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INUIT REDISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT:
PROCESSES OF CHANGE IN THE EASTERN CANADIAN ARCTIC,
1922-1968

BY

LEE E. WEISSLING

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1991



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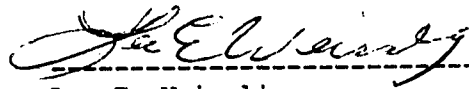
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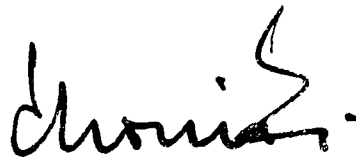
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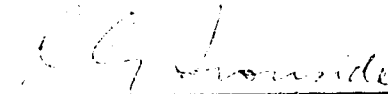
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PROCESSES OF CHANGE IN THE EASTERN
CANADIAN ARCTIC, 1922-1968

SUBMITTED BY: LEE E. WEISLING

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.



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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Alma Weissling, and her infinite patience.

ABSTRACT

Many development processes throughout the 20th century produced changes to Inuit society in Arctic Canada. The primary purpose of this research is to define some realities and reasons underlying the development (and underdevelopment) of the Baffin Region of the eastern Canadian Arctic as well as their effects on socio-economic conditions of the Inuit. Also, processes of development are identified. In this dissertation, development is viewed as having occurred when a developing, less-modern society or region becomes an integral and permanent part of a modern society. This integration then theoretically led to sustained economic growth and increased benefits to individuals because of increased access to modern goods and services. Underdevelopment is viewed as having occurred when some of these modern ideas and technologies substantially increased dependence on external influences and resulted in a diminution of indigenous control over their social, cultural, and economic systems. Throughout this dissertation, illustrations of the integration of Inuit society into modern society are presented. Outward signs of this include, but are not limited to, the presence of HBC and RCMP posts in Arctic settlements, the use and demand of consumer goods imported from the south, facilities such as health care centres and schools, and obtaining income from non-traditional sources. Overall, one of the most concrete indications that Inuit society became developed was the integration and replacement of their traditional economy by a market economic system tied to the developed, industrialized world.

Signs of dependence are also presented throughout this dissertation. These evolved through the same forces of modernization as those which led to development. In these cases, however, modern goods and services did ~~not~~ lead to sustained economic growth or increased benefits. Discussion of these include, but are not limited to, analysis of situations whereby young Inuit had to depend on support from others

because they could not find wage employment nor rely on traditional means of livelihood, situations brought about by living in permanent settlements and having to rely on market conditions for meeting basic needs, and situations where the reliance on imported food and commodities led to a lessening of traditional ways to meet basic needs. These situations ultimately led to a diminution of indigenous social, cultural, and economic controls over their lives and to other conditions of underdevelopment.

Inuit socio-economic conditions are described in the dissertation based on data obtained from RCMP archives. Officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police lived in Inuit areas of the Baffin Region from 1922 onwards. Their reports are available at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. They provide detailed accounts of life in the Arctic and present information which is useful for increasing the knowledge and understanding of how development and underdevelopment affected individual Inuit.

The theoretical framework for this dissertation is founded on studies of Third World development. Comparisons are made between Arctic Canada and the Third World. These include discussion of the development agents which introduced changes, the consequences of these changes, and identification of how some of these changes led to conditions of underdevelopment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would sincerely like to thank Drs. Leszek Kosinski, Geoff Ironside, Peter Kershaw, Milton Freeman, Robert Bone, and Ken Fairbairn for their foresight and help in making this thesis something to be proud of. My family here in Edmonton, especially my mother, also deserve praise for their support and encouragement even if what I have been doing for the last few years was sometimes a mystery to them.

I greatly appreciate the camaraderie and support of present and former students, staff, and faculty of the Geography Department at the University of Alberta. They are far too numerous to mention by name but nonetheless are very important to me.

I especially want to thank my business partner, John Beckingham, for his understanding and assistance.

Words cannot express the appreciation I have for the friendship throughout the past years of Bunny Edwards, Lionel Eshleman, Leah Kongsrude, Grant Mihalcheon, and Alan Touw. You greatly contributed to the successful completion of this thesis.

Finally, it would have been far more difficult to complete this thesis and degree were it not for the help and support of Darren Sjogren. Whenever I needed someone to listen to my trials and tribulations, you were there. You kept me sane despite our insanity.

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INUIT REDISTRIBUTION AND DEVELOPMENT: PROCESSES OF CHANGE IN THE EASTERN
CANADIAN ARCTIC, 1922-1968

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview.

"No single author has yet defined the realities and reasons underlying underdevelopment in the Canadian North. The topic is both complex and dynamic, making concrete or modular explanations difficult, if not impossible" (Pretes 1988:115). This was stated in an article wherein the author directly compared the Canadian Arctic to the Brazilian North in the context of dependency theory. It illustrates that a need exists for explanations about how Arctic Canada became underdeveloped, the identification of the processes which resulted in underdevelopment, and description of the results of the development and underdevelopment of a region on the periphery of part of the developed world. Personal contacts with consultants and researchers specializing in the North as well as officials at Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) have confirmed this need.

While realizing the difficulty in explaining underdevelopment, it is not assumed to be impossible. Underdevelopment is viewed as a condition whereby a society has become dependent upon external socio-economic forces which had resulted in a diminution of indigenous control over their social, political, and economic conditions. The concepts of development and underdevelopment are elaborated upon in Chapter 2. With Pretes' statement as a point of reference, the primary purpose of this research is to define some realities and reasons underlying the development (and underdevelopment) of the Canadian North as well as their effects on socio-economic conditions of the Inuit.

Many of the problems associated with development and underdevelopment and accompanying socio-economic problems in Arctic Canada have been publicized in the media. Indeed, many ideas formulated for this research were borne from reading newspaper articles. As examples, headlines have included "Destruction of seal market fuels Inuit

suicides" (Globe and Mail Dec. 29, 1987), "Bishop fears Inuit 'genocide' from anti-fur campaign" (Edmonton Journal May 24, 1986), "Struggling against the South" (Edmonton Journal Jan. 9, 1987), and "Priest projects bleak future for Inuit in the Baffin area" (Edmonton Journal April 20, 1987). The underlying theme, although never fully explained in articles of this type, is that Inuit are often not in control of their social, economic, and cultural systems.

Census statistics from 1986 (Canada 1987) indicate a 20.2 percent increase in population of the Baffin region from 1981-1986, an annual rate of 4 percent. A Catholic priest in Iqaluit, according to the Edmonton Journal (April 20, 1987), predicted that by the year 2000 the Baffin region's population will grow to 15,000 from around 10,000 in 1987, a 3.1 percent per year increase. Meanwhile, new job creation was predicted to increase at only one-sixth this rate. Analysis of census data by Robitaille and Choinière (1985) also indicates such conditions. Between 1931 and 1981 the entire Inuit population of Canada quadrupled from 6,000 to 25,000. But, these authors point out that job opportunities in 1981 for Inuit were very scarce and that government transfer payments were reported as being the major source of income by proportionately three times as many Inuit as in the general population of Canada. To understand these problems and possibly alleviate them, it is necessary to analyze how these conditions evolved.

It is assumed that the problems facing contemporary Canadian Inuit are rooted in the processes of population redistribution and development leading to changes from their life as a semi-nomadic people with a subsistence hunting economy to becoming relatively sedentary in centralized settlements structured within a modern market economy. To identify these processes and demonstrate that Arctic Canada is underdeveloped, an overview of theories and concepts of development and underdevelopment must be discussed. Also, several objectives must be outlined and incorporated into the research design for this project.

1.2 Objectives

(1) To interpret and analyze the consequences of the processes of development in Arctic Canada from a global, especially Third World, perspective. Because many concepts of development have been analyzed within the context of the Third World, these regions must be taken into account when discussing Arctic Canada. Therefore, historical and contemporary events which occurred in the Third World are compared with the Canadian Arctic. Comparisons indeed have been made between Arctic Canada and the Third World (Berry 1966; Griffiths 1983; Young 1983; Zachariah 1984; Pretes 1988). But there have been few studies applying the analysis of Third World development to Arctic Canada. One of the most obvious conditions which illustrates the similarity of Arctic Canada and the Third World is the notion that both regions are peripheries of much larger and powerful cores.

... relations between the South and North are continuing to be ones between core and periphery, an extension of colonial attitudes that cater to the political and economic needs and goals of the "mother country" or core. In that way, the circumpolar North shows similar characteristics to those of Third World countries or developing areas throughout the world, although its individual regions are integral parts of modern industrialized nation-states (Muller-Wille 1987:352).

Furthermore, international events such as the European Economic Community's boycott of sealskins have directly affected socio-economic conditions in the Arctic (Royal Commission 1986). A better understanding of the linkages between the world economy and Inuit society is needed.

