says his mother has never had an X-Ray, but she talked to the nurse," it is common for the unofficial interpreter to pretend he does know what the person has said or to indicate helplessness.

Now to some extent sheer skill in speaking is involved in many such cases. But there is evidence that several Eskimos who have an adequate comprehension of English have spoken whole sentences in English in some emergency, such as in explaining symptoms or in delivering an important message to a monoglot Kabloona. It is when such people show an extreme reluctance to translate Eskimo messages into English that we encounter something more than a purely linguistic problem.

A satisfactory explanation of verbal communication flow between people requires that both psychological and sociological factors be considered. One common sense kind of explanation which is advanced by Kabloona to account for the reluctance of some Eskimos to speak English is shyness. This explanation could be considered seriously if we could differentiate between those who do and those who do not speak readily in terms of shyness, but our evidence indicates that many of those who are reluctant to speak are no more shy than many who speak readily. A second explanation we have encountered locally is that unwillingness to speak English when capable of doing so reflects a proud nature and an avoidance of situations where personal inadequacies might be revealed. This hypothesis is difficult, if not impossible, to test. A third explanation which has been offered is that those who can speak but are reluctant to do so nurse a deep-lying rejection of the Kabloona and his way of life which they unselfconsciously reveal by refusing to speak his language. This hypothesis can only be tested by some technique which probes the unconscious, for the people in question, who are mostly Kabloonamiut, display at least a surface liking for Kabloona and an eagerness to accept his way of life. It is not improbable that some, if not all, Kabloonamiut are ambivalent about the Kabloona and his way of life, just as they are ambivalent about the Eskimos. That people who occupy a kind of marginal position, that is, live in a "no-man's land" between one culture and another, experience inner conflict and anxiety has been suggested by many writers.[1] Some have even referred to this as "status anxiety" and have suggested that the so-called half-breed or Metis very often showed symptoms of this form of malaise. However, this is a hypothesis which we have not been able to test for lack of proper psychological techniques to

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[1] Cf. the abundant literature on the 'Marginal Man,' beginning with Stonquist (1937).

probe the depths of inner psychic behaviour.

If we look at the social roles of thirteen people, other than school children, who have what we consider an adequate grasp of English we find some interesting patterns. We may divide this total group into those who are ready and those who are reluctant to speak English. The first point to note is that all the five ready speakers are male and the majority of the eight reluctant speakers are female. In fact, no female, apart from the Eastern Arctic wife of a Kabloona staff worker, can be considered a ready speaker. There is a suggestion that, among the Eskimos, speaking messages of import is associated with superiority and leadership. Their word for leader, isumatah, is sometimes translated as 'one who speaks'. It could be that English usage is associated with superiority and leadership and that people who occupy roles which are defined as subservient--such as women--behave inappropriately when they speak the language.

However, it may be asked, what about the three men whose comprehension is apparently good and who hardly ever speak? It is probably significant that each of these men is linked directly with a Kabloona person in what we have described as a 'patron-client' relationship and is permanently committed to this relationship. That is, each of these men is in a subservient position vis-a-vis a particular Kabloona. Of the five male ready speakers, only one--the young interpreter--is linked in a more or less permanent relationship to a particular Kabloona, and he is paid as an interpreter and thus must speak the language. Of the other four ready speakers, one is an adult who works for D.O.T. but who is not linked to his employer in a patron-client relationship, a man who has travelled extensively outside the Arctic as a crew member on a merchant vessel; the remaining three are young male teenagers not yet committed to permanent employment and who are occasionally employed as paid interpreters.

Admittedly, this hypothesis linking readiness and reluctance to speak English with social role in the community is a very tentative one and one which we had no adequate opportunity to test on the spot. However, special attention should be devoted to this matter in further research, for communication between Eskimos and Kabloona is a matter of growing significance; anything of relevance that might be discovered is bound to be of some theoretical and practical importance.

In discussing the mediating role of the Kabloonamiut we have emphasized their relations with the Kabloona. In order to counter any impression that the Kabloonamiut are segregated from the Nunamiut, let us point out that they have frequent occasion to act on behalf of the latter, as go-betweens in Nunamiut contacts with the Kabloona in much the same position as the Metis of the 18th century acted as mediators between the Indian and the white man. Furthermore, the Kabloonamiut

take part in all Eskimo community activities, such as dances, movies, games. The setting for most of these activities is the school while, as we have seen, the setting for most Kabloona activities is the D.O.T. Mess. Younger Kabloonamiut are frequently admitted to the Mess, while those who work for the D.O.T. are there constantly. But at Kabloona parties and dances, the Kabloonamiut are rarely invited guests. It is understood by all that they are more Eskimo than Kabloona.

Enough has been related to highlight the crucial role played by the Kabloonamiut at this stage of contact between Eskimos and Kabloona. We can expect the Kabloonamiut ranks to swell now that the Federal Day School is in operation and the children who are receiving an elementary school education, whether in the settlement or on the land, move swiftly towards a more Kabloona way of life. Additional comments on the role of the Kabloonamiut will be made in Chapters IX and X.

CHAPTER VII

FORMAL EDUCATION

Introduction

No single event in the Baker Lake region has had more significance in determining which life paths will be followed by the Eskimos than the introduction of the Federal Day School in 1957. We refer, of course, to the process of assimilation, in which the Eskimos are being drawn into the economic, social, and cultural networks of the embracing society.

If one were to uphold the separatist point of view and still admit that younger Eskimos should receive formal education, one would likely insist that the dominant consideration in that education should be to groom Eskimo children in such a way that they will not turn away from and de-value the Eskimo way of life. The curriculum in this view should reflect the local milieu and should stress the requirements of getting along successfully in that milieu.

According to the opposite point of view, the dominant consideration in Eskimo education should be to ensure that Eskimo youngsters get an education equivalent and similar to that received by other Canadian youngsters. As in any other industrial nation, education in Canada is quite uniform over the whole country. One is more impressed with the similarities rather than with the differences in educational content in, say, a Halifax neighbourhood school, a Saskatchewan rural school, and a Vancouver suburban school, although the pupils abide in quite different milieux. For reasons the analysis of which would take us beyond the scope of this introduction, industrial nations do not tolerate much local variation in the content of basic education. Underlying educational theory in such nations is the assumption that people are not being groomed to remain in their local habitat; rather there is a strong assumption of mobility or potential mobility.

In our society education has become a crucial facility without which a person is very much restricted in his choice of occupation and position in society. The educational system sifts and sorts people into different channels and layers. The great majority of people who make top level decisions affecting the whole society (cabinet ministers, executives and directors of massive firms, university presidents, etc.) have university training; a majority of those who make 'middle level' decisions affecting extensive sectors of our society are also university trained; those at the managerial level and in the independent professions are, if not university graduates, at least high school and vocational school graduates; those whose

jobs call for the use of highly valued talents are mostly high school graduates. Those whose occupational choice is restricted mostly to what the society regards as the 'dirty work' are, generally speaking, without advanced and specialized formal education. Furthermore, until a generation or so ago a basic education was regarded as at least an elementary education; today a basic education is generally defined as a high school education. [1]

For most people in an industrial society the lower the level at which they leave the educational process, the narrower is the range of alternatives from which they may realistically choose. In making it impossible or possible, difficult or easy, for persons to acquire a formal education, we are, whether we like it or not, exercising a decisive influence on the futures of the persons in question and on their children.

We have discussed education as a facility and have said nothing about other features of the formal school system. We might mention that our formal educational system is to some extent the main repository of the cultural, intellectual, and scientific heritage of our own and some other societies. One of the functions of the educational system is to transmit that heritage and to encourage people to build on it.

Exposure to this heritage and the acquisition of the skills and knowledge to be gained in the Canadian school system does not imply that the Eskimo person will be any happier or morally uplifted. The argument in this introduction is simply that the goal of easy circulation in Canadian society presupposes at least a basic formal education along lines already laid down for the great majority of the population. Whether or not this is the proper goal is not for the author to decide.

With these general considerations about the place of education in our society as a background, we now turn to a description of formal education in the Baker Lake region.

The Federal School

The ground for formal education in the Baker Lake region was broken by the missionaries in the early '30s. Until 1956, the year of the opening of the federal day school, they taught English, elementary arithmetic,

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1 For discussion of, and data on, the relation between socio-economic position and education, see: Porter (1957), Warner, and others (1944), Parsons (1959)

and the writing of the syllabic alphabet, used for the reading of the Bible, prayer and hymn books. All Eskimos in the region still use the syllabic script in their written communications. Children have been taught to write the syllabic script by their parents as well as by the missionaries. As syllabic script is not used at all in the new federal school, it is almost certain that the children of today's school pupils will not use it and that it will disappear from everyday use a generation or so hence. Meanwhile it is advisable to retain the syllabic script for some purposes, such as in materials intended for the instruction of adult Eskimos, for it is unlikely that a significant number of adults will learn the Latin script.

For a number of obvious reasons it is advisable to abandon eventually the syllabic script. For one thing, not all Eskimos are familiar with this script. For another, the syllabic script employed by the Anglicans differs significantly in detail from that employed by the Roman Catholics. Finally, adoption of the Latin script will provide the Canadian Eskimos with access to an infinitely larger corpus of reading material, including material produced by other Eskimos in Canada, Greenland, and Alaska, than the limited volume of religious and other works they can peruse at present.

Both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries held classes in their buildings at the settlement. The great majority of pupils at the Anglican classes were the children of Eskimos residing at or near the settlement, with the addition of those few pupils who came in occasionally with their parents to trade and get supplies. Because few of the Roman Catholics in the region were residents of the settlement, attendance at the Roman Catholic mission school was less regular than at the Anglican school. In fact, much of the Roman Catholic missionary's teaching was done during his visits to the camps. Besides, the missionaries had a kind of correspondence course arrangement in which Eskimo adults and their children coming to the settlement to trade furs or to get supplies would bring their home-work with them to be checked by the missionary and would get another few lessons and assignments to work on back in the camps.

In considering the criticisms one hears about the failure of the missionaries to educate the Eskimos adequately for modern society a number of points must be borne in mind. First, no section or group in the Canadian population defined the Eskimos as Canadian citizens in the full sense of the word, so that there was no pressure from the south to push forward with their education. Second, the sedentary settlement

population was much smaller than it is at present. Each missionary served an area covering thousands of square miles of wilderness, scantily populated by small, scattered bands which moved frequently in the unpredictable food quest. Third, only the crudest of facilities, such as classroom space, books, maps, pencils, etc., were available to the missionaries. Finally, the teaching role was never regarded by the hinterland missionaries as a major one except, of course, for the teaching of religion. The demands of the teaching role were given lower priority than the demands put upon the missionary as a doctor, dentist, welfare officer, mediator, and spiritual advisor.

Even in recent years, with the movement of more Eskimos to the settlement as permanent residents and the emergence of the conviction that the Eskimo now needs something more than an ability to read the Bible and to do elementary sums, the missionaries could not devote the major part of their energies to teaching school. Thus, their efforts in recent years have resulted in only a slight rise in numbers of people who can speak English and use Latin script. During the first three months of 1956, for instance, preceding the opening of the federal school, the Anglican mission school operated only thirty-seven days, from one to three o'clock in the afternoons. Twenty-eight pupils were enrolled and an average of twenty-five pupils a day attended. As pointed out earlier, the majority of these pupils belonged to families residing at the settlement. The Roman Catholic mission school operated for about the same number of hours during that period, but as the large majority of pupils were children of land families, coming and going with their parents, their attendance was very much episodic.

The obvious inadequacy of this system when assessed in terms of the new orientation and policies introduced by D.N.A.; the small number of children attending; and the division of children according to religious affiliation impelled the Department to establish the federal, non-residential school in the fall of 1956.

At first classes were held in a renovated D.O.T. building, measuring about 100 by 25 feet. This came to be called the Big School. For the first two years of its existence the school had only one teacher. For the 1958-59 school year two teachers shared the work load and an additional building, measuring about 40 by 15 feet was borrowed from the Canadian Wildlife Service to accommodate classes. This is now known as the Little School. A completely new one-room building is to be erected for the 1959-60 school year.

In theory the school is open to all children of the E-2 District between the ages of six and sixteen. In 1959 there were 93 children in that age group in the District, but because of transportation difficulties, lack of classroom space, and the shortage of accommodation for the lodging of land children, only 61 of these children were enrolled during the 1958 to 1959 year. The congestion at the school was alleviated somewhat by the attendance of seven Roman Catholic children of the E-2 District at the residential school in Chesterfield Inlet. According to law, children are to attend schools only within their own districts, and Chesterfield Inlet is in a different registration district (E-3), so these children were enrolled 'illegally'. However, because their attendance at Chesterfield relieves the congestion at the Baker Lake school, this infraction is tolerated by all concerned, another illustration of the kind of accommodation which administrators must make in this difficult land.

The present situation favours the children of the settlement. All eligible children of the settlement attended the school in the 1958-59 year. Of the 61 children enrolled, only 17 were from land families. In that year 27 eligible children of land families did not attend school because they could not be accommodated or because they did not apply.

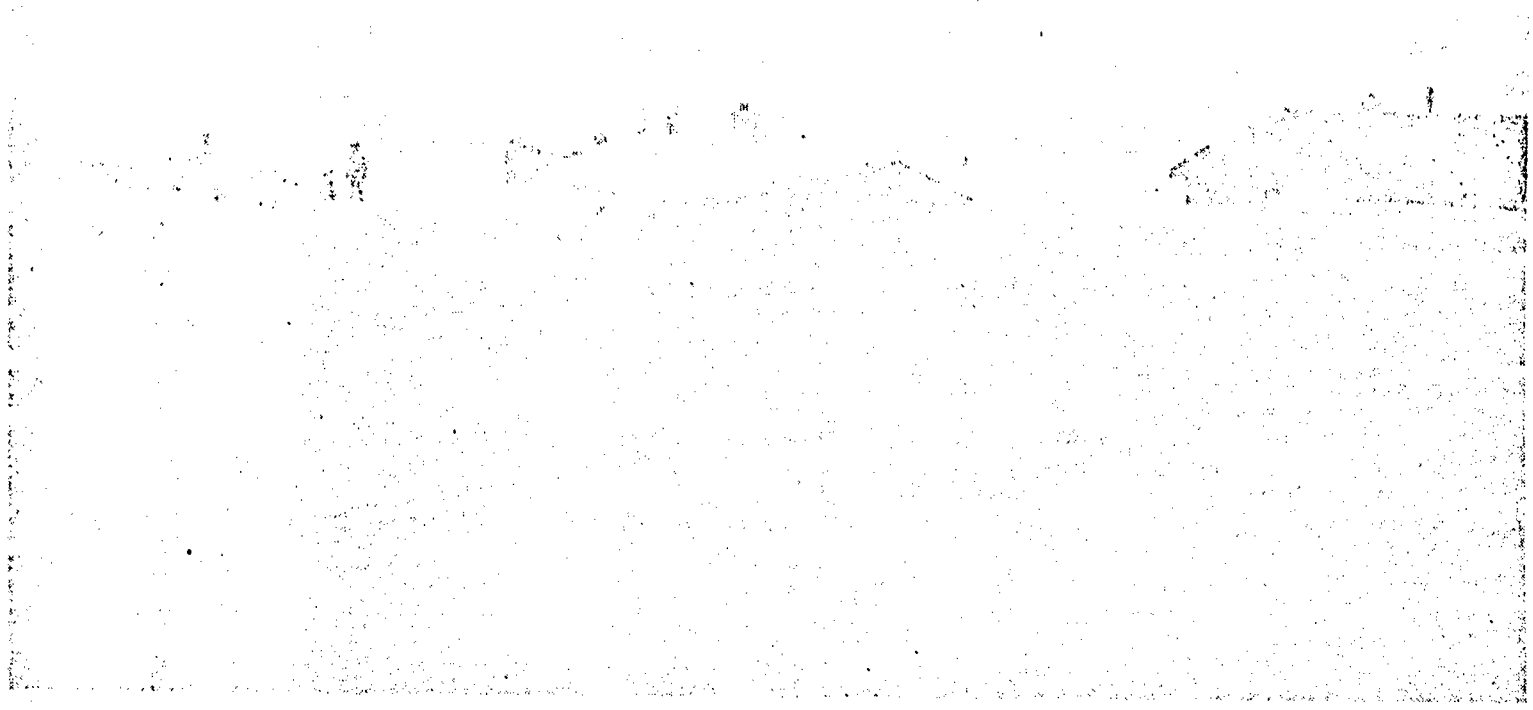
The 17 land children who did attend were boarded with Eskimo settlement families. Each household head receives $45.00 per pupil boarded. Even if more classroom space were available, not many more than the present number of boarded-out children could be accommodated comfortably in Eskimo households at this time. Officials of the Northern Health Service have on several occasions threatened to refuse permission to existing boarding households to continue accommodating their charges, and have discouraged other candidates for boarders from taking in land children. Overcrowding of tents, shacks, and igloos and unsanitary household conditions are the reasons given for refusing permission to take in boarders. According to one official who evidently holds to the theory of learning by punishment, refusing permission to people whose dwellings are unsatisfactory by his standards should impel these people to improve their living conditions, for they interpret this refusal as a penalty, a deprivation of forty-five dollars a month. Unfortunately, we did not have the opportunity to test this theory during our stay. Subsequent research should study the conditions under which people do take positive steps to improve their dwellings and to learn something about how the Eskimos respond to such penalties. It may be that they respond in the way predicted by the Northern Health Service officials; on the other hand, their response could simply be one of animosity to the official who penalizes them, manifested in a determination not to follow his instructions.

It should be pointed out that living conditions in settlement igloos, tents, and shacks are no worse, and are usually better, than living conditions in land habitations. To refuse a family permission to board a child from the land who wants to go to school might mean that the child, deprived of schooling, returns to a habitation on the land which is likely to be in an even poorer condition (from the Kabloona point of view) than the one to which he was refused lodging in the settlement, thus increasing the risk of disease on the land where it is more difficult to treat.

Here again we encounter the kind of operational dilemma discussed elsewhere: officials are faced with the job of helping the Eskimos' advance on a broad front', and are forced to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of a course of action in one sector against the demands from other sectors. Where an official's goals are narrowly defined, whether in terms of education, health, employment, or whatever, he will pursue these without much concern for the achievement of other goals outside his purview. In the present situation at Baker Lake, while no official denies the importance and desirability of education for Eskimo youngsters, a few would give it low priority, the others would give it higher priority but would give precedence to a number of other goals if these happened to conflict with the educational one.

What importance do the Eskimos attach to formal education? An increasing number of people from the land come to the settlement before the opening of the school each year with their children to attempt to get them enrolled and to find accommodation for the children with an Eskimo settlement family. Their requests for enrollment and accommodation are usually directed through the N.S.O. or the R.C.M.P., along with a request for a clothing allowance, for the majority of children from land families are poorly clad.

The parents desire to get their children into the households of relatives and friends or into the households of people of good repute. The physical attributes of the habitation itself, its sanitary condition and size, are not of much concern to these parents. Their main concern is that their children live in a friendly atmosphere with substitute parents. In one survey of opinion among land people as to whom they would like their



Plates 8, 9, 10 - Children playing outside school buildings during recess. Late winter scene above, courtesy S. Nicholls, formerly with Indian Northern Health Services. Scenes below, 'London Bridge' at left and baseball at right, show 'big' school in background, late June, 1959.

children to stay within the settlement, eight parents chose the same household as the most desirable place for their children to live. The head of this household is an ex-hunter and trapper who has been incapacitated and who does part-time chore work around the settlement. He and his wife, who have one child of their own, are popular personalities about whom many favourable comments are made by both Eskimos and Kabloona. Despite the fact that their home-made shack is below par by the standards of the health authorities--indeed, the place has been condemned by the Northern Health Service--people from the land compete in trying to get their children boarded there. Last year three land children were accommodated in this place, in spite of the protests of the Northern Health Service officer. The R.C.M.P. and N.S.O., who are responsible for allocating boarders, usually try to comply with the wishes of the Eskimos and, in doing so, might on occasion contravene the regulations, as medically defined. But the strict interpretation of such regulations in the present-day situation at Baker Lake would likely be more harmful than beneficial.

The majority of Eskimo dwellings are so small that the addition of one boarder results in overcrowding according to Kabloona standards. Even the new Eskimo houses, eight of which are scheduled for erection in 1960, are tiny by Kabloona standards, measuring only 16 by 16 feet. In making room for an additional person, it is easier to construct or add to an igloo than it is to expand a house, but the tendency in Baker Lake is to direct boarders to families with wooden dwellings. Sooner or later all Eskimos in this region will be living in wooden dwellings. It can be argued in favour of the current practice that putting land boarders in wooden houses is part of the total educative process, preparing youngsters for the time when they will live permanently in Kabloona-like dwellings.

What about alternatives to the boarding out method? The familiar solution of accommodating school children in a hostel has been discussed and tried at Baker Lake. In 1956 and 1957 a kind of pensionnat was experimentally introduced. The welfare teacher's home and the old Roman Catholic mission building were used as lodgings for a dozen land children. But this make-shift experiment was abandoned by D.N.A. Currently there is a plan to accommodate about twenty-five school children from the land in four houses to be built during or after the year 1960. Each house will be managed by an Eskimo couple. The optimum number of six children per house should not be conducive to the psychological isolation which sometimes results from too large a number of children being looked after by substitute parents. Eskimo parents whom we consulted were unenthusiastic about the idea of residences containing large numbers of children, indicating that they place a high value on the personal relationship between the guardians and the children. Experience in the impersonal hospital setting might incline parents against the large hostel idea. Four parents consulted mentioned that a large number of children in the same age group living under one roof would be

difficult to manage; evidently the idea of institutional discipline, such as is common in hostels, is quite foreign to these parents.

Perhaps this emphasis on the desirability of caring for children in the family setting does not derive as much from Eskimo familism as it does from a distaste for institutional living which many claim is uncongenial to the Eskimo temperament. There is an abundant literature on the question of the psychological effects of institutional living on children. Some attention was paid to this matter during our research. In the camps visited we observed children who had been at the residential school in Chesterfield, children who had been boarded in Baker Lake households, and children who had not been to school at all without discovering any significant differences in behaviour which could be attributed to different accommodation experiences. However, this is a matter which should be pursued more systematically, perhaps with the use of psychological tests to probe beneath the surface behaviour. What needs to be emphasized at this time is that the idea of a large hostel has little, if any, support among the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region.

Another and different kind of argument against a large hostel has to do with the broader context of relations between the two religious denominations and between the religious and government agencies. As was observed in an earlier chapter, over the years there has developed an informal understanding that support for the two major religious denominations should, where this is possible, be equated, that one should not be unduly favoured over the other. The fact that the Roman Catholics have a large hostel at Chesterfield, in the same general region as Baker Lake, impelled Anglican authorities to suggest that they should administer a similar hostel at Baker Lake, where the Anglican population greatly outnumbers the Roman Catholic. Given the trend towards secularizing education and the desire of the government to avoid getting involved in competition between the religious denominations, it is not surprising that D.N.A. is reluctant to set up a large hostel at Baker Lake. All things considered, then, in lieu of the present boarding out system, the plan to establish four small family-like hostels, responsibility for the management of which will ultimately fall on the N.S.O., seems the most reasonable solution.

A number of obvious arguments may be advanced in favour of the small hostel idea as an alternative to the current boarding-out system. For one thing, the system would permit a much larger number of children from the land to attend school. This of course presupposes the enlargement of classroom space and perhaps the addition of another teacher, both of which goals are set for 1961. For another, the right to a formal education would no longer depend primarily on the arbitrary rule of 'first come, first served', which applies nowadays; nor would whatever advantages schooling brings accrue mostly to children who happen to live in the settlement. As we pointed out

earlier, as long as the present unintended discrimination against Nunamiut continues, the gulf between the Kabloonamiut and Nunamiut will widen and a process will be launched which it will be impossible to reverse. Indeed this process of differentiation is already underway: as we mentioned earlier, all settlement children of school age are pupils; less than 40% of eligible land children are pupils.

A final argument in favour of the small hostel system is that provision for the material and health needs of the children should be carried out more systematically and more economically than it is at present.

Daily Life in the Baker Lake School

During the year 1958-59 the school functioned from the beginning of September to the end of June. The pupils were divided into five groups. The Big School was occupied by the neophytes, 14 girls and 19 boys, with an age-spread of from seven to fifteen years of age. These children were divided into two classes, classified according to date of first enrollment and according to fluency in English upon enrollment. An aisle down the middle of the room divided one class from the other. In the Big School one teacher devoted all energy and attention to language acquisition.

According to the teachers, the problem of language mastery is not a difficult one for the younger Eskimo children; they claimed that children who begin school at the normal age of six or seven require only about one year of intensive English language training in order to become bilingual and proceed with the full school program followed by English speaking children. However, they observed that the later the age at which children begin school, the longer is the 'retardation' period separating them from those who begin at the normal age. In other words, while a child who begins at the normal age will likely be retarded one year or so because of the language difficulty, those who begin to, say, age ten will eventually be retarded about six or seven years. Two of the teachers expressed the opinion that special methods, other than the Basic English one now used, should be devised in order to accelerate the learning period for such older pupils. Further comment on English acquisition and on the need for special materials is reserved for a later section of this chapter.

The senior teacher managed three classes in the other, smaller building. In grade I, there were eleven children, of whom one is the son of a Kabloona official; in grade II were thirteen children; and in grade IV two children, one of whom is the daughter of a Kabloona official, the other an Eskimo lad of 15 who spent several years in sanatoria in the South. The Kabloona children are not given special treatment of any kind in the school. In the Little School the ages of the pupils range from ten to seventeen years.

It is interesting to note that the rather strict age-grading characteristic of schools in the South is absent in the Baker Lake school. In organized games at recess children of all ages and of both sexes intermingle, as illustrated in the accompanying photographs. However, in free play time, the children tend to re-group according to their own age group and sex.

Each school has an entrance porch where the children divest themselves of their outer clothing. In the Big School there is a kitchen where snacks of cocoa and biscuits are served twice a day to pupils from both buildings. During the deep winter months the two buildings are linked by a tunnel burrowed through the roof-high drifts which surround all habitations in the settlement.

Classes begin at nine in the morning and are in session for six hours a day, Monday through Friday. There is a break for lunch from noon to one-thirty, and two recess breaks, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Snacks are served at the recess breaks. Kabloona patterns of etiquette, which in many respects are quite different from Eskimo ones, prevail in the school setting and are particularly conspicuous during snack-time. Girls are served first, and usually the youngest girls and boys are served before the older ones. All children are required to say "Thank you," after being served. Except for the "thank you" ritual, the other features of etiquette mentioned are not carried out by the majority of children observed outside the school. We conducted a crude experiment in which we had mixed groups of school children visit us to chat and have a snack. After the cocoa had been poured and the cookies put on a plate, we would ask, "Whom should we serve first?" leaving it to the group to decide. The typical pattern of precedence, or pecking order, was as follows: first, the oldest boy, then the oldest girl-- even where the oldest boy was younger than the oldest girl, he would usually take precedence; then the remaining children according to relative age and sex, girls following boys, younger following older. This illustration highlights a feature of the school which will receive some attention later in this chapter: the social milieu of the school is at many points in sharp contrast to the social milieu of the household. This is not to say that the children or their parents perceive and are deeply concerned about such contradictions and discontinuities. Evidently the world of the school is viewed as a separate one which has its own peculiar but legitimate requirements, just as the setting of the chapel requires behaviour and postures which are appropriate there but not elsewhere.[1]

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1. The author noted a similar attitude to the school culture on the part of Scottish rural children. While in school they spoke in the dialect of the teacher-- what is usually called 'standard English' in Britain - but immediately school was out they would revert to their own local dialect, which was markedly different from the one used in school. Yet the requirements of both spheres-- school and not-school-- were not regarded as in conflict; there were simply different standards of appropriateness in the two settings.

After the snacks at recess, cups and spoons are washed by volunteers. This task, like others connected with the school (cleaning blackboards and brushes, sweeping the floor, ringing the bell, etc.), is defined as a reward by pupils. One of the problems facing the teacher is to choose judiciously from among the volunteers, who press their claims with an impressive fervour, the ones who most deserve to be rewarded by being allocated a particular task. As one of the teachers remarked, "It's easier to solve problems of who should be punished rather than of who should be rewarded!"

In the kitchen of the Big School and in one corner of the Little School hang the toothbrushes of the pupils with their names attached, and mirrors for primping and restoring hair order after the exertions of recess. Next to training in English, training in etiquette, propriety, and hygiene is the major preoccupation of the teachers, particularly in the Big School among the neophytes where much time is spent in examining hands for dirt, distributing Kleenex for running noses, helping girls with their pig-tails, etc. In the more advanced classes among the older children, propriety and neatness have become habit, indeed almost an obsession with some. In the summer holidays during our visits to the camps, we encountered again the toothbrushes of the pupils, hanging in a place of honour near the entrances to the tents. Apparently at least some of the messages about health and hygiene, in contrast to those about Kabloona etiquette, make a deep enough impression on the children that they are heeded outside the school setting.

Among other adult Kabloona norms which the school children appear to accept with enthusiasm, at least in the context of formal schooling, is a zest for attendance and punctuality. Unless they are quite ill, the youngsters always attend school. On many occasions the teachers felt impelled to return to their homes those children who would have been safer in bed than in school. When a child arrives late, he is careful to explain the reason; there is a good chance that such a child will arrive next day about thirty minutes before classes begin.

The need to conform to time-scheduling at school is altering the orientation to time among the Eskimo population. In the past, except for the few Eskimos who worked for Kabloona agencies, there was no situation requiring the rigid scheduling of activities, but now there is pressure on parents and children alike to adjust their daily lives to school requirements. This involves not only the matter of rising and retiring at fixed hours, but also the arranging of meals to fit into the school schedule. During the vacation and on the eve of days when school is closed, the daily living schedule for children reverts somewhat to the traditional pattern: young children may be seen playing outdoors until eleven o'clock or later, depending on how much daylight there is; food may be taken at almost any hour. However, at other times the demands of the school take unquestioned precedence.

This conformity suggests a positive enthusiasm for school. Our observations support the opinions of the teachers: the children are avid to learn and it is quite evident that the great majority of children are doing their very best in school. The problem of motivating laggards and punishing deviants at school hardly exists. One teacher remarked:

> "I have taught both white kids and Indian kids, but I have never dealt with kids like this before. You were asking me about problems of discipline--we don't have them. Except for the language difficulty, teaching Eskimo children is the easiest thing in the world. It's because they're crazy to learn."

On those rare occasions when the teachers have had to punish a child, they have learned that such traditional Kabloona punishments as forcing a child to stand in a corner are without any effect except to make all the children, including the deviant, laugh uproariously. One punishment we witnessed which turned out to be apparently effective was administered to a child who had laughed aloud at an inappropriate time: he was deprived of the privilege of being first to read the lesson. This was defined as a drastic punishment by the class.

Our illustration brings to mind the observation made earlier about the teacher's manipulation of rewards, such as the privilege of sweeping the floor, washing the cups, etc. The children are keenly responsive to such rewards. A more systematic method of rewards was attempted by the teacher in the Big School last year, the familiar system of awarding paper stars for superior work. She claims that the children responded well to this experiment and that the level of effort was raised even beyond its normally high point.

It is evident, then, that the Baker Lake children are strongly motivated to conform to the demands of the school system. Furthermore, they exhibit a facility to imitate which is quite noticeable to outsiders and which is particularly valuable at this level of education, much of which is directed to the acquisition of basic English. As to their performance in other school subjects, such as arithmetic and social studies, so few Eskimo children are at the level where these subjects are important in the curriculum that it is impossible to assess their competence in relation to Kabloona children, at least on a scale which would permit group comparisons.

Except for a short orientation period in Ottawa, teachers in Eskimo schools get no special instructions on how to go about the job of teaching Eskimo children. They are simply advised to use their good sense in resolving whatever problems they might encounter. The curriculum followed is similar to those in other parts of Canada. In an unfamiliar, unstructured

situation, it may be thought that the teachers would tend to tailor their program to a great extent in terms of the kinds of subject their pupils like. This would make their jobs easier. However, there is no narrowly channelled pressure on the teachers to favour one subject over another. An inquiry among the pupils revealed no clear-cut preference in subject matter. Some preferred writing, others reading; some liked singing best of all, others drawing.

Instruction in English is the only part of the program which merits detailed comment at this time, as so few children are at the level of advanced elementary work in other subjects. First, it should be noted that English is not defined as a separate subject of instruction: the children accept without question that English is the language of the school. It could hardly be otherwise, as the teachers speak no Eskimo.

In the Big School, basic English is used. One difficulty which arises in its use is that many words which occur in the basic English textbooks have no Eskimo cultural referrents (e.g., fence, back yard, bath, etc.), lending an air of unreality to the instruction. This does not mean that the Eskimos express bewilderment over such unfamiliar notions or are interested in learning their significance. The school and the content of instruction are accepted, as are the cinema and the airplane, simply as part of the reality which the Kabloona regard as important and meaningful: therefore these things must be important and meaningful. In such a situation the need to refer to pictures is great. The teachers opined that it would be desirable to have special textbooks for the beginner classes and that these textbooks should be adapted to the Arctic milieu. However, they also felt that these books should not be too much different from the ones used in other Canadian schools lest the Eskimo users get isolated behind a linguistic and cultural barrier from other Canadian children.

Another minor source of difficulty the teachers encounter is in the tendency for many children to speak just above a whisper when doing exercises in pronunciation. The phenomenon of soft speech and reluctance to use English in certain situations have been discussed in a previous chapter. Actually, in the school situation children are not nearly as inhibited about speaking English as they are outside school. Except for several rather extroverted boys, who speak English loudly and clearly in school and out, most Eskimo children confine their use of the language to the schoolroom. The majority of school girls and several school boys encountered were extremely reluctant to speak English in the presence of Kabloona outside the school. It should be noted, however, that in playing with Kabloona children, Eskimo youngsters are not inhibited about speaking English. Inside the school the teachers are compelled to repeat again and again their request that children, particularly girls, speak more loudly.