(2) To investigate the consequences of the development and redistribution of Inuit during the 20th century. This is a central theme of the dissertation. Socio-economic development of the Inuit is closely tied to the redistribution of their population throughout the 20th century, especially 1950-1970. Underlying general processes of development leading to centralization and permanence are aspects of population redistribution which pull people to more urban areas or push

them from rural regions. Included are features of modernization such as health care facilities, education, and an availability of consumer goods, all of which are more accessible when both the goods and services and the people using them are situated in a central, permanent location. Their presence encourages people to move near them.

(3) To incorporate concepts of development in explanations and interpretations of the changes which occurred in Canadian Inuit socio-economic conditions. Comments about and descriptions of socio-economic changes in Inuit society have frequently been made by researchers (Ross 1976; Honigmann 1978; Freeman 1981b; Rowley 1981). Yet many studies do not deal with the consequences of these processes of change. Employing concepts presented in literature on development and underdevelopment as well as personal experiences, to assist in interpreting these processes should lead to a greater understanding of contemporary socio-economic conditions of Canadian Inuit.

These objectives are used as guides to the main thesis of this dissertation: to describe the historical development of Inuit in the Canadian East Arctic and increase the understanding of the processes of their development. Before discussion commences concerning these goals, this research is defined as being part of the discipline of geography. In addition, the philosophical foundations underlying the dissertation are presented.

1.3 Foundations.

1.3.1 Geographical Approach to Inuit Development and Redistribution

The study of Inuit redistribution and development in the Canadian Arctic prior to 1968 incorporates aspects of the topics of population and development from an historical perspective. Redistribution obviously falls within the study of population. But redistribution involves deeper processes than a mere change of residence. It includes demographic characteristics which contribute to the overall condition of

society as well as consideration of the effects of the type of settlement to which people moved. Discussion of the development of the Arctic also involves more than descriptions of how the Inuit were 'developed'. It necessitates arriving at statements concerning the consequences of development on a distinct society. Finally, it is obvious that research of Arctic Canada prior to 1968 involves historical analysis.

This dissertation is a study within human geography. Population, development, and historical geography are all used and are guided by the principles of regional geographic analysis without clearly identifying this dissertation with any one of these particular fields of study.

A review of basic definitions of human geography is necessary which will place this research as being within the discipline. According to the Dictionary of Human Geography, geography is "the study of the earth's surface as the space within which the human population lives" (Johnston 1981:133). Furthermore, three characteristics are essential for geographical study. They are:

1. An emphasis on *location*. Geography is concerned with the locational or spatial variation in both physical and human phenomena at the earth's surface. It tries to "disentangle the factors that lead to particular spatial patterns" (Johnston 1981:134).

2. An ecological emphasis on *human-land relations*. The inter-relation of phenomena are stressed as well as the links between aspects of the natural environment and the human population occupying or modifying it.

3. An emphasis on *regional analysis* which fuses the spatial and ecological approaches. Regions are identified, their intra-regional morphology and ecological linkages traced, and their extra-regional relations established.

For this study, Arctic Canada is the specific location of interest. On a smaller scale, specific locations of Inuit settlement

throughout the 20th century are described. More importantly, however, are the factors which led to changes in the spatial patterns of Inuit residence and the consequences of these changes.

Any study of Inuit must include *human-land relations*. The importance of natural resources to Inuit socio-economic conditions is reiterated throughout this dissertation. Particular emphasis on environmental resources is needed because the overall development and underdevelopment of Inuit society is inexorably tied to the use of renewable resources. The links between the natural environment and the modifications to Inuit socio-economic conditions brought about by outside influences are central to the description of the effects of Inuit redistribution and development.

In order to establish the outcome of redistribution and development on Inuit socio-economic conditions, a *regional* synthesis of locational and ecological characteristics is necessary. The intra-regional morphology of the region is described based on the spatial distribution and characteristics of Inuit habitation. The importance of human-environment interactions is also traced. These descriptions pave the way for a primary purpose of this research: to analyze the consequences of extra-regional relationships, specifically development, on Arctic Canada.

There is little doubt that this research falls within the discipline of human geography. The problem remains, however, to further define the subareas of geographical study in which this research is placed. The themes of population, development, and history are important throughout this research, and, if viewed separately, could have been used for a distinct study. Geography, however, allows for the incorporation of several themes into the overall discipline. In this research, the historical development of the Inuit is emphasized. Aspects of population redistribution are also central to the analysis.

The ways in which these themes are used and analyzed, though, are

very similar to methods of regional geography. This research is not, however, regional geography *per se* because the data analysis used and the theoretical perspective on which it is based could be used for analyzing any region in the world. Arctic Canada is not the main focus of research, rather it is the development and redistribution of a people who happen to live in Arctic Canada. This dissertation focuses on Inuit development and redistribution during the 20th century to 1968. The principles and traditional tenets of regional geographic research are used as the philosophical foundation of the dissertation. Hart (1982) elaborated on these tenets and his discussion is used to clarify why aspects of population, development, and historical geography are all used.

In a Presidential Address entitled "The Highest Form of the Geographer's Art" in the *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, Hart (1982) addressed issues concerning regional geography and made a plea for geographers to have a greater participation into their discipline's roots: that of satisfying people's curiosity about the world in which they live. The main points of Hart's article are:

1. Geography should provide **evocative descriptions** and **facilitate understanding** of regions in the world.
2. Theory should not be used as an end in itself but as a **guideline** to advance our understanding of the real world.
3. Geographical analysis is distinguished by its ability to understand complex interplays of many variables by using an **integrative approach**.
4. Regional geographers are concerned primarily with **patterns** and the **interrelationships** of those patterns.
5. An understanding of a region's **history** is a key theme in regional geographical analysis.
6. The results of geographical study should be written in an imaginative, informative, and readable manner.

1.3.1.1 Evocative Descriptions and Facilitation of Understanding

"Geography is a science, but it is also an art, because understanding an area cannot be reduced to a formal process. The highest form of the geographer's art is producing...evocative descriptions that facilitate an understanding and an appreciation of places, areas, and regions" (Hart 1982:2). The primary source of data for this research is the RCMP archives from Arctic Canada during 1922-1968. Information in the documents are of a personal, qualitative nature. Nevertheless, they provide information from government agents actually living in or near Inuit communities. Comments made by the RCMP officers were often descriptive and offer insight into what life was like during that time. This is especially important to gain understanding of changes which impacted upon Inuit society as the Inuit had to cope with a myriad of external forces affecting their socio-economic conditions. As such, the archives produce evocative scenarios of interest to the reader.

The utilization of a variety of literature, including the RCMP archives, and the analysis of this information facilitates the understanding of Inuit redistribution and development. A wealth of written information as well as personal experiences help to increase the awareness of how socio-economic changes brought about from external sources affect indigenous societies. For this research, descriptive archives are indeed the primary data source, but these, combined with this other information, lead to more than mere descriptions. They lead to understanding.

1.3.1.2 Theory as a Guideline

Theory in this dissertation is used precisely as Hart suggests, "an idea about the way things may work...[which] advances our understanding of the real world" (Hart 1982:5). There are many theories concerning development and, indeed, some of these are outlined in this

dissertation. They serve as useful guidelines to organize concepts and frameworks for data analysis. Findings and discussion illustrate how events in Arctic Canada fit in with the concepts, frameworks, and research questions established for this dissertation are based on theory, but the overall research is not intended to support or refute a specific theory.

1.3.1.3 Integrative Approach

This research is based on a traditional geographic approach of integrating variables concerning parts of a phenomenon in order to gain a greater understanding of its whole. "Any attempt to understand the complex interplay of the myriads of variables in the real world requires...the integrative approach, which puts back together, or synthesizes, all of the variables that the individual disciplines have tried to isolate for close analysis" (Hart 1982:13). To achieve the overall purpose of defining some realities of the development and underdevelopment of the Canadian Arctic needs more knowledge than from just development studies. Ecology, Economics, Demography, Third World Development, and History are just a few of the topics necessary to gain a holistic understanding of the region.

While it is admitted that incorporating these and other disciplines may dilute detailed knowledge of particular aspects of Inuit socio-economic conditions, one of the most useful skills which a geographer may offer other scholars and the public is the ability to generalize and synthesize a variety of information. This research provides a worthwhile opportunity in this endeavour.

1.3.1.4 Patterns and Interrelationships

As Hart (1982:23) states, "geographers are concerned primarily with patterns and the interrelationships of patterns, and they are concerned with processes only as they are necessary to understand

patterns". A key pattern investigated for this research is the change in habitation patterns of the Inuit from semi-nomadic to permanent settlement dwellers. More important is the analysis of the changes to Inuit socio-economic conditions which accompanied this redistribution. Although Hart emphasizes the study of patterns, this dissertation shall investigate processes as being of almost equal interest. Inter-relationships between the transformation of settlement patterns and Inuit socio-economic conditions centre on aspects of development brought to the Arctic. Development is viewed as the key process which resulted in pattern and socio-economic change. By identifying the consequences of change and how they came about, understanding of the region is facilitated.