When we examine the content of instruction in the federal school we find that it is not much different from that under the missionary school regime. In fact, parents who were asked what differences there were between the two regimes mentioned only the larger size of the Big School and the additional room in the Little School. Some parents also mentioned the appurtenances, such as desks, blackboards, tape-recorders, etc., to be found in the new school buildings as the biggest differential between the two regimes. Only a few parents mentioned one important difference between the two systems: the syllabic script is not used at all in the new school, a matter which we commented on earlier.

Painting, handicrafts, and drawing take up a considerable amount of time in the new school. The themes of the subjects which the children choose to draw and paint show an interesting blending of local and Southern elements. By handicrafts in this context is meant such activities as cutting out, pasting, and so forth, and not the traditional Eskimo hand manufacture.

During the first year of the new school's operations a program of practical education, based on the theory that education should fit into the particular milieu, was tried for the older children. These were mostly from the camps. They attended the regular school in the mornings, the afternoons being devoted to instruction in fishing, trapping, tent and igloo construction, and the acquisition of other skills required to live on the land. Instruction was given by Eskimo adults. The teacher intended to push ahead with a program in which this kind of practical instruction would be given in connection with a Boy Scout and Girl Guide program outside of school hours, but this plan was not pursued by the teachers who replaced him in 1958, when a completely Kabloona program was introduced.

On occasion the demands of the Eskimo milieu are permitted to take temporary precedence over the demands of the school. For instance, if an older boy wishes to take a day or two off from school in order to go hunting he may get permission to do so from the teacher. Furthermore, some land children get permission to leave school and return to their families before the summer sun makes dog-sled travelling impossible. However, for the most part, the day school is a purely Canadian agency, an envelope of Kabloona society and culture in which the child is sealed off from the traditional Eskimo milieu. If the child were put on board a rocket each morning and whisked within minutes to some school in the South, then whisked back to Baker Lake again in the afternoon, the contrast between his school milieu and that of his home would not be much greater than it is at present.

It should be emphasized that we have been discussing the school program and not the building itself. It is the school program which provides the contrast between Eskimo and Kabloona life, between the local milieu and

the culture of the broader society. As we have pointed out earlier, the school building is not viewed as a strange place by the local Eskimos; it is the community centre, the locale for many secular activities, including adult education.

Adult Education

At present no comprehensive program of adult education exists at Baker Lake, although a good argument could be advanced for an intensive program relating to health, conservation, the handling of money, first aid, swimming, fire hazards, and other matters. Apart from English classes at night, what adult education there is happens to be a by-product of activities which are not planned as part of an adult-education program. One of these was mentioned in a previous chapter: the Eskimo Council meetings, which are regarded by the Kabloona as primarily local governmental but whose main value is adult educational.

Unfortunately we were unable to observe the adult language classes in action as they had completed the annual session before our arrival. The school teachers gave instructions in basic English, using the same textbooks as those used in the day school, twice per week, a course which in 1958-1959 was followed regularly by two groups of twelve adults each. All of these were settlement Eskimos. It is difficult to evaluate the success of this instruction, for the adults attending, who repeated the English words after the teacher in a very subdued voice, would not speak English outside the class.

Apart from the adult language classes, other activities which are adult educational take place in the Big School. For the women there are sewing and handicraft classes, last year organized by the wife of the N.S.O., who volunteered her time and more than a little material without remuneration. These weekly meetings are well attended, as many as forty women turning out on most nights. In a way, these meetings are a female version of the Eskimo Council meetings, which involve only males. N.S.O.'s wife provides the initiative in the sense of setting the stage for the night's activities. One night she will bring along a cook book, in which case the women concentrate on food preparation; another night she will bring weaving materials, in which case the women concentrate on making belts or ties or some other kind of adornment. Whatever the major activity on a given night, there is considerable chatter among the Eskimo women and between the Eskimo women and the N.S.O.'s wife, the latter's remarks and questions being typically interpreted into Eskimo by one of the ladies who comprehend English, but who does not feed back the Eskimo remarks in English. On occasion the N.S.O.'s wife brings along a book on the Eskimos, such as the Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition. On such occasions the Eskimo women

gather round the document, commenting on the pictures and volunteering information. The visitor cannot help feel the irony of the situation where the Kabloona incites the Eskimo to consider his group's past. However, the most significant feature of these weekly meetings is that the conventional aspects of the housewifely role in Canadian society are presented to the Eskimos in a personal, informal setting.

In fact, the school is the setting which has come to be identified with the transmission of messages about the Kabloona world. On a Saturday night, if a dance is not to be held, a movie will likely be shown, bringing the more fanciful sides of life among Kabloona right into the Eskimo community. Eskimo Council meetings, which are occasions for Kabloona messages to be passed to the Eskimos, are held in the Big School. Important emergency meetings involving Kabloona and Innuit are likely to be called in the school.

It is interesting to observe the behaviour of Eskimo adults in the school on these occasions, to see the adults squeeze their bulk, exaggerated by several layers of clothing, into the tiny children's seats. Uncomfortable physically, they still appear to be quite at home emotionally, rummaging through the desks of the children, examining their copy books, paintings, crayons and other day-school paraphernalia. On such occasions one is struck by the apparent acceptance of things which are only dimly understood, an attitude which appears to be common. Few Baker Lake Eskimos seem to realize what the full program of formal education contains; few seem to see the program as a patterned progression to ever higher levels and to ever broader and more comprehensive subjects. Except for a few Kabloonamiut, the Eskimo adult regards formal education as the process of learning English. When we talked to adults about education we gathered that they were all, settlement and land people, eager to send their children to the day school and happy to keep those children enrolled who had been admitted. However, we also discovered that few adults defined the school as anything more than the place to learn English properly. This, in turn, is highly valued because it enables the bilingual person to cope with the new situation in the Arctic. The facts are plain: anyone can see that the Eskimos who had the best habitations, the most secure sources of income, the largest and latest model outboard motors and canoes, the respect of the Kabloona, and plenty to eat are those who can either speak English or who at least can comprehend it sufficiently to communicate with the powerful Kabloona.

Will this enthusiastic acceptance of the school program be maintained as an increasing number of Eskimo children advance to levels where what they learn will be incomprehensible to the parents? So far there has been no cultural wedge driven between the generations in this region, for all the children are at a low level of schooling where, except for the English language,

the children do not yet possess the social skills and knowledge to differentiate them markedly from their parents. But within a few years the school will be producing children with such skills and knowledge. What are the implications for family and community life of cultural gulfs between generations? This is a question which will be taken up in the final chapter on Social Change.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

The literature on the Eskimos in various parts of the Arctic is unanimous on one point: the traditional Eskimo way of life was pervaded by what the Kabloona call the supernatural, that sphere populated by spirits and forces which have to be taken into account in everyday life, requiring the practice of magic and sacred rituals, and the observance of a great variety of rules of conduct. Much of the content of Eskimo beliefs and practices with reference to the supernatural has disappeared, to be replaced by beliefs and practices which in some ways are similar to the traditional ones and in other ways quite different. Moreover, the Eskimos have had to learn that people should not be simply religious ; in this new world they should become affiliated with some organized group professing a distinctive set of beliefs. They learn that they should be loyal to this group, see that their children belong to it, marry into it themselves and see to it that their children marry into it. Finally, some are beginning to see that the ideas of religion as expressed by various groups are themselves challenged by non-religious people, who appear to suffer no special ill-effects for their skepticism or open revolt. These innovations are of great significance to the Eskimo and most of this chapter is taken up with exploring their implications.

Numerous authors (e.g. Turquetil 1926, 1927) have demonstrated how pre-Christian religion among the Eskimos focussed on the overriding concerns which the people faced in their everyday lives: the quest for food, the relief from illness. Put in the most general terms, Eskimo religion was a sustained attempt to control the environment. It also provided the people with explanations of those matters which are not self-evident about life and death, helped them account for the events which could not be explained in terms of what science they possessed.

Among the different cultural groups which make up the present-day Eskimo population of the Baker Lake region there was a lack of uniformity in the content of beliefs and practices pertaining to the supernatural. For instance, a spirit called by one name among this group might be known by a different name among that group. Despite these variations in content, the religion was in form very similar among the different cultural groups.

Eskimo groups in this region shared the belief that nature was pervaded by forces which made things happen. These forces were personified in the form of various spirits, the spirits in turn having different properties and showing concern with different spheres of existence. For instance, among the Utkuhikalingmiut (Back River people) a female spirit called Nuliajuk controlled all of the wildlife and when

certain rules of conduct were violated she would get angry and withhold caribou or fish from the people.[1] (Rasmussen 1931: 498 ff.) Similarly, among the Harvaqtormiut (Kazan River people) a female spirit called Pinga was particularly watchful of the conduct of people, rewarding them with game when they observed the rules of living, holding back game when they were violated. (Rasmussen 1927: 81 ff) In this region the most general term denoting the free-floating power in the world was Sila, which has the connotation of the term 'nature' in English, plus the notion of intelligence and will.

The rules of living which the spirits were much concerned about mostly referred to what we sould call productive activity: hunting, cooking, sewing, fishing, and so on. In approaching each of these activities, in addition to such crisis events as birth and death, one had to be especially mindful of a host of rules,[2] the violation of which would bring ill-fortune. It did not much matter that the violation was unintentional, the spirits would react angrily, although if the violation were intentional their wrath would be much more severe.

While it was not the aim that these taboos should serve a utilitarian purpose, one consequence of the observance of many of them was to facilitate getting a living, to conserve resources, and to curtail disease. The taboo on pursuing one kind of activity while another is going on, for instance, trout fishing and sewing while the fall caribou hunt was underway, resulted in a channeling of effort into the most crucial activity; the displeasure of Nuliajuk at seeing unused carcasses on the tundra acted as a check on over-hunting; the taboo requiring people to vacate the dwelling where a death had occurred and preventing people from wearing the clothing of the dead probably curtailed the spread of disease.

According to the literature on the subject, the Eskimos did not draw a sharp distinction between the sacred and the secular or profane. In their conception, every sentient being had a component which transcended the mere body and which is usually translated into English as the soul. This soul was regarded as sacred and eternal; sacred in the sense that it must be treated with great respect, eternal in that it never dies but survives either in the body of some other newly born being, or survives in a disembodied form in some sphere other than the contemporary world.

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1 The Utkuhikhalingmiut are adjacent to the Netsilikmiut and Rasmussen devotes a separate part of his report to the former group.

2 Lists of taboos and the consequences of their violation may be found in Birket-Smith (1929, 1959), Rasmussen, (1927, 1930, 1931) Hanbury, (1904) and Turquetil, (1926, 1927)

That the Eskimos throughout this region did not have a uniform theology and cosmology is evident from a perusal of the literature. Among the Harvaqtormiut, it is reported that there was a belief in reincarnation, in which the souls of good men return to the earth as men, while evil-doers are re-born as beasts. (Rasmussen 1927: 79 ff) This notion may be linked with traditional naming practices. According to Turquetil, the name of a good person is given as soon as possible after his or her death to another person, preferably a direct descendant. Part of the person's soul is thus transferred with his name and survives on earth. The name of a person who was considered evil is not passed on in this way, and presumably it is the souls of such persons which, among the Harvaqtormiut encountered by Rasmussen, are transferred to beasts. [1] (Turquetil 1927: 11) In none of the other cultural groups reported in the literature do we find this idea of the punishment of evil-doers in the afterlife.

Among the Utkuhikhalingmiut, Rasmussen reports an Eskimo interpretation of life after death which is not unlike the Christian one in some respects. He paraphrases the words of Ikinilik, several of whose descendants were encountered by the present author, spoken in the year 1923 before that Eskimo had come into direct contact with missionaries:

> "The only thing of value in a man is the soul. That is why it is the soul that is given everlasting life, either in the Land of the Sky or in the Underworld. The soul is man's greatest power; it is the soul that makes us human, but how it does so we do not know. Our flesh and blood, our body, is nothing but an envelope about our vital power. When a man dies, the soul leaves the body and the body remains on the earth and rots, whereas the soul goes on living, but, we are told, always in the form it had when the man died. One remains forever what one was when death came. The old do not become young, the young do not become old, children do not grow up; life is continued up in the Land of the Sky or down among the agl'et as one was when the breath of life ceased." (Rasmussen 1931: 501)[2]

The moral sphere of relations between humans, so vital a part of the Judaeo-Christian religions, was not a prominent feature of those rules of living which the governing spirits were concerned about. The nearest

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1 Turquetil does not attribute a belief in true reincarnation to the Eskimo in this region, claiming that in the Eskimo conception the reason for passing on the name is to commemorate and honour the dead person.

2 According to Ikinilik, the Land of the Sky is a "land devoid of sorrow and anxiety, a good place to be," while the agl'et are the people who have starved to death and whose souls survive in an underworld sphere where there is a great abundance of food.

equivalent the Eskimo had to the commandments was the set of rules and taboos pertaining to productive activity and to such events as birth and death, and these were purely ritual requirements, involving human relations only in an indirect way. This is not to say that the Eskimos were without a moral code. We suggest only that rules of conduct between humans involving such notions as filial piety, respect for the property and person of others, a willingness to share with others, and so forth, were not formulated in terms of supernatural rules, although their violation was reprehensible and brought sanctions here and now or later in life. One reason the Eskimo social organization proves so adaptable to change is that the norms of conduct governing man's relation to man were not sanctified in explicit commandments deriving from the supernatural.

As Turquetil observes, the folk lore contained lessons about desirable and undesirable human conduct. He comments on two themes which course through Eskimo folk tales in this region, that of the good hunter and that of the bad hunter:

> "Puis ces deux thèmes (du bon et du mauvais chasseur) se développent en double excès: le bon chasseur devient l'homme fort, le géant, le sauveur de la race, à chaque fois que tout semble perdu. Mais bientôt ce fort, ce géant, ce sauveur abuse de sa supériorité et de son prestige; il devient cruel, brutal, meurtrier. Son existence est alors un danger pour les autres; on conspire en secret contre lui, on le tue. L'enfant oubliera-t-il jamais ces premiers aperçus sur la vie, les seuls qu'il a reçus à la maison paternelle? Sans doute on l'a mis en garde contre l'excès, mais on lui apprend aussi à se défaire d'un tyran, au besoin."[1] (Turquetil 1927:16)

In the folklore, too, the drastic punishments for incest, hoarding and deliberate breaking of taboos are graphically described. Another lesson implicit in many folk-tales is that success in everyday life was regarded

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1. Trans. "And these two themes (the good and the bad hunter) are developed to two extremes: the good hunter becomes the strong man, the giant, the saviour of his race, whenever everything seems lost. But before long, this strong man, this giant, this saviour abuses his superiority and his prestige; he becomes cruel, brutal, murderous. His existence is then a danger for the others: they conspire in secret against him and they kill him. Will the child ever forget these first lessons about life, the only ones he has received at home? Undoubtedly, these put him on guard against excesses but they also teach him that tyrants are eventually and necessarily defeated."

as a sign that the person was in good favour with the spirits, an idea reminiscent of the association between success in one's career and membership among the saved, characteristic of some Christian groups.

Contact between humans and spirits was effected through a person endowed with special powers, called an angakok among the Eskimos and usually called a shaman in the anthropological literature. Only the shaman could travel to and gain entry into the remote realms where the spirits dwelt. In order to do this he would have to voyage to the moon or to the bottom of the sea, accomplishments beyond the attainment of ordinary mortals. In the traditional social system the shaman was a key figure. Turquetil summarizes the role of the shaman as follows:

"1° Veiller à l'observation des us et coutumes établis par la Divinité.

2° Empêcher ou découvrir les fautes, c'est-à-dire les manquements à ces règlements, et en assurer l'expiation par la confession et la pénitence.

3° Interpréter les omens, les augures, comme aussi les manifestations extraordinaires des forces de la nature, tels que le tonnerre, découvrir les lieux sacrés, etc.

4° Empêcher les mauvais génies d'approcher du camp, ou s'ils l'ont déjà fait, à l'insu de tout le monde, les faire disparaître."[1] (Turquetil 1926: 18)

The angakoks were not grouped into a priesthood, but operated as independent practitioners. They were not only the priests and magicians, soothsayers and philosophers, they were also the surgeons and psychiatrists. The people graded the angakoks according to their efficacy and good ones were in constant demand, enjoying considerable power, prestige, and comparative wealth. The Eskimo respect for power is not a post-Kabloona phenomenon.

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1. Trans.
   "1. To see that the usages and customs established by the Divine are observed.
   2. To prevent or discover errors, that is to say, the violation of these rules, and to assure that expiation by confession and penance is forthcoming.
   3. To interpret omens, auguries, as well as extraordinary manifestations of the forces of nature, such as thunder; interpret the sacred meanings of these manifestations, etc.
   4. To prevent evil spirits from approaching the camp, or, if they had already done so, at the request of everybody to make them disappear."