1.3.1.5 History

Being informed by a sense of time is one important key theme facilitating the understanding of regional patterns. "Current processes do not always explain present relationships, and we may need to examine relationships inherited from the past, when things were different" (Hart 1982:23). As mentioned, the RCMP archives are the primary data source for this research. Archives from 1922-1968 are analyzed. It is thus obvious that the data used are historical in nature. Especially in the Arctic, contemporary patterns and socio-economic conditions stem from past changes. This is a major precept of this research: that present problems in the Arctic are the result of processes which occurred in the past and to confront and, it is hoped, alleviate these problems, a greater awareness is needed of how these problems evolved. While this research is not historical *per se*, it is based on using historical documents as its data source.

1.3.1.6 Written Findings

It should not be necessary to reiterate that geographical research

should be written so that others can learn of the results. After all, the Greek roots of the word geography are to write of the earth. "Good geographical writing quite definitely is an art, and the highest form of the geographer's art is writing evocative descriptions that facilitate an understanding and an appreciation of places, areas, and regions" (Hart 1982:28). It is therefore intended in this dissertation that the text be understood by non-specialists and that the reader's interest be stimulated. While emotional or journalistic phrases are kept to a minimum, there is no reason to produce neutral, dry, or totally objective statements. This is especially appropriate considering that the primary data sources are personal accounts and descriptive in nature. It is the intention of this author to continue writing in a style that has found approval from the anonymous referees of the papers he has published. Many of the referees have said that the author's writing style is very understandable, interesting, and even refreshing to read.

1.4 Structure of Dissertation.

The second chapter of this dissertation outlines concepts and theories of development and underdevelopment. Included is the conceptual framework which provides the foundation for the remainder of dissertation. Chapter 3 follows which describes general Inuit socio-economic conditions based on published literature. Chapter 4 then compares Arctic Canada with the Third World using examples from literature and previous research by the author of this dissertation. Included is a detailed description of the effects of education in Arctic Canada and Zambia. The methods of research for this dissertation are then discussed in Chapter 5. The remaining chapters include analysis and presentation of data concerned specifically with the development and underdevelopment of the eastern Canadian Arctic.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed account of life in the Pond Inlet

region of Baffin Island during 1922-1942. This is followed by Chapter 7 which outlines post-World War II government policy towards the Arctic. Chapter 8 then analyzes the demographic and economic characteristics of the Inuit population during the 1950s and 1960s. In Chapter 9, examples of important RCMP reports are compiled. A more complete description of the archives is made in Appendix I. Chapter 10 includes accounts of the socio-economic conditions in east Arctic communities from 1950 to 1968 based on the RCMP reports outlined in Chapter 9 and Appendix I. Chapter 11 centres on identifying overall processes of development and underdevelopment based on information presented throughout the dissertation. This is followed by Chapter 12, the conclusion.

2. CONCEPTS AND THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

2.1 Overview

As stated in The Dictionary of Human Geography, although the common usage of the term development varies, it nevertheless consists of six interconnected sets of phenomenon: levels of material production and consumption; changes in the levels of material production and consumption; the technology of material production and consumption; technological change; associated social, cultural and political changes; and the distribution of the costs and benefits of production and consumption (Johnston 1981). The conventional meaning given to development relies on viewing surface appearances of a society and defines development in terms of "a number of apparently characteristic outputs without either specifying the way in which such outputs are produced or clarifying the social relationships between them" (Johnston 1981:7).

The last sentence in the paragraph above illustrates the problems inherent in defining development. Economists determine whether a place is developed by measuring changes, usually economic growth, brought about by the introduction of new ideas and technologies from developed, (read: modern) sectors of the world. Other social scientists, however, focus on how these introduced forces resulted in institutional and social changes to a society. Because economic growth did not always lead to more equitable income distribution or accompanying improvement in standards of living, these social scientists do not rely solely on economic indicators when analyzing development.

Many economists and other social scientists view modernization as part of development. They differ, however, in their evaluation of how modernization influences indigenous societies. For example, development economists such as Thirlwall (1989) stress that social services must be part of development but overall modernization of indigenous societies is based on the increase in market economic forces

and the integration of developing regions into world industrial technologies and socio-economic systems.

Other social scientists, often based on ideological concerns, view modernization as replacing indigenous cultural, political, and social values with those of the Western world. This may not necessarily be beneficial to the indigenous society. For example, social scientists such as Bell (1988) emphasize that imported Western knowledge, services, and economic systems have not always helped indigenous people meet their basic needs in life. Furthermore, he points out that indigenous socio-economic systems frequently do not harmonise with imported models of economic and social development. Thus, discussion of modernization is included in this chapter as being an important component of development and underdevelopment from the perspectives of both economists and other social scientists.

Regardless of the perspectives outlined in this chapter, development is viewed as consisting of directed *strategies* and *programmes* implementing ways and means to improve living standards, *processes* which, whether based on formal policy or not, lead to change in a people's societal and economic structures, and *theories* which seek to explain and/or predict why and how strategies and processes affect any given target population.

2.2 Strategies of Development

Economic development strategies are often associated with large-scale organizations such as the World Bank. These organizations often employ capital intensive and 'top-down' projects to implement development. They are concerned with "the modernization and monetization of rural society, and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy" (World Bank 1975:3). Central to this approach are opportunities which improve the provision of efficient and sustainable productive income-earning ventures to rural

residents (Please and Amoako 1984). Incorporated into this is an emphasis on the production of exports which ultimately generate income on a national level and raise Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This income, in theory, will eventually trickle down to the rural poor.

Important objectives which should be implemented into these types of development strategies include (Lele 1975):

1. Improving living standards by mobilizing and allocating resources.
2. Allocating resources to low-income regions and classes and ensuring that services actually reach them.
3. Involving people in self-sustaining activities by developing and teaching them appropriate skills using institutions at the local, regional, and national levels.

Throughout the implementation of development projects, financing and guidance from national or international agencies are required. The thrust of these approaches, especially those of the World Bank, is to focus on actions necessary for raising smallholder production as a precondition for the achievement of all other goals of development (Please and Amoako 1984).

Thus, emphasis is often placed upon increasing the production of resources which can be exported. Income generated would then benefit national interests as well as the individual producer. If resources are based on agriculture, which is common in rural Third World areas, modern technologies such as fertilizer, new strains of seeds, or equipment for ploughing and harvesting could all be provided, with financial assistance, to the individual in order to help increase production. Other strategies of development may centre on improving general social conditions. These may be concerned with health, housing, or education. Provision of hospitals or health centres, material or loans for homes, and schools are obvious means to improve social conditions of the poor.

Most of these programs require some degree of capital and organization by national or international agencies. Many of the ideas

and material needed to implement these strategies are created and produced by and for people in the developed, industrial world. They may not necessarily be appropriate to the areas where they are provided.

A more sociological approach to development is viewed by many as being more appropriate to the poor. This concentrates on strategies which are more suited to the people and conditions in specific areas needing to be developed. This strategy is termed integrated development using a 'bottom-up' approach. This concept grew out of the argument that capital-intensive development strategies relying on export-oriented growth leaves rural residents open to the uncertainties and negative consequences of price fluctuations, declining terms of trade, and the unreliability of food import and distribution systems (Schultheis 1984). Integrated rural development efforts try to utilize and develop human resources at a grass roots level. Basic premises to this approach are known as appropriate technologies and are adapted to the target populations' social, cultural, and natural environment (Koloko 1979). Often these technologies are from the developed world and are integrated into indigenous societies through processes of modernization. If local conditions are known and integrated properly, these technologies produce benefits.

To achieve benefits, integrated development starts by gaining a thorough understanding of the area being developed, including determination of the needs and desires of the local people. Programs are implemented based on those needs. For example, it may be found that fertilizer which was beneficial in one area of the country may be inappropriate for another area. Similarly, local soil conditions may not be conducive for growth of new strains of seeds even though they were proved successful elsewhere. If development agents become aware of local conditions before implementing programs, more effective benefits may accrue.

Regardless of how they are implemented, both capital intensive and

integrated development strategies are directed towards an improvement in living standards of the poor based on economic well-being and, whether intended or not, by increasing ties to national and international market economies. Few scholars or development agents would deny that people even in the remotest locations of the world still desire and/or require some interaction with a market economy. The question is, what are the consequences of these interactions? An analysis of development processes is necessary to arrive at answers.

2.3 Processes of Development

Processes of development may lead to improved living standards and certainly to integration of indigenous people into a market economy but they are not necessarily linked to formal policies or directed to a target population with a specific goal in mind. They may be conceived of as an "economic and social transformation of a society, resulting in the reduction of the role of the primary (and later also the secondary) sector, increasing urbanization and changing aspirations, attitudes, and behaviour" (Kosinski 1985:21). They can be fundamentally distinguished from the evolutionary processes of biological systems by "the existence of the will and the ability to select purposively and consciously some particular path for change" (Chase 1980:50). From a sociological view, economic and social transformations of a society are usually a function of change brought about by modernizing forces from external sources.

In geographic terms, modernization involves spatial diffusion of cross-cultural contacts and institutions moving from urban foci and spreading along communication and transportation systems to bring new ideas, techniques, and ways of life to rural areas (Riddell 1976). It is a process of social change resulting from the diffusion and adoption "of the characteristics of expansive and apparently more advanced societies through societies which are apparently less advanced" (Johnston 1981:223).

The central assumptions of modernization theory, according to Rimmer and Forbes (1982), are:

1. The dualistic presentation of the development process in terms of a unilinear change from a primitive, undifferentiated, and pre-rational society to a modern, differentiated, and bureaucratically rational social entity.
2. Characterizing this traditional-modern dichotomy in terms of swapping what development agents see as negative aspects of traditional society for positive aspects of the modern.
3. Recognizing that the diffusion of Western political and cultural values, capital, and technology to developing regions is the prime motivator for replication of the historical process experienced by the source areas.

Thus, processes of modernization change traditional societies into those more like the Western world. When Western ideas and technologies are brought into a so-called primitive society, they often are incorporated into that society's culture. These new forces are termed innovations as they were not previously present in those societies.

Ideally, then, these ideas and technologies from the more advanced world are diffused and adapted by others for the benefit of all concerned. In traditional economic thinking, new forces from the Western world are viewed as spreading across regions and that the adoption of innovations is primarily the outcome of a learning or communications process (Brown 1981). The players involved in this diffusion may not necessarily realize that they are the catalysts for economic and social transformation in a society. They, nonetheless, do produce changes and can be viewed as being development agents.

Other perspectives, however, view that this approach to diffusion and modernization implicitly assumes that all have an equal opportunity to adopt innovations. According to these perspectives, though, the opportunity to adopt new ideas and technologies is often flagrantly and

purposely unequal (Brown 1981). Innovations are supplied to people and their adoption of them is partially or even wholly controlled by government and/or private institutions.

Brown (1981) conceptualizes diffusion as a process involving three activities:

1. The initial activity of establishment of diffusion agents through which the innovation will be distributed to the population at large.
2. A strategy implemented by each agency whereby adoption of an innovation is induced and established.
3. The actual adoption of the innovation.

Thus, attention in the analysis of the results of modernization and change should be focused on the diffusion agency and how it supplies an innovation.

Analyzing diffusion from this perspective assumes that agencies create a demand for new commodities and establishment of them in indigenous societies is based on aspects of marketing. Marketing involves both the creation of infrastructure and its utilization. The provision of relevant infrastructure has an important influence upon the rate and spatial patterning of diffusion (Brown 1981). By providing services and infrastructure as well as new ideas and technologies, people will be attracted to areas where they are available and will readily adopt innovations. This would benefit diffusion agents as new markets would be formed for their products or services.

For this dissertation, modernization processes are viewed as taking place when ideas and technologies from external sources are introduced to a region. These, then, are sometimes diffused throughout the region by agents, who often create a supply of the product or service either directly or by providing infrastructure which attracts people and thus influences adoption behaviour. (In addition, in some cases, people are actually told or even forced to move to areas of modern services.) The changes to socio-economic conditions resulting

from the diffusion of modern goods and services are viewed as part of overall development processes upon the area.

Analysis of development processes, though, includes more than just reviewing what changes occurred. It consists of the results and consequences of these changes. Furthermore, development agents are viewed as anyone who facilitates modernization even though a conscious effort to 'develop' indigenous people may be absent. Theories exist which seek to explain why the consequences of change and development come about.

2.4 Development Theory

Unfortunately, "when commentators speak or write about 'development' they frequently mean very different things...What development actually is is a personal evaluation" (Hoggart and Buller 1987:18). When concerted efforts were made to develop regions of the world deemed in need of developing, they centred on the quantitative growth of national and regional economies. Many theories of development were based on classical economics which emphasized surplus accumulation, profit seeking, and investment (Robinson 1979).

After World War II and through the 1950s and 1960s, development of poor regions of the world focused on expanding production and industrial output in order to help alleviate the poverty so characteristic of the developing world. Poverty was viewed as being a result of the low level of productivity of labour, which was in part a function of an inadequate supply of physical capital (Hansen 1981). To eliminate this situation, it was proposed that investment should be diversified over a broad range of industries. Each industry would then generate a demand for the goods of other industries and income and economic growth would flow throughout the society, the so-called "trickle-down effect". The right quantity and mixture of savings, investment, and aid were all that were necessary for countries or regions to proceed on the economic growth path followed

by the more developed countries (Todaro 1981). With more money circulating through the national economy, social services could also be offered.

When analyzing development, emphasis was often placed on the assessment of whether a country or region was developed. Assessments about whether development had been achieved in any given area centred on constructing indicators to measure development. Quantitative economic indices such as GNP were used to measure economic growth. If GNP rose during a specified period, development could be said to have occurred.

More than mere economic growth was necessary for development, however. Social welfare and modernization of a society also needed to be incorporated into development schemes (Johnston 1981). Social welfare indices include fertility and mortality rates, health, education, and income distribution. Indices of modernization may include levels of industrialization, consumer demand, trade and capital flows, and rates of urbanization. After analyzing these indicators it could be said that development had occurred when "there has been an improvement in basic needs, when economic progress has contributed to a greater sense of self-esteem for the country and individuals within it, and when material advancement has expanded the range of choice for individuals" (Thirlwall 1989:9).

All these goals are related to economics. Basic needs include the provision of housing, clothing, food, and health care. Because few societies in the modern world can provide these solely on their own, an element of capital expenditure and investment must be used in meeting these needs. Monies would come from government coffers or individuals themselves. If from the individual, the money presumably would come from income received by producing goods or providing services.

Self-esteem is also related to economics because to possess societal self-esteem, people must have the freedom and power to control their own resources and production. By competing and efficiently

producing, regions can gain a footing in world markets and thus conduct their affairs on equal terms with others outside their region or country. If political control, which usually follows economic control, is also achieved, further self-esteem for the society will occur.

Material advancement so as to gain a wider choice of goods and services is clearly dependent on economic growth and clout. If forces of modernization take hold, more material goods become available to the consumer. Coupled with investment and expansion of industry and job opportunities, economies can expand, people can earn more income and thus enjoy the fruits of developed society.

But as argued by Hoggart and Buller (1987), indicators of development are merely means to an end, not the end itself. For example, some may think the availability of Coke soft drinks or the presence of a poster for the movie "Saturday Night Fever" in remote parts of Niger, as witnessed by this author in 1979, are signs of development (few would argue that they at least were signs of modernization). Sales executives at the Coca-Cola Corporation would most likely agree that their product had diffused through rural Niger leading to increased demand for Coke, and possibly motivating the rural person, in some small way, to work harder so as to obtain income to purchase soft drinks (as well as other material goods and needs). This example could thus be viewed as supporting the effect of trickle-down development. The means to development in this case was the supply and demand for Coke, the end was the increased economic spin-offs and social effects produced because of the production and demand of Coke.

Development of this type, however, may hinder other aspects of social and economic sectors of an individual or society. In the example above, perhaps the rural Nigerois would rather spend money on Coke than on local grains for family use as food. This possibly could lead to nourishment problems. Furthermore, perhaps only a very small percentage of income from sales of Coke in Niger actually stayed in the country and

did not trickle down.

In response to scenarios such as this, many scholars formulated theories which sought to explain why development in many instances did not lead to improvement of basic needs, greater self esteem, or material advancement. These usually fall within the realms of the topic of underdevelopment.

2.5 Underdevelopment Theory

As a general definition, underdevelopment is "a barrier to or subversion of development and a consequently distorted, limited and increasingly marginal state of human being or process of becoming" (Johnston 1981:356). Underdevelopment may be viewed as occurring when a region or country has not or cannot meet its citizens' basic needs, when economic forces do not lead to greater self-esteem, and when material advancement does not result in greater choices for individuals. In referring back to the statement by Pretes at the beginning of this dissertation, "Underdeveloped regions are those unable to control their own resources and the revenues obtained from them. Regions that find themselves in this colonial position do tend to exhibit lower standards of living and unbalanced, export-dependent economies" (Pretes 1988:107).