Not the least important task of the angakok was that of dealing with illness. As Birket-Smith observes,

> "Disease is believed to be due to supernatural forces and consequently the art of healing is almost exclusively shamanistic. The shaman holds a seance and afterwards prescribes the rules which the patient must observe. Even for such simple cases as constipation, diarrhoea, snow-blindness, toothache and earache, etc., there are no remedies... If anyone in the settlement is seriously ill, endeavours are made to prevent the spreading of the disease by invoking magical aid." (1929 I: 299)

A shamanistic seance almost always included the singing of special songs, with the shaman beating a caribou drum, and the performance of some trick involving sleight of hand and illusions, performances which impressed the audiences with the shaman's power. In many of these performances the shaman would kill himself and bring about his own resurrection.

It is said that a person became an angakok through revelation: the person feels a summons, a call, which is revealed to him in a dream or in waking moments while the person is in solitude. The angakok craft was learned in a long apprenticeship served under a full-fledged angakok, in which the tyro had to demonstrate his fitness for the role by undergoing severe ordeals. Descriptions of how both male and female angakoks were trained by a master who lived until twenty-five years ago on the Kazan River are given by Rasmussen. In paraphrasing the words of that shaman, Igjuardjuk, the author brings out the importance of suffering and privation as elements in the Eskimo traditional religion and particularly as fundamentals in the religious experience of the angakok:

> "All true wisdom is only to be learned far from the dwellings of men, out in the great solitudes; and is only to be attained through suffering. Privation and suffering are the only things that can open the mind of men to those things which are hidden from others." (Rasmussen, 1927: 82 ff)

Once the angakok learned to harness the forces at the command of the spirits, he or she was expected to channel these forces into desirable, communal channels, rather than to use them for purely selfish purposes or to destroy or injure others.[1] However, informants told us that some angakoks did abuse their powers to kill and bewitch those who stood in the way of their desires. An angakok who used his powers for selfish ends could literally get away with murder, because the people he victimized were so fearful of

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[1] It should be noted that the great majority of angakoks were males.

his power. According to most authors, the forces at the disposal of the angakok were neither good nor bad in themselves. The notion of evil spirit versus good spirit, which Turquetil mentions in his treatment of the subject, was introduced with Christianity, according to several writers. (Turquetil 1927; Birket-Smith 1929:299)

There is some evidence that the shamanistic cult in the Baker Lake region was degenerating during the first quarter of the present century and that many who claimed shamanistic powers were concerned more to achieve personal goals and to entertain than they were to contribute to the welfare of the camps to which they belonged. Thus, Hanbury (1904) remarks on the "sorry performance" he witnessed among the Quernermiut in 1903. In 1923 Rasmussen quotes a most articulate Back River Eskimo (Utkuhikhalingmiut) from whom we heard earlier in this chapter, on the subject of angakok. This quotation is of great significance as it was made at a time that the Eskimos were coming to realize that the astronomically numerous herds of caribou of the nineteenth century and earlier were a thing of the past, and there was nothing that their angakok could do about it, a process which certainly diminished the importance of the angakok in the community:

> "From those who live further inland than we do (Quernermiut and others) we have heard the rumour that all the beasts we live on are becoming fewer and fewer every year. They are dying out, they are being used up... Of course the shamans ought to help us with all this. They could do so in the old days, for then they used to go down and see her (Nuliajuk) at the place where she lived under the sea... Only the really great shamans in olden times could do that. Nowadays one lives merely in the memories of all that once was possible! In those times there were only few shamans, but they were very skilful. Now we have numbers of them, but their art is of a small order and only few sensible people believe in their power. They do nothing but talk--that is all they can do! Here at Utkuhikhalik there are no shamans now... The shamans of our day do not serve an apprenticeship, and they claim that they get their powers from dreams, visions, or sickness!..(Rasmussen 1931: 500)

One cannot resist the suspicion of Rasmussen's own interpretive analysis in his paraphrasing of Ikinilik. This suspicion grows stronger as we read on and meet with a rationalistic interpretation of social change which might have been produced by an anthropologist of the functional school, circa Malinowski. According to Rasmussen, Ikinilik attributed the decline of the shaman and the atrophy of the traditional religion to the technological changes which had altered Eskimo hunting practices. To go on with the quotation:

> "Now that we have fire-arms it is almost as if we no longer need shamans, or taboo, for now it is not so difficult to procure food as in the old days. Then we had to laboriously hunt the caribou at the sacred crossing places, and there the only thing that helped was strictly observed taboos in combination with magic words and amulets. Now we can shoot caribou anywhere with our guns, and the result is that we have lived ourselves out of the old customs... We forget what we no longer have use for." (Rasmussen 1931: 500)

Rasmussen's apposite translation of Ikinilik's remarks can hardly be improved upon as a statement of the religious condition of the Eskimos in the Baker Lake region when the first missionaries appeared in 1927. The religion rested on the assumption that individual and group survival depended on the harnessing of the forces of nature which could not be controlled through technology; these forces could only be harnessed by people with special powers, using magical skills. When it became obvious that the difference between success and failure in bringing down caribou was to a large extent due, not to the magical intervention of the angakok, but to the superior technology of the Kabloona, the significance of religion for this crucial aspect of their way of life diminished.

However, the problems of disease, of inexplicable misfortune, of the meaning of life and death remained. Over the decades the Kabloona's answers to these questions would supplant the traditional ones, thus eroding even further the position of the angakok. The Kabloona were to demonstrate that they could harness visible and invisible powers to an extent undreamed of in the past. In this region there are no records of overt contests between the angakoks and the missionaries, such as we read about from other parts of the Arctic (Coccola and King 1955)

Although today no Eskimo in this region professes openly to be an angakok or to believe in such powers, we have never heard an Eskimo scoff at these imputed powers. A common interpretation nowadays given by the few Eskimos who are willing to talk on the subject is that the angakoks were possessed by the devil and were thus to be feared. This, incidentally, is the interpretation of at least one of the missionaries. Furthermore, it is a common belief that the evil spirits which possessed the angakoks are abroad in the world today, but it is believed that they operate mostly among the Kabloona, an idea which is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Christian influence among the Eskimos of the Baker Lake region antedated the arrival of the first missionaries here. For one thing, those groups which were in touch with coastal populations were familiar with at least some aspects of Christianity for many decades before the missions

were established in the interior. For another, some of the more ardent Christians among the traders and the R.C.M.P. imparted the messages of Christianity to the interior populations, in some places holding prayer meetings and distributing bibles.

Nevertheless the full impact of Christianity was not felt until the arrival of the first missionaries in 1927. In August of that year, the Reverend Mr. Smith of the Anglican Church in Canada, arrived at Baker Lake by boat from Chesterfield Inlet. This boat was to return to bring in a Roman Catholic missionary, but it broke down and the latter had to charter another boat, from Eskimo Point, which finally got him to Baker Lake almost a month after the Anglican missionary had arrived.

By this time Mr. Smith 'had the names' of most of the Eskimos in the immediate vicinity of the Lake. 'Getting the names' appears to have been an informal way of staking prior claims on the potential adherence of non-Christians. This, of course, was only a first step in the conversion process. According to the present-day missionaries, one of whom, Canon W.J.R. James, succeeded Mr. Smith in 1930 and has been the Baker Lake incumbent since that time, a complete conversion would occur only at baptism which, for adults, would occur only when the person expressed a willingness to embrace Christianity.

Both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries took special pains to instruct catechists, selected persons who showed more than an ordinary interest in Christianity, the aim being that the catechist should, with or without the aid of the missionary, in turn instruct and lead services among the other Eskimos. Although the Anglican missionary brought a bilingual Eskimo from the Eastern Arctic to assist him, it was understood that both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries should learn Eskimo and conduct their services in that language, except for the Roman Catholic Mass which is sung in Latin.

During the 'thirties, missionary activity was concentrated on establishing the mission chapels and residences and on converting the folk in the outlying districts. Because the Roman Catholic missionary had few adherents at the settlement, he tended to travel on the land more frequently than his Anglican counterpart. During the mid-thirties the Roman Catholics converted a number of people from the Kazan River region, while the Anglican missionary, on one extended trip to the West and North, converted a large number of Back River people to the Anglican persuasion.

In describing this phase, the Anglican missionary told the author:

"The Utkuhikhalingmiut (Back River people) were the most isolated people, but they seemed to be the most interested in the Word of God. We hardly used to see an Utkuhikhalingmiut woman at the post, because

> it was the men who used to come here to trade. The men had their bibles and prayer books and they would bring back something of the Word to the women. Sandy Lunan (ex-Hudson's Bay Company post manager) used to tell me that these men would hold prayer meetings in the loft of the Hudson's Bay post. Some of them were very devoted. When I went up to the Back River in 1936 I found many who were ready to receive baptism."

Kabloona informants who are skeptical of the claims of the missionaries that the Eskimos experienced true spiritual conversion refer to some of these converts as 'bread and butter' Christians or 'ammunition' Christians, suggesting that it was the material rewards to be gained from the missionary and the H. B. C. manager which impelled them to become adherents. However, there is no evidence that these Eskimos received favoured treatment in the material sense because of their conversion.

The most recent group in the region to be converted are the Haningayormiut of the Garry Lake district to the North West of Baker Lake. The story of the conversion of this group by a Roman Catholic missionary is told in a recent publication. (Anon. 1957) By the year 1958 almost every adult Eskimo and child in the Baker Lake region had been converted to Christianity. At the R.C.M.P. census of November, 1958, about 19% of the Eskimo population was Roman Catholic, the remainder Anglican. In the winter of that year the large number of people evacuated from the Garry Lake famine area comprised mostly Roman Catholics, and because the majority were eventually sent out of the Baker Lake region, the proportion of Roman Catholics in the population declined steeply to its present 10% or so.

The conversion phase completed, Christianity is now the normal condition of the Eskimo population, and it is assumed that children will adhere to the denomination of the parents. Where one member of a family belongs to a particular denomination, it is highly probable that other members of the family also belong. In a few families accidents of fosterage and other conditions have given rise to mixed membership, so that siblings who were fostered by parents of different denominations themselves follow different paths, as do <u>their</u> children.

There have also been five mixed marriages during the past fifteen years, in one of which the partners adhere to their original faiths, the children being brought up as Roman Catholics. In the other four, the Roman Catholic partners, all women, ceased practising that faith after marriage and the advent of children, who are being brought up in the Anglican denomination.

Apart from these cases, it is generally true that kinship affiliation coincides with religious affiliation. Conversion to the Anglican from the Roman Catholic faith has occurred in at least seven cases known to the author, four of these being of people who were baptized Roman Catholic in coastal regions but became Anglicans after immigration to Baker Lake. We know of no person who formally adopted the Roman Catholic after having been a member of the Anglican faith.

The Roman Catholics form a minority group in terms of social position as well as in terms of numbers. Not one of them is a prominent Kabloonamiut or settlement leader; in fact, what leadership there is among the settlement Eskimos is provided mostly by men who are prominent in the Anglican congregation, including notably the catechist. The major institutions dealing with the Eskimos, such as the R.C.M.P. and the H.B.C. have been more closely identified with the Anglican than with the Roman Catholic congregation, not through deliberate policy but through the adherence of their officers to the Anglican rather than to the Roman Catholic church and through the intimacy of friendship between the Anglican missionary and these Kabloona. Likewise, the clients of Kabloona patrons, such as the special constables of the R.C.M.P. and the Eskimo assistant of the H.B.C. have been particularly staunch Anglicans.

To the great majority of Eskimos, the Roman Catholic is defined as a deviant, not so much in the pejorative sense as in the sense of a non-conformist who is doing no harm. The public attitude is one of tolerance and, perhaps, wonder. One infers from the way people behave in normal everyday life that the existence of the Roman Catholic minority is of small moment to the majority. We know of no incident where overt hostility was shown between people of the two faiths which could be attributed to out-group rejection.

To some extent the Roman Catholics are segregated from the others. As noted earlier, most Roman Catholic children attend the residential school at Chesterfield. Then, when in the settlement they normally camp near the Roman Catholic mission and the only permanent residents among the Roman Catholic population have their dwellings within a stone's throw of the mission. Because kinship is the basis for sharing residence in (land) camps and because as we saw kinship ties normally coincide with those of religious affiliation, in most camps all members are of the one faith. In fact, there is evidence that it is difficult for a person of one faith who shares a camp with a majority of people of the other faith to maintain his religious identification and practice, for social pressure to conform to the camp norms are evidently strong. In any event there is some residential segregation and, of course, segregation for actual chapel services, between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. At the same time, there is considerable interaction between members of the two groups, in work teams, in friendship, at dances, movies,

and so on. Religion divides for some purposes but is insignificant for others.

It is difficult to elicit from informants their private views on members of other congregations. When asked some such question as what differences they thought were important between the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, most informants simply shrugged and gave the all too familiar response of "Amia," 'I do not know or I do not want to say.' When differences are stated they are always those of procedure at devotion or those of objects, such as books and statues. For instance, one Roman Catholic said that the Anglicans use a different book and that they use it more often than the Roman Catholics. Somewhat proudly he pointed out that, "We do not need to use a book much!"[1] Another mentioned that the Anglicans sing more; an Anglican expressed amusement that the Roman Catholics kneel so much and make the Sign of the Cross.

The missionaries maintain a respectful, if rather distant, kind of relationship to each other. Officially the two groups have achieved an accommodation; there is no flagrant proselytizing, no pressure put on the members of one group to join the other, no public criticism of the other group. Of course, by their divine terms of reference and vows the missionaries are bound to propagate their faiths, but in practice they are more concerned that potential apostates remain in the denomination than they are with adding new members. One of the primary concerns of the missionaries is that of mixed marriage. Although neither missionary interferes very much in marital arrangements, both are concerned when there is the risk of a member moving out of the faith through marriage to someone of the other denomination. This problem is particularly acute among the Roman Catholics, for because of their small numbers and the discouragement of cousin marriages, they frequently have to seek mates outside their own group.

Both missionaries are on very good terms with the other Kabloona in the settlement, with a few notable and personal exceptions. Canon James is one of the Oldest Hands in the entire Arctic, having been here for thirty years and is always sought out by visitors. Although the present

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1. Father Charles Choque, O.M.I., the present Roman Catholic missionary, told the author that one of his parishioners complained about the comparatively infrequent use of the Bible in Roman Catholic services. The Eskimo claimed that his Anglican friends ridiculed him because he did not know the Old Testament as well as they did and that the Anglicans refused to believe that another younger Eskimo was a believer because he "didn't have a book yet."

Roman Catholic missionary has been here for only four years, he too is considered an Old Hand and thus, like his Anglican counterpart, deserving of esteem and special recognition. D.N.A. personnel are especially careful not to show favouritism for one or the other and so do not get identified closely with either congregation. Both missionaries complain that the majority of Kabloona do not show the Eskimos a good example by going to their respective chapels regularly.

Indeed, few Kabloona anywhere in the Christian world go to their churches as much as do the Eskimos in this region. The average service lasts for one and a half hours and there are six services a week in the Anglican chapel, five a week in the Roman Catholic. This means that most Eskimos, for the majority go to all services, attend chapel services for between seven and ten hours per week. A clergyman here would regard as a backslider an Eskimo who spent only about three or four hours a week in church.

This phenomenal church attendance is indicative of the heavy stress which the Eskimos place on the devotional side of religion, which includes not only attendance at church, but also the reading of prayers and the Bible in the home, abstinence from work and play on Sundays, the closing of dances with a prayer, and so on. In a theological contest between faith on the one hand and good works on the other, the Eskimos in this region would come down strongly on the side of faith, no matter how often the missionaries tell them that faith must be balanced by good works.

Recalling our comments on the traditional Eskimo religion, the contemporary stress on observances may be interpreted as continuous with the traditional emphasis on conforming to rules laid down by the spirits. The object in so conforming nowadays is not to ensure an abundant wildlife harvest, but to ward off evil spirits and ensure a happy afterlife. When we say evil spirits, we mean concretely the Devil, or Satanasi as the Eskimos call him. Among the contemporary Eskimos there is a belief in possession by the Devil who is intent on destroying the good work of God. Satanasi is a substantial person, or rather the spirit of Satanasi is manifested in substantial persons, who are thereby endowed with unnatural powers, such as the angakoks used to display. The only protection against Satanasi is devotion.

Satanasi is especially active in the cities of the south and in such places as Rankin Inlet and Churchill. Under his influence, people forget the important things in life, such as sacred devotions, and concentrate on pleasure, the attainment of wealth, and the corruption of the innocent. They drink, commit adultery, murder and rob. The south is wonderful in many ways, but it is a dangerous place, for everywhere there are Cities of Sin. It is better to be here at home, where people are poor but safe from Satanasi, as long as they observe the rules of the church.