Underdevelopment theory is based on the following general theses, as outlined by Leys (1977):

1. Conditions prevailing throughout less developed regions are not due to the persistence of an original, undeveloped, or untouched state of affairs, but are the results of the same world-historical processes in which the Western world became developed. The development of the Western world is closely associated with a process of subordination of the less developed world, the process of underdevelopment.
2. The prime motivator in this process was capital seeking profits.
3. These activities involved accumulating capital as cheaply as possible and investing it where the return was highest, usually in the developed

world. This gave rise to removal of surplus from some parts of the world to others. This perpetuated and rigidified low levels of productivity in the areas from which the surplus was taken and systematically subordinated the structure of these economies to the structures of the economies where capital was being accumulated.

4. Further consequences of these processes served to constantly block local initiatives to pursue an autonomous development path.

5. The corresponding emergence and formation of high income social classes both in the areas of capital and areas of production made possible the development of colonial states.

6. The term underdevelopment refers to these self-perpetuating processes, these self-reproducing structures, and to their results.

As with development, analyses during the 1950s and 1960s about whether a region was underdeveloped focused on economic concerns. Regardless of increases in GNP and economic growth brought about by development efforts after WWII, obvious inequalities between industrialized and non-industrialized countries still existed. These usually are referred to as disequilibriums and dual economies.

These situations were manifested because in the underdeveloped economy, there were modern sectors interacting with traditional sectors. Within modern sectors were industries which relied on capitalist strategies of growth and ties to international economies. People relying on these sectors in general had greater income and access to modern goods than those in traditional sectors. Although not necessarily a hinderance for future development, this dualism "results of course from the sudden irruption of twentieth-century techniques into primitive societies which can adapt only gradually" (Hirschman 1958:126). Furthermore, "the peoples in the underdeveloped countries are becoming increasingly aware of these huge international inequalities and the danger that they will continue to grow" (Myrdal 1957b:7). This led to conditions of underdevelopment whereby inequalities were

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perpetuated and traditional sectors could rarely hope to reap the benefits of modern sectors.

An outgrowth of this was that many theorists began concentrating on the historical nature of social and economic structures within underdeveloped countries which led to and perpetuated these inequalities. Indeed, "it is impossible to bring about a deliberate and purposeful change in the present without knowing how this present state came about" (Szentcs 1971:17). This thought was further elucidated by Santos (1975) who argued that it is a mistake to rely only on direct comparisons between the developed and the less developed world. An historical analysis of the underdeveloped region is necessary to gain insight into its contemporary reality. "An historical approach to the study of the underdeveloped countries shows that they did not evolve in the same way as the developed countries...The contemporary situation in underdeveloped countries is in no way comparable to that of the 'advanced' countries prior to their industrialization" (Santos 1975:6). Colonialism was one of the historical events which led to underdevelopment and, by analyzing its influences, furthered the precepts of underdevelopment theories.

Colonialism was viewed as a prime contributor to problems of imbalanced income distributions and qualities of life within less developed areas. Vestiges of colonialism such as monopolizing so far as possible the colonized country both as an export and import market were thought to have led to structural changes in socio-economic conditions of indigenous societies. These changes led to increased dependence on metropolitan countries and to conditions whereby developing countries were viewed as a source of supply for cheap labour. From this perspective, the structural elements within a less developed society perpetuated disequilibria within national and international systems and strengthened the forces in the markets which worked towards internal and international inequalities (Myrdal 1957a).

Many theorists, primarily Marxists, examined underdevelopment as being caused primarily by external influences. This stemmed from the observation that economic growth in less developed societies and control of surplus from industry and production was not in the hands of the producers or labourers. The "way in which the current surplus is utilized and, in turn, the pattern and rate of development are determined by the interests of those into whose hands the surplus accrues. More specifically, this means the relations of the dominant class to the productive process" (de Silva 1982:415).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, then, Marxists analyzed the effects of external forces on the structures of societies and led to formulation of underdevelopment theories which sought to explain why areas, regions, and/or nations became not merely dependent on a metropolitan region, city, or country but dominated, exploited, and oppressed within the context of national and international systems of economics and politics.

Development and underdevelopment were viewed as a product of metropolis-satellite polarization. The contradictions between metropolis and satellite were seen as reinforcing development in the increasingly dominant metropolitan powers and underdevelopment in the ever more dependent satellites until they became resolved through the abandonment of capitalism by one or both interdependent parts (Frank 1969). In this view, the most important obstacles to development were external to the underdeveloped economy which meant that the periphery (or satellite) was doomed to underdevelopment because of its linkages to the core(s). Furthermore, it was considered necessary for a country or region to disassociate itself from the world market and strive for total self-reliance.

Inequalities within an underdeveloped regions were the focus of scholars such as Santos (1975). He theorized that underdeveloped societies consisted of two circuits. One circuit of people, who

constituted the minority, had high incomes, permanent access to available modern goods and services, and close ties to international finance and industry. Another circuit, the majority of people, provided low-cost labour to support the businesses and industries of the wealthy. They benefited only partially or not at all from technical progress and modernization.

To narrow the gap between the upper and lower circuit and thus benefit the majority of people, systems which perpetuated the two circuits had to be replaced. As Santos (1975:207) stated, "...the concept of economic productivity must first be replaced by that of social productivity. Technology should henceforth play a subordinate role...the quest for private and corporate accumulation would give way to a mass concern for equity and equality". Thus, as was typical of underdevelopment theorists, Santos viewed the alleviation of poverty and conditions of underdevelopment as only occurring if international, national, and regional economic and social conditions were to be totally restructured.

By the late 1970s, underdevelopment theories (or dependency theories) *per se* were critically evaluated as offering much rhetoric but few practical explanations about why specific areas of the world were underdeveloped. As Leys (1977) outlined, amongst other comments, underdevelopment theories seldom offered a concrete typology of centres and peripheries or even what theoretically constituted dependence. Furthermore, most underdevelopment theorists did not make it clear how the majority of underdeveloped people became exploited as well as oppressed.

What has resulted from the past ~~decade~~s of theoretical formulation and debate about development is an approach which views underdeveloped areas more holistically as being integral but permanent parts of the world economic system. Emphasis is placed on analyzing how any given underdeveloped region or country fits in with the complex problems of

capital accumulation on a global scale (Blomstrom and Hettne 1984).

This is not to say that underdevelopment did not occur. Viewing underdevelopment from a practical, global perspective, however, does not presuppose that underdeveloped peripheries are doomed forever to be exploited by cores. They certainly may be dependent on many aspects of the developed world and may indeed be underdeveloped because of historical conditions such as colonialism. This view does not dwell, however, only on laying blame for problems, as Marxist and dependency theorists are accused of doing. Rather, they seek to identify and rectify past failures.

Bruton (1985) expands on this alternative view to dependency and Marxist perspectives. He points out that there is no question that some development policies and philosophies led to underdeveloped economies but he does not assume that those economies should always be doomed to underdevelopment. The most frequently noted failures of development "are inadequate growth of employment opportunities and the apparent increases in inequality combined with little, if any, reductions in the percentage of populations classified as living in poverty" (Bruton 1985:1100).

Too often development strategies emphasized only economic growth and measured success by increased GNP and social aspects such as life expectancy, school enrolment rates, and birth and death rates. But neither employment nor poverty elimination can be achieved by simply striving to prove success by measuring these. Bruton poses the question: does money buy happiness? His answer is, no.

Major points that Bruton discusses in his article include:

1. Education systems in developing regions have been major disappointments. Even if literacy and enrolment rates have improved, overall quality of education in these regions remains poor. Reasons for this centre on methods of teaching which emphasize memorization and do not encourage general reasoning skills. This makes the student ill-

prepared for jobs in industrial sectors which often need noncognitive skills such as appropriate attitudes toward work, developing new ideas, and learning tolerance, self-respect, and confidence (Bruton 1985).

2. As governments actively pursue certain development policies, loss of cultural diversity occurs and societies become more standardized and homogeneous. This is a detriment to sustainable development. This line of thinking grows out of more than just the philosophical notion that cultural diversity is in itself of great value. It hinders sustained development by removing or narrowing sources of new insights and understanding. "A development process in other societies that includes the establishment of...European heritage as an essential part of it, will therefore necessarily damage existing or evolving social systems. Removed then is the variety and diversity that, it is argued, is a major condition for the long run resolutions of continually surfacing problems" (Bruton 1985:1102).

3. With only limited exceptions, development has come to mean a replication of the West. The underlying theme of development has been to imitate the West as quickly as possible in terms of the form and content of economic performance. This is true even in countries which are avowedly socialist and 'anti-West'. Rather than a "genuine explanation of economic development, development ... offers largely an explanation of the displacement of one economic system by another" (Bruton 1985:1103).

The above points are similar to those of Marxist and dependency theorists in that failures of development are attributed to outside forces which do not take into consideration local conditions and then transform other societies and economies into those like the developed world. Where Bruton differs is that he does not indicate that development was a conscious effort by the developed world to dominate, exploit, and oppress people to a life of perpetual underdevelopment.

Also, regardless of the failures of some development initiatives,

the bottom line is that people throughout the world welcome some forms of economic investment or capital from developed regions. "Evidence now available suggests that firms and households in developing countries do, in fact, respond, and respond quickly, to economic incentives" (Bruton 1985:1106). The main thrust of Bruton's argument is that there are development strategies that should work in the developing world which, while based on capitalist goals, are integrated with local conditions.

Bratton earlier commented on the subject, saying that incorporation of local conditions into development "retires the implausible claim that real development is impossible in a capitalist world economy. All change does not necessarily lead to deeper underdevelopment and, while dependency is one important dimension of change, it is not all of it" (Bratton 1982:366).

What, then, are the ways to implement change without leading to deeper underdevelopment? It is agreed by most theorists, Marxist and non-Marxist alike, that in most development, traditional sectors of societies are displaced. This implies that the traditional sector is inferior to imported replacements.

An alternative approach to development may therefore be defined as the establishment of a process of change within the traditional sector itself. More accurately, perhaps, the development objective would be to so modify the traditional sector that it becomes a dynamic, flexible sector, responding to the wants and ambitions emerging from within that traditional environment (Bruton 1985:1104).

By considering local customs and institutions, development will not only be more appropriate but also sustainable to the developing society. For example, the institution of the extended family is often viewed as an impediment to capitalist development. It does not encourage competitiveness or individual entrepreneurship. Yet, extended families are the cultural foundation of many societies and it is far from established that they are an obstacle to development (Bruton 1985). Incorporation of such institutions into development plans are necessary to achieve sustained benefits for socio-economic sectors of societies.

2.6 Theoretical Framework for Dissertation.

Having reviewed some processes of development and underdevelopment, these concepts are defined in greater detail as they relate to this dissertation.

Development in this dissertation includes all four of the following points:

1. A historical process whereby indigenous, non-Western societies became integrated into societies based on Western technologies, ideas, and economic systems. These influences became integral parts of the indigenous society and theoretically led to increased modernization of the indigenous society.
2. A condition whereby the modernization of the indigenous society meant the replacement of indigenous economic systems with a market economy. This theoretically led to sustained economic growth and increased access to the benefits of the modern, developed world.
3. A condition which can be defined as having occurred when a developing society has been integrated into a market economy and indigenous people have access to and use modern goods and services. These can be used as indicators of development and measured quantitatively.
4. A condition which, theoretically, is ongoing and leads to the perpetuation of Western socio-economic conditions and accompanying benefits in the indigenous society. These conditions include goods, services, and technologies that make the society more like the modern, developed world.

Underdevelopment in this dissertation includes all four of the following points:

1. A historical process whereby during development, a less modern society or region was initially *reliant* upon socio-economic sectors from outside the region but subsequently became *dependent* upon these outside sectors for their overall economic and social well-being.
2. A condition brought about when external agents and influences seeking

to develop an indigenous society sought to imitate and replicate modern sectors but ignored indigenous socio-economic conditions.

3. A condition whereby development strategies and processes did not necessarily lead to better living standards and sustained benefits for the indigenous people of the region.

4. A condition which leads to a diminution of indigenous control over their social, cultural, and economic systems.

Development can be said to have occurred by demonstrating that modern influences have become an integral and permanent part of a developing, less-modern society even if this process decreased their self-sufficiency. Underdevelopment, then, may be said to have occurred when some of these modern ideas and technologies increased dependence on external influences and resulted in a diminution of indigenous control over their socio-economic systems. Development is indicated by signs of **integration** while underdevelopment is demonstrated by signs of **dependence**.

The study region for this dissertation has undergone development brought about by external agents representing a Western economic and political state. These agents could be in the region specifically to change indigenous societies, such as missionaries, or there to extract resources from the region but nonetheless introduced new ideas and technologies to the area. These people would be associated with business or industry. This does not presuppose that the region was not developed as far as indigenous culture and society were concerned. It means that development was defined by outsiders or colonizers implementing or causing change to a non-Western society.

Thus, the objectives for this dissertation use the term development rather than underdevelopment. Development produces changes in all societies. These included producing economic growth and new ways and means of obtaining income for indigenous people to participate in a market economy. Concomitantly, population became redistributed and

Western ideas and technologies became diffused into the society. Many of these forces were beneficial. For example, health care and education (if it helped people obtain jobs they desired). If measured, these changes would demonstrate that development had occurred.

While these processes were progressing, however, indigenous societies were becoming more dependent on socio-economic sectors from external sources. When this dependence did not lead to improvement of living standards (however those are defined), and led to the loss of social, economic, and cultural identity, conditions of underdevelopment evolved. Thus, the process of underdevelopment is viewed as happening parallel to processes of development. In other words, some socio-economic conditions may have become developed while at the same time other aspects became underdeveloped.

The conceptual framework for this dissertation is illustrated in Figure 2.1.1. As indicated, development and underdevelopment occurred together. Furthermore, some sectors and people within the developing society became developed in some aspects while becoming underdeveloped in others. Therefore, development and underdevelopment are represented within one boundary.

This framework differs from theorists such as Frank and Santos in that a total restructuring and replacement of current socio-economic conditions is not required to alleviate conditions of underdevelopment. The framework for this dissertation postulates that conditions of underdevelopment can be alleviated from within the current system if historical aspects of that system are better understood.

Frank and Santos viewed underdevelopment as a natural outcome of the world capitalist system (Thirlwell 1989). For this dissertation, while it is recognized that underdevelopment progressed as a result of some aspects of development, it was not necessarily an inevitable consequence. The point of this dissertation is to identify aspects of the development and underdevelopment of a region in order that people

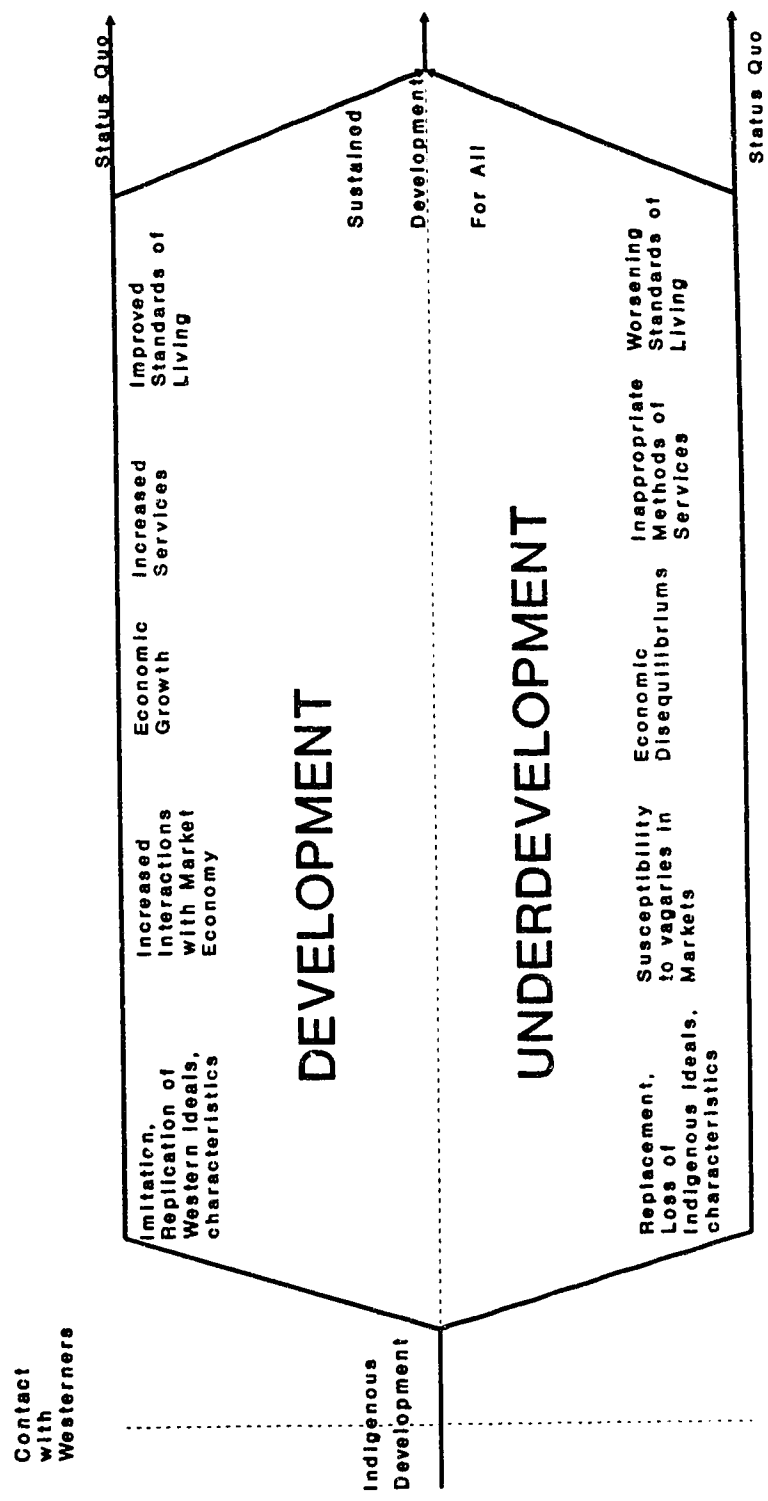


Figure 2.1.1: Conceptual framework of development and underdevelopment.

may understand how both conditions evolved rather than to advocate a total restructuring of socio-economic systems in the region.