It is evidently believed that in the old days Satanasi had much more of an influence over the Eskimos than he has now, for he had possession of the angakok, who in turn held the people in fearful thrall. One reason that so many Eskimos have abandoned much of their traditional culture and refrain from passing it on to their children is that they are fearful of objects or practices which had even the remotest connection with the angakok. We have mentioned how drumming has virtually disappeared; Eskimo songs sung in concert, a prelude to many seances, are hardly ever heard; stories about the angakok are told only in the strictest confidence and never in the presence of children or of fervent church-goers. This abandonment of parts of the traditional culture which seem to smack of Satanasi is especially noticeable among those in the settlement who are leading members of the Anglican congregation. These do not even want to talk about such matters and are exceedingly disturbed when people try to induce the Eskimos to discuss shamanism or describe some of the rites.

In the summer of 1959 an anthropologist paid a flying visit to the community and sought out some old ladies whom he had reason to believe were familiar with the shamanistic arts. The old ladies themselves claimed to be more amused than disturbed by his visit, but the younger adults among the Kabloonamiut of the settlement were deeply disturbed by his activities and before his brief visit was over were referring to him as the Devil!

Another illustration may be given to demonstrate this taboo on traditional magic and religion which ramifies out to include lore and song only incidentally connected with the angakok of old. We had been in the community only a week when we were invited to attend a meeting of the Eskimo ladies' group, mentioned in Chapter VII. The Kabloona woman who organized and directed these sessions introduced us and told the ladies that we were interested in old things , including songs and stories. We had intended to appear only for the introduction and had not planned to record any songs or stories, but when the Kabloona woman persuaded two elderly sisters to sing a kind of duet we brought in our recorder. This song was followed by another, a hunting song which one woman had learned from her late husband. From the very beginning the Kabloonamiut women from the settlement, and particularly the younger ones, dissociated themselves conspicuously from the performance. As the singers warmed to their songs, the older ladies in the audience were quite visibly moved and entered into the spirit of the session by volunteering song after song. As we could speak no Eskimo we had no idea what the ladies were singing. We learned later that they had, in their mounting enthusiasm, progressed from innocent hunting and work songs to songs about sex and thence to shamanistic songs, culminated in a fever of excitement by a demonstration of a seance, which one old lady performed using a tin plate as a drum. As the older ladies grew increasingly absorbed in their performances, the younger married and single women from the settlement grew more and more aloof, carrying on their own conversations in another part of the room.

The next day we learned that two of the old ladies, both widows, had not slept that night, suffering torments of guilt, until they were impelled to rush to the missionary and fall on their knees, confessing to what they had done and asking that he banish Satanasi from them. The other ladies also suffered 'hangovers' and, filled with remorse, promised never to sing or drum again. We see in this incident not only how the traditional religion and some of its appurtenances have been re-interpreted in terms of the Evil past, but also the ambivalence which the older people show in their attitudes to their own traditions. The excessive rejection of things associated with angakok suggests what psychoanalysts call compulsive behaviour, in which the person over-rejects something because he secretly fears that the shameful impulse might gain the upper hand.

This illustration also brings out the profound influence of the missionary among the Eskimos. He is not simply another Kabloona. He is completely devoted to the Eskimos, speaks their language, intercedes on their behalf. His control is both remote and direct. Everything to do with the Eskimos is his business if he chooses to make it so. In large measure the missionary acts through his Eskimo catechist. The latter not only preaches regularly at chapel among the Anglicans: if people in the community are not behaving according to the rules of the church, he tells them about it, or threatens to tell the missionary about it, which is just as effective a deterrent.

If the missionary's main role is that of general protector, a kind of magnified father image, the catechist's is that of the watchdog, the one who keeps the faithful on their devotional toes. Furthermore, he rather than the missionary is taking an increasing interest in how people behave out of chapel. There are signs that some Eskimos are coming to resent the intrusion of the catechist in their affairs. Although the Eskimos were quick to adopt the devotional features of Christianity, they are slower and understandably less eager to adopt those rules of living which were not taboo under the old regime but which form a prominent part of the Christian code: namely, rules about adultery and coveting the neighbour's wife. As far as we could ascertain there is no public approval of extra-marital or premarital sex relations among the Eskimos in this region, but there is among many of them a private attitude of tolerance towards sex relations outside marriage, as was noted in Chapter IV. The more ardent church-goers are strictly opposed to such sexual behaviour, however, and the catechist has adopted the practice of warning individuals to desist from sex relations outside marriage. Some of these individuals at least have expressed the opinion that the catechist is overstepping his authority, that it is none of his business, althought they agree that it would be in order for the missionary to make it his business. In short, it seems that there is no zone of privacy around the individual which the missionary cannot legitimately invade if he so desires; whereas, there are comparatively narrow limits to the zones of privacy which the catechist may invade.

This brings up the interesting question of native clergymen. The Anglican Church in Canada has adopted the policy of encouraging the training of Eskimo deacons with a view to eventual ordination. In fact, a Baker Lake resident was the first Eskimo to be ordained in the Anglican Church and is now a missionary at Rankin Inlet. (Anon. 1959) Will the Eskimo clergyman be endowed with the same informal influence in the community as the Kabloona missionary enjoys? We would predict on the basis of current trends that the Eskimo clergyman will be expected to act as a spokesman for the Eskimos but that the Eskimos will allocate to him less informal extra-chapel influence than they allocate to the Kabloona missionary.

It is tempting to compare the role of the missionary with that of the angakoks when the latter were at the zenith of their powers. There are similarities in the two roles, as we have seen, but there are significant differences also. For one thing, the angakok had to keep proving his powers by performing incredible tasks, by making things happen immediately or in the near future. The missionary's supreme test is to guide people to eventual salvation, and his success or failure in this cannot be demonstrated. If the caribou fail, he is not expected to do anything about it; if there is an epidemic, he is expected to comfort the dying and conduct funeral services when he can, but he is not expected to bring the dead back to life or to cast out the spirits which are causing the sickness. He is expected to cast out the spirit which makes people sin and he can demonstrate his effectiveness at this, for penitents who come to him go away feeling cleansed.

The missionary's influence can be expected to diminish as more Eskimos assimilate to Kabloona ways. There are signs that the City of Sin theory, which explains the material inferiority but the moral superiority of the Eskimos over people elsewhere, is undergoing revision as an increasing number of people visit places like Churchill and Winnipeg without succumbing to the Devil. As the assimilation process advances, we expect a shift in emphasis from the devotional features to the moral and ethical features of Christianity. We expect also that the 'poor man's consolation' element in Christianity will be accentuated as the Eskimos come to compare themselves with Kabloona, using the same standards of material well-being, and find themselves relatively poverty stricken. [1]

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[1] What is meant here is that the Eskimos evaluate themselves and one another, in terms of material well-being, education, etc., on a scale which is separate from the scale on which Kabloona are evaluated, as though it were tacitly recognized that a good position on the Eskimo scale would be a poor one on the Kabloona scale. Some of the settlement Eskimos and especially the teenagers, are tending more to assess their own positions in terms of the same scale used by the Kabloona, a condition which should become typical of the entire population within a generation.

In the meantime, organized religion is of crucial importance to the Eskimos in this region. In these times of sharp and rapid change, the practice and beliefs of their religion serve as steadying influences, a thread of continuity linking the present with the past and the future. It must be remembered that the majority of Eskimos are the offspring of people who are Christian. That is, Christianity is now an integral part of the Eskimo way of life in this region, not just a fad or an importation of fleeting significance. Whether the Eskimo interpretation of Christianity does or does not accord with the interpretations found among the majority of Kabloona, this interpretation serves them well, helps them make sense out of life. The interpretation will in some respects change with the times, as it does with people in every part of the world.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CONTROL

Social control is one of the broadest topics handled in sociology. In popular usage the term control connotes a process of deliberate and calculated manipulation of self and others so that certain aims are achieved or certain happenings avoided. In sociological usage, however, social control has broader application, particularly since the impact of Freudian psychology made itself felt in social science. In its broadest sense, social control refers to that process whereby order is maintained in social systems, the maintenance of order in turn depending on an optimum level of conformity to the important social norms; the preventing of deviance from these norms and the adequate checking of deviance once it occurs; and the co-ordination of activities in the society. There are regular ways of maintaining social order in any society, no matter how primitive, and these are 'social' ways. That is, tendencies to conformity and to check deviance are not biological: they are not inherited in the genes, they are not 'instinctive'.

By and large the ways in which social order is maintained operate without people being conscious of them. Deliberate and calculated ways of control, through command, bribery, law, force, and so on, present only the top of the social control iceberg. One becomes keenly aware of this in groups where there is no codified law, no police force, no structure of formal authority, and yet where things get done, where people intermingle without much noticeable conflict, where deviance is kept at a minimum.

Such is the situation in a typical Eskimo camp. The fact that the Eskimo had no codified law, no political structure, no specialized institution to exert authority is so well known as to make comment on it superfluous. Steenhoven (1957) and others who have studied social control among the Eskimos in this region call attention to the lack of authority based on force and to the importance of informal means of social control, such as gossip, ridicule, ostracism, often subsumed under the general term 'public opinion'. For instance, Birket-Smith states that, among the Eskimos, " ... it is (public opinion) ... on which social control really depends, and not on application of physical force in threat or in fact". (1959: 151)

The effectiveness of public opinion presupposes that the individuals identify with the public whose opinion influences his behaviour; that the individuals respect the values and rules upon which the opinions are based;

that it is more rewarding to conform to the opinion of this public than it is to challenge it. Identification with others and respect for values and rules are generally assumed to be the outcome of what we call the socialization process, or, in the vernacular, the outcome of a person's bringing up. The rewards and punishments connected with conformity and deviance are more a function of the situation a person is in, whether or not, for instance, the person needs help, food, recognition, approval, and so on. Let us look first at the matter of early socialization.

Although opinions differ as to the degree of significance, no student of human behaviour would attribute only a small significance to what happens during infancy and childhood in determining the individual's adult approach of life. It is during that period that the foundations of personality are laid and basic response patterns set. Among the outstanding features of child care among the Eskimos in this region, we comment on the following: the constant tending of infants and young children, who are seldom out of contact with some other person; the provision of nurturance on demand, particularly during infancy; the lack of corporal punishment and of angry reactions to childish deviance; the stress on control over aggressive impulses; the gradual edging of the child into an adult role, beginning at a relatively early age.

The majority of mothers carry their infants snuggled in a pouch which is suspended from the shoulders of their atigis (outer robes). They take their infants with them wherever they go: to church, to dances, movies, fishing trips, visiting, shopping, and so on. Until the infant can walk and even for many months after that, it is hardly ever separated from the mother or from some mother substitute, for Eskimo children are mothered by any woman or man or child who happens to be around when the true mother cannot handle the infant. In the dwelling the infant is placed on the bedding, but outside the dwelling it practically lives in its pouch on the mother's back. When awake it is placed in a kneeling position so that its head grazes the nape of the mother's neck; when asleep it is eased downward so that the head disappears along with the rest of the body into the mother's clothing. If in this position the baby awakes and begins to cry the mother will either give it the breast immediately or, if not in a position to do that, she will reach behind her and jiggle the baby gently up and down with a steady rhythm to soothe it. The infant's crying is never simply ignored. Babies are constantly fondled and caressed by all manner of people indoors and outdoors.

Most women breast feed their children until the age of about two or until the next one is born. Nowadays the switch is from breast to bottle, although the two-year old is given soft food to eat also. We have seen children of three years bottle feeding. The principle established during infancy is continued through childhood; the child is fed or allowed to take food whenever it is hungry.

We have never seen an Eskimo parent strike a child, although two mothers told us that they had slapped their children lightly on rare occasions. All other parents consulted claimed that they did not strike their children, even lightly. Children are restrained from doing things which the parents consider to be improper or dangerous by gentle constraint or murmur remonstrance, not by sharp and loud commands. The parent lets the child know that the offensive action would hurt the parent's feelings and make it difficult for the parent to go on helping and nurturing the child. If the child shows aggression against another, he is again gently restrained and reminded that others will shun him if he continues to act in that way.

Eskimo toilet training discipline is not severe, although the child is restrained from eliminating just anywhere. From the age of about six months it is regularly potted, usually on some empty tin which had previously contained powdered milk or some such food. The child is never punished for mistakes in elimination. The attitude here is similar to the one applied with respect to other demands on the child: no one should expect a child to be able to exceed its capabilities. Compared to the Kabloona child, the Eskimo one does not have to be constantly restrained within and without the household for the protection of himself and of the costly objects within the household. Fewer and less stringent demands are put upon him.

We have noted earlier that the Eskimo child graduates unselfconsciously from stage to stage, taking on responsibility for an increasing number of tasks appropriate to the person's sex, until by the late teens the person is expected to take over the responsibilities of full adulthood. This pattern is changing, primarily because of the establishment of the school, with the result that the person is regarded for a longer period as a 'child' and the transition to adulthood is more abrupt and discontinuous. However, it is still true that boys and girls are expected to make significant contributions to the household--through domestic work, fishing, tending younger children, and so on--from the age of about six or seven.

We emphasize that we had neither the competence nor the time to carry on a full-scale study of the relation between child-training and personality or 'ethos' and that we offer little but speculation and suggestion on this important matter.[1] It is suggested that the kind of child-rearing practices outlined above bring out the following traits and encourage their development: an unwillingness to postpone gratifications; the assumption that help will be given when required without having to please; the tendency to appease and the desire to be appeased; the abhorrence of violence in manner or deed; an admiration for adult-like achievement in the appropriate skills--hunting, fishing, sewing, and so on.

The least likely trait to emerge from such rearing, we suggest, is rebellion. To borrow the terminology of Parsons (1950) the conformative

1 The only systematic study of personality among the Eskimos was undertaken by Margaret Lantis among the Nunivak of the Bering Sea region. See Lantis (1953)

dispositions prevail over the alienative need dispositions. Without going into the exhaustive and intricate detail of his analysis we point out only that where the person is swayed more by the conformative than the alienative need dispositions, he is likely to conform conspicuously and, if he does deviate, is likely to deviate by over-conforming: for instance, by becoming a ritualist or by exerting himself to pander to others. Where the alienative need dispositions hold sway, the person is likely to deviate in ways which cut him off conspicuously from others, for instance, by violent aggression, outright rebellion, or complete withdrawal, which usually takes the form of retreat but which may also be manifested in suicide.

What can we say about deviance among the Eskimos in this region? Overt aggression as a response to frustration is certainly not unknown. The resort to force in order to gain something which was being withheld is reported in several places in the literature and by older informants, but as a thing of the past. Rasmussen (1927:80) tells of a man who killed an entire family in order to procure a wife he greatly desired, and Hanbury, (1904:46), who relates a similar story of a man resident near Baker Lake who also killed six people in a dispute over a woman. The use of force is nowadays definitely condemned and from what we can gather it never was approved, but people seemed to recognize that an individual could be driven to desperation and was not entirely to blame if he lost his head when severely frustrated, which, incidentally, would be a strong reason for not frustrating him, that is, for conforming to his desires. All of the incidents involving the use of violence known to us saw men fighting or killing in order to get a woman whose relatives did not want her to go with the assaulter. Another point: although the numbers of people murdered in a given period might seem impressive, this does not mean that there was a tendency to murder among large numbers in the population, for the pattern seems to have been for a few murderers to kill many victims. That is, if a man gave vent to aggressive impulses, he would likely overdo it once the irrevocable act had been committed. Thus we have the 'amok' pattern, familiar in the literature. The important point for our consideration here is that few people ever gave vent to aggressive impulses in the first place. In the past twenty years there has been no clear-cut case of murder in the region, although in one 'accidental' death murder was suspected. Fighting is extremely rare and informants were hard put to recall incidents involving fighting.

As for open rebellion, the only illustrations we could find of this involved the defiance of parental authority by two girls who did not want to marry the men to whom they were promised. These were cases of rebellion against persons. Rebellion against norms and values, such as we find among delinquent gangs in the south, is unknown in this region among the Eskimos.

Where deviance which alienates the deviant from others does occur it usually takes the form of simply going away from them, withdrawing in some cases from contact with all other humans for a period. There were too few incidents of this kind to justify generalization, but it is interesting to note that within the past five years there have been at least four cases of girls leaving the households where they lived and wandering out over the land for periods averaging about two days and nights, causing much alarm. Three of these girls were orphans who had been passed from family to family. We were also able to record several cases where children and adults simply withdrew from the households in which they were residing and turned up in other households, but without having spent a long interval of solitude on the land.

Perhaps the most spectacular form of withdrawal or retreat is that of suicide. In the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1959 there were four suicides which we know about. Unfortunately we could get very little background information on these suicides. The most recent one involving a person from this region was that of a 45 year-old woman, the mother of three teen-aged children, who hanged herself in a sanatorium where she had been confined as a serious T.B. case. We know of an attempted suicide by a woman in recent years after she had received news that one of her sons had been killed accidentally. This woman had lost three other members of her family in three years and, as she put it after her unsuccessful suicide attempt, "I want to go away."