Figure 2.1.1 is not meant to convey a time frame for when these processes occurred, nor are components necessarily in order of occurrence. What it suggests is that regions or societies were progressing on their own development path when Westerners or other outsiders first came into contact with them. Indigenous people may have continued to survive on their own without much interference. Indigenous development may have produced growth or change in socio-economic systems but these would have been initiated on the society's own terms. What happened to most indigenous societies, though, was that at some point, a concerted effort was made to develop them according to the definitions of outsiders or, at the least, from new ideals and forces which were introduced. Continuous indigenous development was ignored by outsiders implementing development, usually defined by national and international standards. The route to development split into development based on economic growth and accompanying conditions of underdevelopment.

While economic growth and modernization progressed, some development strategies and processes were simultaneously leading to underdevelopment. Thus, underdevelopment became an underlying and insidious aspect of overall development. This is what, it is believed, Bratton (1985) was trying to convey. Furthermore, in extending the reasoning of Leys (1977) and Bratton (1982), it is self-defeating to concentrate only on viewing underdevelopment as the conscious effort of outsiders to exploit and dominate economically poor people without considering that some outcomes of development may have benefitted those same people. To do so prevents any concrete action from being formulated which will help alleviate conditions of underdevelopment.

The problem becomes, then, how to convince development agents to modify their strategies so that the status quo is not maintained. The status quo in this case (Figure 2.1.1) means that development based on

economic growth and which ignores local needs and conditions results in the continuation of strategies that do not provide benefits for indigenous peoples as a whole. Furthermore, this perpetuates the status quo of underdevelopment whereby local standards of living do not get better and poverty remains.

In order to break away from the status quo, contemporary development agents must have as a goal the achievement of a path which leads to sustained development for all. This means that some indigenous development and certainly indigenous ideas and characteristics must be incorporated into development plans. Thus, for sustained development to occur, standard development, which emphasizes economic growth as the most important goal in development and assumes that societal benefits will automatically accrue from this growth, may need to be modified.

If development had proceeded with the understanding of indigenous values and systems, underdevelopment may not have occurred. Bruton's (1985) comment on extended families mentioned in the previous section is an example of how understanding indigenous systems could lessen the chances of development failures. Unfortunately, though, underdevelopment is a fact in many regions and societies.

In order to achieve sustained development for all, then, the analysis and understanding of underdevelopment must be incorporated into plans. To ignore this would mean the continuation of the status quo and the maintenance of underdevelopment. It would be difficult to rectify development failures if it was unknown how they failed in the first place. This, then, explains why the primary purpose of this dissertation is to define some realities and reasons underlying the development and underdevelopment of the Canadian Arctic. By fulfilling this purpose, it is hoped that others can use the knowledge to veer away from the status quo and strive for sustained development which will be beneficial to indigenous society as a whole.

3. GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE INUIT AS PART OF THE FOURTH WORLD

3.1 Arctic Canada as a Fourth World.

Until now, this dissertation has described general development based on literature concerning the Third World. While it has been ascertained that a study of Arctic Canada within the context of Third World development is appropriate, one cannot refer to Arctic Canada as actually being in the Third World. The region may, however, be thought of as being in what is called the Fourth World.

The term Fourth World is generally used to describe countries or regions which have people who are indigenous minorities within larger dominant societies. The primary difference between Third and Fourth World peoples is that most 'Third Worlders' live in developing, poor countries but which nevertheless are independent and, in theory if not practice, their citizens are fully represented in the nation's political structure. Conversely, 'Fourth Worlders' usually live within developed, industrialized nations and although citizens of those nations, they have minority representation and are governed at least nationally by non-indigenous people. In addition, they often make up the lowest economic classes of the national society. Fourth World peoples are "politically weak, economically marginal and culturally stigmatized members of the national societies that have overtaken them and their lands" (Dyck 1985).

Several authors refer directly to indigenous Northerners as Fourth Worlders (Manuel and Posluns 1974; Muller-Wille and Pelto 1979). Other authors employ terms such as internal colonialism (Ritter 1979; Dryzek and Young 1985), welfare colonialism (Paine 1977), or de-localization (Poggie and Lynch 1974; Pelto 1978) in describing the socio-political situations in which Fourth World people live. For the purposes of this chapter, these terms refer to similar conditions. Furthermore, as Dyck (1985) advocates, researchers should concentrate on the practical use of the term Fourth World rather than appropriating it as an analytical

category. This, it is hoped, is achieved in this chapter as conditions of the Fourth World are used to describe Inuit socio-economic characteristics, both traditionally and contemporarily.

Stea and Wisner (1984:4) state that people of the Fourth World share a number of characteristics such as:

1. Their utilization of land as a common resource base.
2. Their cultural attachment to place and the unifying force of that attachment.
3. Their fundamentally ecological view.
4. Their inherently flexible systems of economy and exchange.
5. Their adaptiveness to change.
6. Their dependence upon co-operative systems of enterprise, extended kinship systems, and reciprocity.

Descriptions of Inuit socio-economic conditions are discussed under headings of these six characteristics.

3.2 General Descriptions of the Inuit.

3.2.1 Inuit utilization of land as a common resource base

Traditional Inuit utilization of the land and sea as a common resource base is well documented. Seal, walrus, and whale provided the 'traditional' Inuit with their most important food source, blubber for lamps, skin for clothing, boat coverings, harpoon floats and thongs, and bones and ivory for implements (Birket-Smith 1936). Inuit existence was based on a closed system whereby most of their needs were met by utilizing renewable and non-renewable resources found in their own environment. Most food, clothing, and other needs required of the Inuit were found in that closed system (Stabler 1978).

A few goods were traded with Indians from the Sub-arctic but for all intents and purposes, materials necessary for survival were obtained directly by the Inuit. When animal populations declined, people moved to

other areas to hunt, live, or trade. In general, the human population did not grow beyond what the land and sea could support. Even though utilization of animals has changed during the last 100 years, contemporary Inuit still rely on many of the same animals as before contact with Euro-Canadians.

There is no doubt that traditional Inuit led a subsistence existence. Often, subsistence is thought to mean hunting or gathering products to be used as food and clothing to maintain the lives of one's self, family, and/or community. But subsistence in Inuit society meant more than only harvesting animals for basic nutritional and clothing needs. "Hunting defines the relationship of the Inuit to their environment, and is the vehicle of communication between the generations" (Herscovici 1985:103). Indeed, it has been widely documented that hunting plays a major role in the social organization of Inuit society (Birket-Smith 1936; Vallee 1972; McConnell 1978; Wenzel 1981; Usher et al. 1985).

Although during the 20th century, subsistence still meant the same as outlined above, because of increased trade and ties to modern, industrialized sectors of national and international economies, the importance of obtaining cash income from subsistence activities drastically increased. For the 20th century Inuk, the hunter must buy rifles, nets, or traps and, since the early 1960s, snowmobiles. Ammunition for rifles and fuel and maintenance for snowmobiles must also be purchased. In addition, money is needed to purchase goods and services from modern sectors of society, especially imported items. As Wenzel explained in a personal interview, "Money has become as much a resource as any living animal in the north" (Herscovici 1985:102).

It is generally accepted that hunting will persist in Arctic Canada regardless of how much modern activity occurs (Usher 1981). Subsistence, then, in this dissertation, includes economic activities necessary to support not only hunting activities and the maintenance of

cultural and social identities, but also to allow the hunter to maintain a modern and preferred lifestyle.

3.2.2 Cultural attachment to place

Culture consists of people's beliefs, institutions, and technologies (deBlij and Muller 1986). In general, an attachment to place includes feeling a rootedness to the land and having pious feelings toward it (Tuan 1977). Therefore, a cultural attachment to place may be described in terms of how aspects of a people's culture are bound to and reflected by the place where they live. To fully appreciate Inuit cultural attachment to place, a more detailed analysis must be made of Inuit beliefs, institutions, and technologies and their relation to place.