The alienative forms of deviance described have the effect of making people feel sorry for the deviant, and except for the suicides of course, arouse from them all kinds of appeasing responses, so that the deviant is absorbed back into the group and into the network of mutual help and affection. That people need one another's help and affection is self-evident to someone reared in the way described. If it does not become self-evident in childhood, it certainly should by the time the person reaches adulthood, particularly if he lives on the land, for conditions there make it obvious that people are profoundly interdependent. According to older informants, one of the worst punishments meted out in the past was that of ostracism.

We do not suggest that the obvious need for the help of others in sheer physical survival and the dependence on others for nurturance, which is always forthcoming during childhood, provide the underlying cause for the readiness to conform to the wishes of others. People come to depend on others for esteem, affection, and approval and these needs may press insistently for satisfaction, just as do those for food, sexual gratification, and so on. In his discussion of child-rearing and ethos among an Eskimo group from the Eastern Arctic, Honigmann states that,

> "The baby in the Eskimo household is a cynosure, a focus of pride and pleasure, but he is also considered to be helpless

> and dependent. Therefore, it is felt that he deserves nurturance and devotion. The parents' and relatives' adoration and pride become components of this attention." (1959: 111)

(Italics supplied). It is suggested that the person's stake in keeping attention and devotion flowing his way is sufficiently strong to inhibit him from risking the alienation of others by displeasing them too much. Observation of everyday behaviour in the community lends support to this view. On numerous occasions when a person has aroused another's displeasure, he has been observed to appease the other and restore the harmony between them. This appeasement technique is especially evident among children. Teachers and others who have had experience with Kabloona and Indian children commented on the remarkable tendency for Eskimo children to win back their approval after losing it for even a slight misdemeanour by bringing some object to the person or by offering some service. Honigmann also comments on this appeasement technique, after describing how the infant and young child is constantly appeased by the parents and others:

> "Accustomed to being appeased the child becomes an adult who is able to appease and expects appeasement." (1959: 113)

It will be recalled that appeasement of the spirits was a highlight of the traditional religion among the Eskimos.

What we are emphasizing in this discussion of the relevance of socialization for social control, is that the socialization process during infancy and childhood impresses on the person the notion that conformity pays. In a positive sense, the practice of conformity brings in ever-increasing rewards of care and affection. In a negative sense, deviance turns people away: they withdraw their affection and care, and may possibly withdraw their help when this is sorely needed. To be alone and abandoned in this environment for an indefinite period is a terrifying prospect. Needless to say, in both traditional times and at present, religious teaching also gets across to the growing person that deviance results in the withdrawl of protection against harmful spirits, in the modern situation personified as Satanasi.

Recent studies of child rearing (Henry 1956; Sears 1957; Whiting and Child 1953) indicate that where children are not subjected to strict discipline, and particularly to corporal punishment, they will develop the tendency to blame themselves when things go wrong; children who are strictly disciplined and punished physically will develop the tendency to blame others when things go wrong, to find scapegoats and to

attack the scapegoats. It is reasoned that such children have learned that aggression pays: the evidence in their eyes is that their own deviance was halted--at least temporarily--by parental aggression in the form of corporal punishment. Some support for part of this hypothesis is to be found in the Baker Lake region, for not only is there little overt agression between individuals, there is a readiness to accept blame which is noticeable enough for teachers and others to comment on it. Perhaps aggression is turned inwards. This would appear to fit with some of the traditional religious attitudes in Chapter VIII, where we quoted comments on the importance of suffering, confession, and expiation.

We have been discussing the building up of predispositions to conform to the social norms which is, of course, only one aspect of social control. In fact, we have been emphasizing not so much conformity to norms as conformity to what people want one to do. In the socialization of Eskimo children, the emphasis is not on sets of rigid norms of conduct, etiquette, convention, and so on, although a concentration on the normative is being demanded of children in school and in church which is a departure from tradition. The child who is pressed into conformity with such codes of behaviour as those contained in the Commandments, Emily Post, the Boy Scouts, and so on, is likely to put a considerable unconscious investment of his emotions into these norms and to either conform to them or break them no matter what people think. The informal organization of Eskimo life did not have as one of its features a multiplicity of carefully spelled-out norms to which the individual was expected to adhere no matter what people thought. There were, as we saw, an abundance of sacrosanct rules pertaining to production and domestic life besides a few fundamental principles relating to kinship, sharing, and sexual prerogatives, but even these latter were not invested with supernatural support, were not perceived as eternal verities. Although norms were and are part of every social situation, the focus in conformity and deviance was on persons rather than on norms.[1]

Another aspect of social control has to do with situational pressures. Elsewhere we have mentioned the lessening of interdependence among the Eskimos, particularly in the settlement. The threat of withdrawal of support is not as effective where a person can get along easily without the help of others as it is where the support of others is absolutely essential.

An even more significant feature of the contemporary situation as far as conformity and deviance are concerned is the presence of opportunities--in the environment--what Roman Catholics would call 'occasions of sin'--to satisfy the new wants which are being generated among the Eskimos. We have in mind specifically one kind of deviance, in fact the only kind which seems to arouse much apprehension in the region: that of theft, which by all accounts was extremely rare in the past but which is becoming, if not common, at least less rare. In a one year period ending in September,

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[1] Cf. Parsons, (1951) for this distinction between focus on norms and focus on persons and its significance.

1959, there were four separate thefts reported in the settlement. In all but one of these thefts, young men in their middle teens are suspected or have been found guilty. This matter of theft was brought up at two meetings of the Eskimo Council where the older men expressed their indignation and alarm but were unable to suggest a course of action, even where the identity of the thief was known. The Eskimos claim that traditionally theft was so rare that they had no special way of dealing with it once it occurred. [1] If someone took something which did not belong to him, it was assumed that he must be in dire need and that he would replace it quietly whenever he could do so.

People often overlook the fact that the process of assimilation to what they regard as a desirable way of life involves the taking on of undesirable modes of conduct, at least among some in the assimilating group. If the Kabloona society is made up of admirable features such as material affluence, educational opportunities, marvels of technology, and so on, it is also made up of abnormally high rates of alcoholism, divorce, criminality of various kinds, and so on. As far as the Baker Lake population is concerned, the mechanisms of social control have so far been more than adequate in nipping deviant tendencies in the bud.

Information from researchers, police and other officials and our own observations lead us to conclude that forms of deviance endemic in the south, such as vandalism, alcoholism, prostitution, assault, and so on, are much more common in such settlements as Churchill, Great Whale River, Frobisher Bay, and Inuvik than in Baker Lake. A number of reasons may be considered for Baker Lake's record of comparative conformity. As we have seen, all Eskimos at the settlement are full members of one or the other religious congregation and are therefore subject to internal and external conformative pressures from this source. Then, at Baker Lake the population is smaller and more homogeneous than it is at the other Arctic settlements mentioned, so that informal control by ridicule, gossip, ostracism and other pressures usually subsumed under the heading of 'public opinion', is more workable there. We must remember, too, that at Baker Lake there are few realistic opportunities for inhabitants to procure alcohol, smash up automobiles, or gang-up with like-minded deviants. Finally, the Kabloona element at Baker Lake is made up entirely of professional, managerial, clerical, and technical workers, many of them married and with a vital stake in respectability. In the other places mentioned

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1 Not the least interesting feature of traditional Eskimo social organization in the Keewatin District is that they had no definite course of action which people were expected to take in certain cases involving deviance which in so many parts of the world bring on sanctions which are not only definite but almost automatic, particularly in cases of murder and theft. Cf. Steenhoven, (1957) op. cit.

among the unattached Kabloona males in construction work, in mining, and in the forces, there are many who prey upon the Eskimo women, providing the latter with opportunities to prostitute themselves, this exploitation of the women giving rise to tension between Eskimo and Kabloona males. In fact the presence of large numbers of unattached Kabloona males, some of whom have only a feeble stake in respectability, provides justification for mining, military and government officials to insist on non-fraternization and to maintain a high degree of public segregation between their Kabloona employees and the Eskimos in the interest of social control. This segregation has the unintended consequence of raising the level of tension between the two ethnic groups, tensions which are sometimes worked off in assault, heavy drinking, and other forms of deviance.

Although the Baker Lake population boasts low rates of conventional deviance, we expect these rates to increase in the future. As we mentioned, new wants are being generated among the population and they are not being provided with the facilities and means to satisfy them. As the amount of felt deprivation increases, it would be surprising if people did not seek other, illegitimate, means of getting what they want or if they simply accepted the deprivations without hitting out in some way at the system , certainly one of the motivating elements in much vandalism. One of the few safe wagers to make concerning the Arctic as a whole is that the enforcement functions of the R.C.M.P. will increase greatly in significance within the next decade or so.

Having considered some of the highlights of conformity and deviance in this region, we now turn to another important area of social control: the organization of activities which are important to the group. In discussing this matter we pay special attention to power, authority, and decision-making.

When we say that a person has power, we mean simply that he can will that certain actions should take place and that either he or others then carry out these actions. Where power is legitimate we call it authority. For instance, a factory owner has the authority to shut down his factory. If he does so, no one else can open it, unless they do so on superior authority (i.e., that of the state) or unless the owner transfers his authority to someone else. A workman in the factory may have to power to close it - for instance, by blowing it up or setting it on fire-- but this is not authority, it is simply the illegitimate use of power.

As Bierstedt (1950) points out, there are three sources of social power: numbers, organization, and access to resources. All other things equal, the majority is more powerful than the minority. Where two or more groups are equal in number and resources, the one which is organized is more

powerful than the other. A well organized minority can control an unorganized majority. Where two organized groups are equal in number, the one with the most control over resources is more powerful than the other.

What resources are significant depends on the situation in which a particular group finds itself. In one group, access to the spirit world may be a resource which is limited only to a few people; if the spirit world is of outstanding significance in that group, those with a monopoly of access to it are very powerful indeed. Among other resources which may be of significance power-wise are money, property, skill, and knowledge. In no society are all resources distributed at random; in no society does every person have equal access to all resources. Of course, in our society money is the key resource, because access to so many different things can be bought with it: information, knowledge, skill, the labour of persons, property and so on.

In the context of Canada as a whole the Eskimos are a tiny, unorganized minority with very limited access to significant resources. In the context of the local region and community in the Arctic, the Eskimos outnumber the Kabloona, but they are comparatively unorganized and, by and large, have access only to subsistence resources. There is nothing which they can withhold which would cause the Kabloona acute discomfort, except their services and their co-operation in helping the Kabloona achieve their goals.

The role system in the Baker Lake region accentuates the difference between the Kabloona and the Eskimos in terms of the distribution of power. No Eskimo is in a position to give orders to a Kabloona. No Kabloona needs to get the sanction of an Eskimo in order to receive purchasing power in the form of wages, relief, or credit. Hiring, firing, lending, giving, teaching, commanding--all of the functions which put a person or a group 'one-up' over another person or group in the power market are Kabloona prerogatives.

Not only do the Kabloona exercise power in the specific ways listed, but whether they like it or not the Eskimos impute to them a kind of diffuse, generalized power. Kabloona at the settlement claim that the Eskimos over-estimate fantastically Kabloona power, both in the mass and personally.

> "Some of these people figure all I have to do is write a few lines on a paper and a plane comes, or the boat brings eight houses. It's like magic. Somebody does some work for us and he comes in the office. I get out this blue slip of paper and scrawl a few hieroglyphics on it and the Eskimo goes to the Bay and buys and buys until the clerk tells him--'you only have about thirteen cents left'--and the Eskimo doesn't question this, he just looks around until he finds

thirteen cents worth of something which will exhaust the magic of the blue piece of paper. Maybe it will be thirteen hunks of bubble-gum!"

"They think we're millionaires and they think there's absolutely nothing we can't do if we really want to."

"The other day X came in and asked if we would get him a canoe or a plane to take him back to his camp because he had a lot of supplies to take back. I thought, what the hell do you think we have here, a taxi service? But I tried to explain to him that I just couldn't get planes and boats and all kinds of things just when I want them. We always try to get across to these people that the government isn't made of money, that there's a limit to what we can spend, but I guess they don't believe us or they don't understand."

It is hardly surprising that the Eskimos do not understand the logic of the Kabloona system of allocating facilities and wealth, for the logic is not at all self-evident. To clarify this point, let us look through Eskimo eyes at the following events. One day they see a small plane land on the lake. Later they learn that the two Kabloona in the plane come from a place in the United States about 3000 miles away, and that they have come all this way to go fishing! A few days later another plane lands with a party of men who go around examining the tiny flowers and taking samples of the soil, placing it carefully in boxes. Then, from still another plane emerges a man of solemn appearance who rushes from tent to tent recording stories from old ladies, flying off again within two days.

These arrivals and departures are capped by the arrival of a planeful of government dignitaries and their wives, civil servants, newspaper men and other unidentifiable Kabloona, all elaborately equipped with cameras, a few with portable recorders. After visiting the interior of several Kabloona installations, they emerge and scatter, wandering around the settlement, patting children on the head, asking people to "say a few words--anything--as long as it's in Eskimo," into their portable recorders, taking pictures of old shacks and tents, before re-entering their plane and disappearing forever from the community. The Eskimos remember that for days prior to the arrival of this party considerable sums of energy and wages were channelled into cleaning up the settlement, collecting and burning garbage, straightening out uneven rows of oil drums and generally tidying up.

We do not suggest that there is no logic or rational purpose to these happenings. Nor can we report that the Eskimos are baffled or disturbed in the slightest by them. The point we make here is that the Eskimos can only attempt to understand this logic on the basis of their

experiences or the evidence of their eyes, having no precedents in their own society for such goings-on, and their experiences are confined to the externals of the happenings. They are like people who see only small, unconnected parts of many plays and who therefore cannot be expected to understand fully the plots or the roles. To continue the analogy, they are excluded from the vantage point of back-stage, which is in the south, a vantage point from which many of the happenings described above make sense. None of this would matter if the Eskimos were always in the audience, but they too have been drawn into the play, in most cases without the benefit of rehearsal.

It is one of the most difficult features of the N.S.O.'s job to persuade the Eskimos that there are indeed limits to what can be done and to explain the rationale for what is and is not done. Part of the difficulty has its source in the existence of evidence to the contrary of what the Officer says, evidence, that is, in the eyes of the Eskimos.

For instance, an Eskimo couple and their child of the Back River group have not been seen for several months. Rumour has it that they are moving north towards King William Island. The N.S.O. and the R.C.M.P. expect to hear from an administrator in that area, which is outside the E2 district, that this family has arrived there. Months pass, summer arrives, and they hear nothing. They become concerned and ask pilots who happen to fly over that general region to keep an eye out for the Eskimo family. Still there is no word. Finally, at the end of the summer, an R.C.M.P. plane comes to the settlement with patients from the south. .The pilot agrees to take the N.S.O. on a quick search of the Back River district, and they eventually spot a tent about 100 miles from the settlement. Landing on a lake nearby, they find the family they are seeking, in good health, doing quite well as far as caribou and fish are concerned. Does the family want to be flown to Baker Lake? No, they see no reason for going there. There is a friendly parting, the Kabloona get into the aircraft and fly away. How does the Eskimo perceive this incident? He does not define himself as lost or in trouble, but nevertheless an aircraft makes a special trip just to ask him how he is and if he wants to go to the settlement. Is it surprising then that this Eskimo, and others who learn of the incident, ask for a plane at a time when they feel they need it?

The evidence of unlimited power arbitrarily wielded--in the eyes of the Eskimo, that is--is not confined to the use of transport. The Kabloona try to convince the Eskimos that their decision-making powers are limited, that they are really only cogs in a machine, small bosses. But what do the Eskimos see? They see the Kabloona making decisions every day which are of the most crucial importance to the Eskimos. The Kabloona try to convince the Eskimos verbally that their own purchasing power is narrowly

limited, that they (the Kabloona) are really poor . But what do the Eskimos see? They see people living in what to them are immense houses, the smallest of which is many times bigger than the average Eskimo tent or igloo or shack; surrounded by an incredibly opulent array of red maple furniture, radios, tape recorders, beds, movie cameras and projectors, any one of which objects is worth more than the entire estate of some Eskimo families. The Eskimo women who mind the Kabloona children and keep the Kabloona domiciles free of dust and grime report on the fabulous stocks of foodstuffs, extra blankets, toys, and cupboards full of clothing common to these homes.

The conclusion which an Eskimo is likely to draw from the protests of the local Kabloona that he has limited decision-making and purchasing power, is that those in the South must have infinite powers of this kind. Knowing the Kabloona have bosses in the South does not appear to diminish their awe of the local Kabloona's powers; rather it seems to magnify their awe of the powers of the bosses outside, and they are 'the government'. Indeed, we have seen that they have evidence of the wondrous powers of the bosses outside: not only do local officials defer to them, but when they come to visit,all the garbage has to be concealed and a special impression created.

If the Eskimos do not understand the logic of Kabloona life this does not mean that they have no rational ways of dealing with the Kabloona. Actually, over the decades they have developed formulae which they apply in their dealings with Kabloona, formulae which seem to work. One is reminded of persons who learn formulae for the solution of certain problems, say, for instance, the problem of finding the area of a parallelogram, without knowing the logic upon which the formula is based, without knowing the underlying theory . As far as the topic of this chapter is concerned, a few of the relevant formulae may be stated as follows:

1) Let the Kabloona person initiate action. Except when on the land, the Kabloona know best, so always let them lead.

2) Never displease a Kabloona by open resistance to his suggestions or commands. If you do not want to do whatever it is he wants his way, say you do not understand or, better, go away and do it your own way and hope that the results are so satisfactory that the Kabloona will be pleased.

We could list many other informal rules of behaviour which have in common the underlying theme of pleasing the Kabloona, or at least, not arousing his ire. It is interesting to note that when a rule does get established there is a tendency to overdo the observance of it. For instance, in the settlement the 'thank-you' ritual which is so vital a part

of Kabloona folkways is taking hold and with some people is applied in matters which the Kabloona themselves think inappropriate. At a recent meeting of the Eskimo Council, one man arose and thanked the government for giving his mother a pension. The woman is not only sixty-five years of age: she has been blind for thirty years. This illustration points up a salient feature of present-day attitudes of Eskimos to 'the government'. As far as we could determine, most of them have no idea of citizenship rights which are established and guaranteed by the government, although the teachers and N.S.Os. take special pains to explain the theory and practice of government to them. The government is partly a vague abstraction, partly an aggregation of bosses which makes rules concerning a variety of things, such as hunting and fishing, lights on boats after dark, where one can and cannot put up a shack, and which dispenses wages for labour and other monies--for instance, for having children--according to some formula which is not clearly understood. Thus if one receives something from the government, it is appropriate to thank it.

It is certain that as the Eskimos learn more about the Kabloona world their appraisal of the Kabloona, and by implication of themselves in relation to the Kabloona, will become more realistic. In the meantime, we have the unusual situation in which D.N.A. officials (who are all-powerful in the eyes of the Eskimos) try to force a definition of the Eskimos on themselves in which they as Eskimos have rights as citizens, in which they have the power to initiate changes which even the Kabloona themselves could be committed to follow. Before taking up this feature of the situation, let us shift the focus of our attention from the Kabloona and his world and back to the Eskimos. What can we say about power among the Eskimos themselves?

As in traditional times, in the camps today the exercise of authority is based on familial roles: parents can tell children what to do; older brothers can tell younger brothers, and so on. Where the father is infirm or the older brother grossly incompetent, some other person will be in charge. In camps which are not complete kinship units, leadership is taken by some person who by common consent is a successful hunter and who knows best the terrain in the vicinity, provided that the person is not conspicuously younger than the other men, although he does not have to be the oldest of the group. The process of selecting a leader in these camps is not a formal, deliberate one: leaders emerge from the give and take of interaction in such camps. The word for leader is 'isyumatah'. It is customary for the isyumatah to speak on behalf of the camp, when a spokesman is required, in short, to represent the members of the camp. This aspect of the isyumatah role was accentuated after the establishment of the fur trade, for the traders preferred to deal with one person on behalf of the entire camp. To some extent the government officials and policeman

have given support to this tendency, for they have normally operated through the isyumatah also.

We cannot overemphasize the fact that what authority there is among the Eskimos is domestic and informal and not backed by the ultimate use of force. Authority is exercised in a muted fashion, for the Eskimos are averse to giving orders. Most decisions affecting the camp as a whole appear to emerge from quiet discussion and the exchange of views. The leader is the one whose views are given more weight than those of other people in the camp. There have been and are exceptions to this rule. For instance, in a large camp where the leader was not only a great hunter and trapper but also a powerful angakok, it is reported that he gave commands and reached decisions without much or any consultation with others. But according to the literature on this region and according to older informants, this was certainly not the typical arrangement, and today it does not occur at all, except in a mild form at one camp where a vigorous grandfather of 53 years of age rules over his wives, sons, and their families with unquestioned authority.

Thus the basis for decision-making among the Eskimos is informal consultation, with the domestic leader exercising slightly more influence than the others. Another important feature of authority and decision-making in the camps is that the domestic authority is limited to the one camp. The isyumatah can speak only for those in his camp; decisions arrived at by the group are binding only on members of that group. It is of crucial importance to remember this feature of Eskimo social organization when considering problems of Eskimo leadership in Arctic communities today. The idea of someone in authority speaking on behalf of and giving orders to large numbers of people to whom they are not related by kinship or camp membership is a completely foreign one for which there are no precedents in Eskimo history or culture in this region.[1]

It is not difficult to see why there were no such precedents. We expect to find clear lines of authority and the vesting of authority in specified offices where the group is large; where there is a very complex division of labour required to do the jobs of the group; where the people in the group are heterogeneous with respect to kinship affiliation, social class, culture, etc.; and where there is decidedly unequal access to resources so that some people control the access of others to whatever crucial resources there are. A group or society in which these conditions prevail is one which requires clear lines of authority, vested in offices (such as general, mayor, chief, councilman, etc.) and having the backing of force. On none of these counts did the traditional Eskimo society need such an element in its organization. There were simply no large residential groups; the division of labour was relatively simple, based on sex and age; the members of the residential

1. Cf. Balikci, (1959a, 1959b) for a discussion of leadership and organization in Eskimo communities. See also Chapter X infra, pp. 201 ff.

groups were homogeneous with respect to kinship, social class, culture; and there was equal access to resources within any given camp and between camps--except for the one resource of contact with the supernatural, and it is in connection with the latter that we find the closest approach to the exercise of both naked power and formal authority among the Eskimos.

Of course many Eskimos are now living under conditions in which the traditional organization of activities and use of domestic authority based on camp conditions, are not at all adequate. We refer here to the settlement, where the permanent and semi-permanent Eskimo population numbers about 160, from mixed kinship backgrounds, from different parts of the Arctic, already stratified to some extent according to social and economic class. In some measure the spontaneous and unplanned emergence of the Kabloonamiut at the settlement is filling the organizational and leadership gap, although this process is only getting underway.

The process of which we speak is being propelled by the delegation to Eskimos of some authority formerly wielded only by Kabloona. We give a concrete example of this from the work sphere, although it happens also in the religious sphere where the catechist is delegated some of the authority formerly exercised exclusively by the missionary. As the installation of D.N.A. continue to expand, the number of man hours required for maintenance and repair multiply accordingly. By 1960, the D.N.A. installations included: three school buildings, two warehouses, a workshop, an office, and eight dwelling units for teachers, N.S.Os, Wildlife personnel, and Eskimo employees of D.N.A. Each day these buildings must be supplied with stove oil and water, which is pumped into tanks or delivered in buckets; chemical toilets emptied; garbage collected and burned; schools swept out; besides the performance of innumerable seasonal jobs, such as the installation of screens and double windows, painting, and so on. At first one Eskimo janitor carried out these tasks, aided by one or two part-time helpers. However, when it was found that this janitor worked about twelve hours per day, it became clear that a more systematic arrangement would have to be adopted. More help was hired, but it was many months before the Eskimo janitor assumed a purely supervisory role, letting the Eskimo helpers do the manual jobs and telling them what to do. In brief, it was some time before the man could bring himself to wield authority in an impersonal way, as a boss.[1]

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[1] It is noteworthy that this man still feels some discomfort about wielding impersonal authority. At a meeting of Eskimo residents he was asked to address the group on the subject of Eskimo participation on a Residents' Committee. He began by explaining at some length that he could not do any heavy work because he had a sore back, describing in detail his ailment and how he had contracted it, although all this had nothing whatsoever to do with the business of the meeting. "If it were not for my sore back," he explained gravely, "I would be working too and not just telling men what to do and watching them."

It appears that those Eskimos who wield over their fellow authority which is delegated to them by Kabloona will be the first to take on diffuse leadership functions in the community, that their limited authority in one sphere (that of the job or of the chapel, as with the catechist) will spill over into the community. Whether or not this leadership will engender enthusiastic followership on the part of other Eskimos it is too early to say.

D.N.A. is the only agency in the community which is deliberately trying to foster Eskimo participation in the affairs of the region and of the settlement in particular. This is part of a deliberate plan to discourage the attitude of dependence on Kabloona which has prevailed since the latter settled in this region. Obviously, one root of this dependent attitude is fed by the ever-increasing economic succorance required to raise the standard of living and health and to lower the excessive death rate. Until stable employment in the settlement or elsewhere for many more people is available and until a more rational and profitable exploitation of land resources than the present one is pursued, one cannot expect a dramatic change in the attitude of dependence. In the meantime direct assaults on this attitude are confined to citizenship education in the setting of Eskimo Council meetings where, as we noted earlier, it is the aim to involve the Eskimos in community decision-making.

In the absence of a community-wide organization of Eskimos (apart from the Eskimo Council) and in the absence of leadership which covers the whole community, this is not an easy task. It would be made easier if the Eskimos had concrete problems of some moment to themselves to grapple with in meetings, and if it were probable that their decisions and representations would be influential in solving these problems, for the pragmatic Eskimos are not given to discussing problems unless the discussion itself leads to concrete action to solve the problem.

At the moment, most community-wide problems are those which are formulated by the Kabloona and those which affect them as much as or more than the Eskimos: for instance, adequate teaching facilities for Kabloona school beginners who do not have to master the language barrier; a community deep freeze for storing frozen foods; adequate playgrounds for the children; the zoning of new dwellings; the pollution of drinking water; the disposal of garbage; the establishment of an adequate power plant; and so on. These are problems the solution of which requires the concerted discussion and action of Kabloona as community members or residents rather than as the personnel of this or that agency and there is a pressing need for some kind of association of residents to cope with these problems. However, the Eskimos on the whole do not share the Kabloona concern for such problems and, in fact, some of them have diametrically opposed interpretations of what the problems are. For instance, where the Kabloona are concerned about the mushrooming of shacks built out of scrap materials, because of

their shabby appearance and unhygienic conditions, the main problem for several Eskimos is how to get scrap material to build more shacks!

The attempts at something like local government in the Baker Lake settlement were initiated by the Kabloona in the fall of 1960 when they established a Residents' Association which will, in the words of one Kabloona, "represent the interests of the people here as members of a community rather than as civil servants, missionaries, merchants, and so on." How the Eskimos will link up with the Kabloona residents in such an association has not been worked out definitely, there being a lack of consensus among the Kabloona on this question.

At one extreme is the view, apparently held by only one Kabloona couple, that every adult in the settlement, Eskimo and Kabloona, should be full members of the projected association from its inception, with equal voting rights, and that all meetings should be open to every resident. The majority of Kabloona consulted feel that, apart from the great technical difficulties of holding such meetings and particularly the difficulty of constant interpretation, it is premature to set up an undifferentiated association. One person put it this way:

> "What would happen if we had just the one big association? We would invite the Eskimos and they would all come, because they usually take an invitation as a command, even if you don't mean it that way. Then at the meeting none of them would open their mouths, only the whites would talk. How do you think this would make the Eskimos feel? They would feel even more controlled than they are now. It would only confirm their feeling that the whites run everything anyway."

Only two Kabloona were against any Eskimo participation whatsoever. A few expressed the opinion that the Kabloona should get the association started, then invite those settlement Eskimos who understand English to become members, thus holding out membership as a reward for learning English. However, the majority opinion among the Kabloona was that initially there should be two associations linked together by a committee consisting of both Kabloona and Eskimos. One association would be formed by the present Eskimo Council, augmented by the adult women of the Eskimo community, in itself quite a departure. The other would be made up of Kabloona men and their wives. Each association would elect representatives to a committee which would span both. The committee members would attend both Eskimo and Kabloona meetings and try to articulate the agenda and decisions of both. This solution was discussed at a special meeting of Eskimos in the settlement and received a favourable reception. At this meeting, the Eskimos elected a Kabloonamio[1] man with a fair command of English and a woman, a widow who speaks no English and who is the mother of four

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1 The mio suffix is the singular form for miut.

marginal Kabloonamiut sons, as their representatives on this committee. Incidentally, the election of this woman is a singular precedent, not at all predictable from a knowledge of Eskimo culture, and baffling to the Kabloona in the community who had assumed that two men would be named to the committee.

Whatever the final structure and procedure of the Residents Association, it is the first approximation of a local government body in the region, although its powers will be quite limited. It would be naive to assume that the community power structure will suddenly shift and that the Eskimos will presently acquire the same decision-making prerogatives enjoyed by the Kabloona. Major decisions affecting the population will still be made mostly by Kabloona in their capacities as representatives of national institutions, influenced partly by the Kabloonamiut of the settlement whose actual and potential leadership roles were discussed in an earlier chapter. Nevertheless, given the aim of reducing the dependence of the Eskimos and of encouraging them to speak for themselves, the projected arrangement described above should be a step toward its fulfillment.

To the author's knowledge, the Baker Lake Residents Association is the only institution of its kind in the Arctic. Eskimo Councils exist in other communities, but from what we have been able to learn, their value to the Eskimos is primarily educational: at the meetings the Eskimos learn something of the Kabloona way of life, their plans, and so on; these meetings also provide the Eskimos with opportunities to exercise the formalities of parliamentary procedure. To take one community as an illustration, the Dailey's (1961) observations about the Eskimo Council at Rankin Inlet, observations which we were able to confirm, are that Council meetings there are primarily occasions when messages from the Kabloona mining and government officials are transmitted to the public, advising them of new community or work regulations, exhorting them to keep their dogs tied and their life-belts on when afloat, ordering them to burn their garbage, and so on. The outstanding sociological feature of the Rankin Inlet community is that it is a company town. Its residents are directly or indirectly dependent on the mining company. Compared with Baker Lake, the Rankin Inlet community is much more ethnically and class segregated, at least formally, and is integrated much more along authoritarian lines. There is little likelihood that its Kabloona and Eskimo residents would form an association to further their interests as community members.

If we regard the local grouping of adults of all ethnic groups and classes into community associations as an index of social assimilation, the Eskimo element at Baker Lake has a higher social assimilation score than the Eskimo element at Rankin Inlet, although the latter is culturally more

assimilated to the dominant Kabloona way of life.[1] We do not yet have sufficient data from Arctic communities to permit systematic comparison of how the different Eskimo elements fit into the community decision-making process, but the data on hand suggest the hypothesis that the Eskimo element in a community has the minimum say in those places which are dominated by a single agency, such as a company, a branch of the armed forces, or a mission station. No one agency dominates the Baker Lake community; the social structure there is comparatively propitious as a setting in which the Eskimos may develop a stepped-up rate of involvement in their own destiny, at least at the local level. We return to this topic in the next chapter.

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1 For a discussion of the difference between social and cultural assimilation, see Vallee and others (1957)

CHAPTER X

TRENDS AND COMPARISONS

This report has been produced with a particular audience in mind: persons whose work puts them in contact with the Eskimo and persons, often described as 'intelligent laymen', who are interested in the present position and future prospects of the Eskimo. The aim has been to describe how the human situation is changing in one Arctic region. These changes have been partly the result--in most cases the unintended result--of directed policies and practices, but most changes follow from happenings which are undirected and unplanned from the point of view of the local community, such as shifts in ecology, in technological development, in political interests and pressures. We attempt in this summary chapter to put the foregoing description in perspective by comparing the Baker Lake situation with that of other communities in the Canadian Arctic for which we have adequate information and by commenting on what we feel are long-term trends.

Things have been changing in the Arctic for many generations, but the pace of change has been greatly accelerated since World War II and particularly since the early 'fifties, creating an abrupt cultural discontinuity. Our general impression of the Eskimo response to the pitch and toss of change is that the great majority have rolled with it without falling overboard, a commentary on the flexibility and adaptability of their culture, social organization, and personality. There are, as we have seen, some sharp discontinuities between the traditional and the new--for instance in making public what was private and private what was public, in the routinization and scheduling of life, in putting oneself in the paid employ of others, in modes of community organization, in conventional practices with respect to sanitation, secular and sacred ritual. These discontinuities are difficult to cope with, especially for those in settlements who are under front-line pressure from impatient Kabloona.

On the other hand, there are many lines of continuty between the traditional way of life and the modern one: the general form and process of the family, the lack of a profound attachment between a plot of land and a family name, the stress on achievement rather than on ascription, the link between worldly achievement and favour with the spirit world, the low estcem for the able-bodied person who is chronically poor and the high estimation of the successful entrepreneur. All of these and other features of traditional life are congenial to the new one.

Compared with many other indigenous groups which have been subjected to pressures of change from an overpowering industrial society, the Eskimos are remarkable for the absence among them of individuals and factions with profound material and emotional vested interests in the

traditional status quo. The tradition-bearers, especially of the grand-parental generation, have been edged into cultural backwaters. Most of the older people we encountered are resigned to the changes and do not actively combat them. As for the middle-aged adults, with few exceptions they are not passing on the distinctive traditions of their localities.

The most acute point of discontinuity and the one which is most likely to have disruptive consequences is between those who were brought up in a pre-1940 milieu - adults between about twenty-five and forty--and their children, especially among settlement dwellers. The children, raised in semi-urban surroundings, exposed to sustained contact with Kabloona teachers and other socializers, are eventually confronted with the fact that their own parents and grandparents are considered inferior 'role models' by representatives of the dominant society. It is too early to predict how they will come to terms with this realization, but some possible reactions are mentioned presently.

There is abroad in the Kabloona world a favourable image of the traditional Eskimo culture. Admiration has been expressed universally for the dauntless tenacity of generations of Eskimos in maintaining an edge in the struggle against a ferocious environment. Few ugly blotches mar the received historical image of the Eskimo compared with, say, the received historical images of those Indians who fought against white intrusion, dismembering a few martyrs and scalping a few Caucasoid skulls in the process. At least the descendants of the primitive Eskimos do not have to contend with this image of their ancestors in textbooks, popular literature, movies, and the like; the Eskimo abroad in the world does not have to live down the presumed animality of his remote ancestors.

On the other hand, although the Kabloona make a favourable, if romantic, judgment on the Eskimo past, this does not prevent them from showing contempt for the living Eskimos they meet, either openly or by implication. Consider what is implied where one learns that untidiness is sinful, and one's parents are untidy; that receiving handouts is a mark of inferior status while one's parents are forced to accept handouts to keep the household going; that self-respecting men are capable of protecting their womenfolk from human predators while one's sisters and mother have to be protected behind a social wall of non-fraternization, erected by the guardians of the predators. Under such conditions it is not unlikely that children will devalue their parents.

The devaluation of parents by offspring who accept, perhaps unconsciously, the Kabloona evaluations of what is desirable and what is reprehensible implies a weakening in the control which parents normally exercise over their offspring. Plausible explanations of the factors which pre-dispose the children of foreign-born in America to delinquency usually include the point that the children, accepting the dominant society's view

that the immigrant parent is strange and perhaps uncouth, do not look up to the parents as role-models . (Cf. Mead 1952; Young 1936)

We have reported in Chapter VII that there is no evidence of such a wedge between generations at the Baker Lake settlement, but information from larger and more urban Arctic centres, while not sufficiently reliable to permit the precise statement of statistical rates, points to a diminution of parental control and an increase of gang activity, vandalism, and petty theft. If this kind of deviance begets the punitive response so frequently manifested in the south by uncomprehending guardians of our conventions, there might emerge a vicious circle from which it could take many years to break out. Officials and other representatives of the dominant society in such places must be firm in defining what is lawful and unlawful, but must be mindful of the kinds of stresses under which the settlement Eskimos are living and conscious that their official actions will have rankling consequences long after their tenures have expired.

Turning from the matter of discontinuity of life-ways between generations, we consider the disruptive consequences on mature persons of being thrust into a new milieu. At Baker Lake the discontinuity between living on the land in the traditional style and living in the settlement is not remarkably acute. Living in the settlement, one may still hunt, fish, trap, contact relatives on the land and maintain at least the impression of living the old life without paying too high a price and without inviting drastic sanctions from the Kabloona. Moreover, if a person brought up on the land finds settlement living too stressful, it is relatively easy for him to withdraw and return to the land; the hinterland is at his doorstep. It is not as easy to disengage from commitment to settlement living in some of the other urbanized Arctic localities, such as Rankin Inlet, Frobisher Bay, and Inuvik. Reactions to the strains of settlement life in these places are less likely to be those of physical withdrawal, more likely to be those of what Kabloona regard as conventional deviance--drunkenness, aggression, theft, to mention a few.

Having earlier considered some of the reasons for the lower rates of deviant behaviour at Baker Lake,[1] let us here comment on only one feature which has to do with community organization. A low rate of conventional deviance suggests an optimum degree of community cohesion so that the strains of settlement living are handled in such a way that deviance is prevented. One index of social cohesion is the extent to which individuals and groups in the community are detached or isolated from supportive and restraining relationships. Where such detachment and

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1 See page 190.

isolation are pronounced, one speaks of 'individuation' and 'anomie'. (Cf. Merton and Nisbet 1961: 16-18) Studies from many parts of the world that rates of conventional deviance are high under conditions of individuation and anamie. (La Pierre 1954) We suggest that at Baker Lake, the extended family and the congregations provide integrative or cohesive forces of a strength not matched by these groups in the larger, more urban settlements.

Kinship and congregational bonds in new Arctic settlements may not be sufficient in themselves to ensure a high degree of communal cohesion and integration. We suggest that a requisite for the latter condition is the provision of some 'voice' or 'say' for all elements in the community. Voiceless people are not likely to have much of a stake in a community's record, and are more likely to have a purely self-interest approach. An effective voice is transmitted through social groups such as associations and is channeled through association spokesmen. One may have expected that the movement of large numbers of Eskimos into settlement would have resulted in the emergence of new forms of association in these settlements, association for purposes of mutual aid, the airing of grievances, the co-ordination of community activities, and so on. Let us now compare associational life, apart from religious congregations, in Baker Lake and other Arctic communities.

The most viable and effective associations in Arctic communities appear to be those which serve specific, rather than community-wide, interests. Balikci describes two such associations in Povungnituk, one a kind of credit union in which certain families procure the wherewithal to purchase and maintain sea-worthy boats, the other a carvers' association. He compares these associations with another type of organization found in many Arctic settlements and usually called Eskimo Councils. The latter, founded by local government officials, are intended to be community-wide and have rather diffuse aims. Balikci concludes that the Eskimo Council type of association is less effective in performance than those which are,

> "...created for the achievement of specific tasks...tasks (which) are well understood by the natives and concern some vital local problems, perceived as such by the natives." (1959: 13)

Information from Great Whale River and Rankin Inlet (Balikci 1959: 4; Daileys 1961) lends support to Balikci's conclusions and, while the data we have are not spelled out in such terms as to permit definitive conclusions, they are suggestive enough to permit tentative generalization.

The evidence at hand indicates that associations among the Eskimos are likely to thrive under the following conditions:

1. where the Eskimos command resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable and scarce;

2. where in the pre-settlement period leadership was channelled through one or two families of a strong band organization;

3. where there is no formal segregation between the Eskimos and Kabloona;

4. where no one Kabloona institution is overwhelmingly dominant in the community.

Each of these conditions deserves brief comment.

The Eskimos at Povungnituk and at a few other places do command resources and facilities, such as large boats and carving skills, for which they are renowned. These resources and facilities provide a focus around which their owners can organize for mutual protection and interest. As we have seen, at Baker Lake the Eskimos do not enjoy the same command over scarce and valuable resources and facilities. In this they are similar to the Eskimos at such places as Eskimo Point, Great Whale River and Rankin Inlet.[1]

As for the second condition, pertaining to traditional leadership, the Keewatin District Eskimos did not have large cohesive bands with designated leaders who acted as spokesmen and co-ordinators. Where the hunting of large sea-mammals was the dominant productive activity, such bands existed and, in some modern settlements, provided the basis for sorting people into groups the leaders of which play key roles in the new associations.

In every Arctic settlement there is some measure of spontaneous segregation in residence and sociability between Kabloona and Eskimo, but as we have seen, in a few settlements, such as Rankin Inlet and Great Whale River this spontaneous segregation is reinforced by company rules about fraternization. In these communities associational life among the Eskimos is either feeble or non-existent and the identification of the Eskimos with the community is very weak. Baker Lake settlement does not have formal segregation and the Eskimo population there identifies positively with the community and are impelled to take some part in its associational life. Evidence for their readiness to participate was presented in our discussion of the Residents' Association in Chapter IX.

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1 Cf. Van Stone, and Oswalt (1960); Balikci (1957); Daileys (1961).

Where one institution, such as a mine, telecommunication company, mission, or government department is of overwhelming importance in a community, most of the key decisions affecting community life are made by officials of that institution. Under such conditions, one hardly expects to find a bustling association among the citizens, except perhaps for recreational purposes. Indeed, people in such communities are not so much citizens as they are employees, parishioners, and subjects. With respect to this condition, Baker Lake compares favourably with Rankin Inlet and Great Whale River, both of which are decisively dominated by single institutions.

If we assess Arctic settlements in terms of the four conditions listed and give each a score in terms of effective associational performance, we find communities like Povungnituk with the highest scores, communities like Rankin Inlet with the lowest. Baker Lake would be placed at about half-way on the scale.

In Chapter IX we suggested that a sense of local citizenship, a sense that one has a role to play in local decision-making, is not likely to emerge among people who are living on the edge of subsistence and whose income depends not so much on the resources and skills which they command as on the good will and local policies of benefactors, governmental or private. What are the economic prospects in Arctic settlements?

In a few localities, for example in the Arctic Islands, along the Arctic Sea coast, and along the northern tip of the Ungava Peninsula, the wildlife resources continue to provide a substantial part of the livelihood for the Eskimos. In such locations, the pursuit of sea-mammal hunting with large boats is supplemented by other means of gaining a livelihood: stone carving, trapping, fishing for domestic consumption and for market sale, working for wages, and government relief. In at least a few places, like Tuktoyaktuk and Povungnituk, there are more families deriving income from entrepeneurial activites as independent producers of goods than from wage labour.

Baker Lake shares with many localities in the Arctic an economy in which hunting is secondary to other means of gaining a livelihood. Great Whale River, Rankin Inlet, Frobisher Bay, and many other regions have, like Baker Lake, a wildlife resource base which is insufficient to provide more than a bare subsistence to their populations, small as these are, and the only entrepeneurial endeavour worth notice is that of the trapper.

Even if the wildlife resource base in regions like Baker Lake could provide more than a bare subsistence without considerable supplementation in the form of wages and government aid, the resulting standard of living would not reach the level nowadays regarded as minimal by public opinion and by influential people like public health

officals, teachers, journalists, and others with a hand in Eskimo affairs. We expect that criteria employed in judgments of adequacy about the Eskimo standard of living will grow increasingly like the criteria employed in the south, where it is felt that the family-household must have a distinct dwelling space, internally divided according to function, properly heated and not overcrowded, a stock of decent furnishings for the dwelling and of clothing and other accoutrements of daily life for each individual, besides a store of foods, medicines, cigarettes and other items regarded as indispensable in the south.

It is clear that such a standard of living will only be achieved with income derived from several sources. That part derived from wages and from entrepeneurial activity will have to expand greatly from its present amount, an expansion which can only come about when the Eskimos take over jobs now performed by Kabloona, a prospect which is discussed in Chapter III. There are, of course, certain imponderables which it is difficult to take into account in making such projections. For instance, the opening of a mine at Baker Lake would greatly increase the amount of wages flowing into households there. But even such an event is fraught with economic risk to the local population. The mine at Rankin Inlet provides the highest per capita income to the Eskimo population there, but the closing of that mine as a result of market pressures or of mineral exhaustion would have dire economic and social consequences locally, because the Eskimos have all their economic eggs in one basket.

As a response to the lack of economic opportunities in such localities as Baker Lake, can we expect large-scale migrations of families out of the Arctic altogether? In our opinion, this is not a realistic expectation. The author knows of a handful of individuals who have migrated to the south and who have come to terms with the environment there. However, we cannot point to one family group which has settled in the South, nor have we heard of one family group which even aspires to such a migration.[1] It is possible that once the new educational system begins to produce young Eskimos with marketable skills, the rate of migration outside the Arctic will rise appreciably, but for at least the next few decades we cannot realistically expect spontaneous movement of significant numbers to the south in search of economic opportunity.

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1 If Churchill is to be considered as in the south, then an exception to the foregoing generalization needs to be made, for a number of families have settled for varying periods in the Eskimo camp there, operated by D.N.A. Most of the able-bodied adults work at the Army Base near Churchill, but they live in a segregated location a few miles from both the Army Base and the townsite. Not one of these Eskimo families has moved into the Kabloona milieu to reside.

On the other hand, there have been numerous instances of family groups resettling in locations distant from their home territories but within the Arctic area and, usually, within the district of their birth and upbringing. The adjustment of some of these family groups was discussed in Chapter III. Transfers of population within the Arctic, both of the spontaneous and administered or planned variety, should become increasingly common as a response to economic pressure.

Local economies in the future, then, will require an increasing flow of cash income from wages and intrepeneruial profits and, ideally, a larger measure of diversification than they possess now as protection against sudden collapses in any one area, whether this be mining, trapping, whaling, or whatever. Unfortunately, diversification at the local community level is an unlikely condition in most parts of the Arctic and particularly in the Barren Lands. This is one reason that economic thinking must be as much in terms of region as it is in terms of community, for a larger measure of diversification can be achieved at the regional than at the local level.

For communities in a region to form part of one diversified economy requires that they do not simply duplicate one another, but that they be interrelated in an organic way, so that the functions of one complement the functions of the others. Local specialization of function is common in the south, but if we look at the communities in the Keewatin District we find that most of them simply duplicate one another. Such settlements as Baker Lake, Eskimo Point, Chesterfield Inlet and Coral Harbour are linked in a network of radio communication in the national interest, exchanging and relaying messages about weather, flying conditions, flight programmes, and so on. Each is also a link to the others in an administrative chain. However, they are not linked in any kind of interdependent network as far as the local Eskimos are concerned. Each settlement is more oriented to the south than it is to other settlements in the same district. The people in any one settlement could die or be flown thousands of miles away from the Arctic without this altering the social organization and daily life of people in other settlements of the district.

The emergence of Rankin Inlet as a place where Eskimos can sell their labour has introduced an element of diversification in the district, but so far this has not led to a condition of interdependence between settlements, for the Rankin Inlet community is primarily dependent on the south for everything it needs, except unskilled labour. So far there is no sign of an emerging demand in Rankin Inlet for the products of other settlements in the Keewatin District, such as caribou meat and hides, fish, sea-mammal

meat and skins, and so on. If such relations of mutual economic interdependence could be fostered and improvements in means of transportation between communities developed to handle the flow of goods and human traffic, the dependence of each community on the distant south would be much less acute.

The foregoing argument may be economically naive, but the author presses it because economic dependence usually implies social and psychological dependence, a condition deplored by Eskimo and Kabloona alike. Furthermore, we press it because we detect a trend towards the emergence of something which can be called an Eskimo social system in the Canadian Arctic, a social system which transcends local camps and communities and links widely separated people in a consciousness of kind. In traditional times this consciousness of kind transcending local groupings was absent and there existed instead a large number of small-scale, regional societies, having in common certain cultural characteristics in language, technology, and world-view. Although in the process of cultural assimilation the Eskimos have abandoned many of these cultural characteristics and are adopting Kabloona ones, they are not being assimilated socially into the Kabloona society. There is no evidence of significant numbers of Eskimos passing into Kabloona society: even the most acculturated Eskimos encountered by the author do not regard themselves as Kabloona. Economic interdependence among Eskimo communities would reinforce their social distinctiveness and ethnic solidarity.

To continue in this speculative vein, we envisage not the assimilation, or swallowing up, of the Eskimos in Canadian society, but rather their integration as an ethnic group into that society. By integration, we mean the joining together of parts into a whole, each part retaining an identity of its own which is distinct from the other parts. In this context, the parts are ethnic groups, not individuals. To illustrate: in Canada there is a French Canadian ethnic group, but all those born of French Canadian parents do not identify with this ethnic group. Persons may choose to identify with an ethnic group or think of themselves in non-ethnic terms. We believe that for a long time to come there will exist an Eskimo-Canadian ethnic group, although not all persons born of Eskimo parents will necessarily identify with it.

A requisite for the development of a strong Eskimo identity which cuts across settlement, rural-urban, social class, and sub-cultural distinctions, is some means of communication through which Eskimo points of view can be diffused. First steps in building such a communication network have already been taken: a publication entitled ESKIMO and printed in the Eskimo language has a wide readership in the Arctic, and radio broadcasts in Eskimo have been introduced, beamed through the transmitters at Frobisher, Inuvik and Churchill. Although the Kabloona have been the prime movers in these innovations and

retain the ultimate right to censor the content, a large measure of control over the productions is vested in Eskimos. The fact that communications through these media are in the Eskimo language has important implications for the maintenance of a distinctive Eskimo ethnic group.

The trend towards a kind of pan-Eskimoism is given impetus by the emergence and growing influence of a class of persons committed to settlement living, the kind of persons we have called Kabloonamiut throughout this report. Data from recent reports on Port Harrison, Great Whale River, Rankin Inlet, and Eskimo Point indicate that the Baker Lake community is not unique in this respect.

In all Arctic communities for which we have information Kabloona and Eskimo groups form into sub-systems, and it is because of the barriers between these sub-systems that we are led to discount the early passing of Eskimos into the larger society in any substantial numbers. Articulate Eskimos are already claiming to speak for all Eskimos vis-a-vis all Kabloona. These articulate Eskimos are the products of either settlement living or lengthy stays in Kabloona institutions, such as hospitals and residential schools. In cultural terms they are closer to the Kabloona than to the traditional Eskimo. However, for many of them, identification with the Eskimo reference group is quite strong. Some control of the Arctic-wide communication system mentioned above is vested in people from this grouping. Their appearance is too recent to warrant prediction about their eventual role, but it is possible that they could inspire, or act as spokesmen for, protest movements as the Eskimos gain more insight into their predicaments. The assumption of such a role by the Eskimos who are most acculturated to Kabloona ways is likely to occur if they feel socially rebuffed by the Kabloona or if they view themselves as victims of discrimination.

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