Beliefs:

At the core of any culture are people's beliefs. Traditional Inuit religious beliefs were based in what Birket-Smith (1936:162) termed "wonder, fear, and the feeling of personal impotence against all the overwhelming surrounding powers". To traditional Inuit every object, rock, animal, and even concepts such as sleep and food were living. Social customs were also intimately connected with beliefs and the land.

The well-documented custom of community-wide distribution of harvested game illustrates a social structure inherent in Inuit cultural beliefs (Moyer 1978; Wenzel 1981), not to mention subsistence activities. Food-sharing arrangements included distribution to a group's leader, to more distant kinsmen, or to the whole community. Hunting is ingrained into Inuit cultural heritage as is, by extension, the land and sea which sustains the animals hunted.

Institutions:

Institutions such as formal government were not a part of traditional Inuit culture. While experienced hunters held great

influence and authority within traditional Inuit camps, they did not assert their authority forcefully (Brody 1975). People were unconditionally expected to recognize the value of a leader's decision although community decisions were based on consensus with no one person leading a debate. McConnell (1978) stressed this point in his account of the dialectic nature of Inuit groups in Keewatin. Thus, the lack of formal institutions may be viewed as part of Inuit culture.

When Euro-Canadian institutions and the concepts behind them were introduced to the Inuit it often led to clashes and misunderstandings. Land use and ownership is an example. Usher (1984:396) best summarizes Inuit concepts towards land and their differing perspective on ownership from the Euro-Canadian viewpoint.

Property rights, in aboriginal society, can be said to have rested with the group. Each band or co-residential group maintained the right to use its territory by virtue of occupancy. The connection between the land and the group lay in knowledge, naming, travel, foraging, and residence. There were no attempts to alter or partition the landscape, or to appropriate sections or features of it into private hands in a manner that would exclude other members of the group. The land and its resources were, in effect, the communal property of the group...they saw themselves as belonging [to the land], rather than it to them (1984:396).

Technologies:

The material technology of traditional Inuit consists of effective implements enabling the society to survive. Boas (1907) made detailed illustrations and accounts of the tools used by Inuit for obtaining food and shelter. All implements were essential for the semi-nomadic hunting existence of traditional Inuit culture and adapted to harvesting game in an Arctic environment.

Following contact with modern technology, various new implements were also incorporated into Inuit culture. Inuit were able to vary their normal cultural pattern or use aspects of their culture to effectively use European technologies (McConnell 1978). Even though they have lived in permanent settlements since the 1950s and 1960s, Inuit continue to hunt in outlying areas utilizing modern conveniences such as the snowmobile. This means that they have had to adapt

technologies to relatively new hunting patterns. The snowmobile altered traditional hunting practices but did not lessen the importance of hunting as a major cultural component of Inuit society. As previously discussed, hunting is a very important cultural activity and is directly tied to the concept and knowledge of place. Therefore, modern technologies being incorporated into cultural activities, by extension, demonstrate an attachment to place.

3.2.3 Fundamental ecological view

It is well documented that Inuit hunters have a keen knowledge of the world in which they live.

As soon as they catch sight of a caribou they visualize the hundred details of the forms of the landscape, wind and weather and vegetation, on which the successful outcome of the chase depends. Moving about in their own country they almost unconsciously absorb innumerable impressions which serve to guide them (Birket-Smith 1936:52).

Because Inuit were solely reliant on hunting for survival, they had to have well-developed perceptual skills in order to hunt most effectively (Berry 1966). Along with this perceptual ability was a keen knowledge of animal behaviour. Inuit hunters endlessly discussed the weather and its effects on ice conditions or on the moss on which caribou fed and then made predictions on the numbers and kinds of animals available at these places. "Their conversations often sound like a classroom discussion of ecology, of food chains and trophic levels" (Laughlin 1976:199).

The amount of hunting and ways of hunting have changed during the 20th century. Because hunting continued to be an important activity to Inuit, no matter what technologies hunters used, the individual hunter needed the knowledge to determine the place most likely to hold his prey. Since Inuit settlements became permanent and centralized, however, changes occurred to the ecosystems surrounding communities. The in- and out- flows of energy and materials based on this hunting economy often became imbalanced. As stated about Grise Fiord Inuit,

....since contact with Euro-North Americans, these people have played much more dynamic roles in the transfer of energy and materials throughout the biosphere. Certainly Grise Fiord Inuit can now be classified as net importers, since they import vast quantities of fossil fuels, southern foods, and material goods, whereas they export primarily furs, ivory, handicrafts, and a few emigrants to the southern ecosystem (Riewe 1977:637).

While Inuit may be thought to possess a fundamental ecological view, they are nonetheless influenced by forces beyond the environment in which they live.

3.2.4 Inherently flexible systems of economy and exchange

A concern when discussing a society's transition from one economic system to another is whether it is inherently flexible and willingly allows change to its socio-economic characteristics. Indications are that a significant number of Inuit willingly let new ideas, foods, and materials become integrated into their culture.

New influences came to the Arctic in the 1800s primarily from whalers. Perhaps two or three hundred Inuit at each of several winter harbours and shore stations supplied whalers with food and labour (Ross 1981). By 1900, whaleboats, guns, steel traps, knives, and European clothing were present among Inuit of the whaling regions. These influences and materials diffused throughout the region (Scace 1975). Inuit continually increased their reliance upon outside sources of manufactured goods. They thus needed the means to purchase or trade for these goods and a market-oriented economy penetrated and eventually supplanted their traditional economy.

After the decline of whaling in the early 1900s "Inuit could not easily break free of these fetters and resume traditional life" (Ross 1981:47). During this time the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) made advances into the Arctic which have continued ever since. Throughout the first third of the twentieth century, trade in Arctic fox pelts was the main endeavour of the HBC. The business of fox trapping set about a complete reformation of Inuit economy (Birket-Smith 1936). The demand for store

bought food and goods increased.

It appears that the Inuit economy was inherently flexible and as with any culture, borrowed implements, methods, and ways of behaviour which they considered useful to enhance their economic standing. The problem, however, was that sometimes changes to their economy led to conditions of underdevelopment.

The Inuit economy was specialized, geographically isolated from modern societies, and based on resources which varied in demand. Theoretically, an economy of this type and the extent to which it was subject to external control made it vulnerable to commodity price changes and market shifts that were decided upon outside the region (Prattis 1980). Vulnerability and dependence leaves peripheral regions open to boom and bust cycles. Arctic Canada was no exception.

Characteristics of Inuit society indicate a reliance on a mixed economy and an ability to adapt to working in a variety of economic sectors. This suggests an inherent flexibility in their economy. When markets for their products went down or collapsed, however, Inuit continued to hunt for personal consumption but they had to rely on other sources for cash income. While Inuit were indeed flexible, they had to be in order to survive. Thus, Stea and Wisner's fourth characteristic must be slightly modified: Inuit possess inherently flexible social, cultural, and economic systems which enabled them to adapt to changes in their economy.

3.2.5 Adaptiveness to Change

According to Honigmann (1978), adaptation is the process whereby an individual or group acts to seize opportunities and resources available in their social and physical environment. Evidence exists that Inuit have always adapted their hunting practices to their environment so as to most efficiently harvest renewable resources (Balikci 1968). But what happens when changes from external social and

physical milieux are introduced upon Inuit society? Inuit clearly have an ability to change and the push for change is inherent in their cultures (McConnell 1978). In referring to both Dene and Inuit, Berger stated,

Ever since the first days of the fur trade, they have willingly adopted new techniques and equipment, and some of the social practices that the white [sic] man brought to the North. These elements were amalgamated into the native economy, and have to some extent become integral to the way of life that the native people are now trying to maintain and defend (1977:121).

As well, the Inuit have adapted and changed aspects of their hunting practices, food, clothing, and economies to Euro-Canadian influences. Many of these changes have become a part of 20th century Inuit culture and often there is no reason or desire by natives to abandon them.

3.2.6 Dependence upon co-operative systems of enterprise, extended kinship systems, and reciprocity

Inuit co-operative and kinship systems have long been recognized as being organized around utilization of renewable resources. Tester writes,

While individuals participate in hunting as individuals, it is in fact a community affair which binds people together, not only in traditional ways, but in terms of shared interests, concern for others, and with a sense of community (1981:193).

Clear examples of this co-operation and reciprocity are documented in case studies by Usher (1970) on Banks Island and Wenzel (1981) at Clyde, Baffin Island. Both researchers mention the importance of distributing meat from hunts throughout the community on a selective basis. Although differences existed amongst Inuit bands, the distribution of food was always based on sharing practices according to kinship or partnership (Damas 1968). Food was also unquestionably shared with visitors.

Extended kinship mechanisms of food distribution allowed individuals to establish and reinforce communal solidarity (Moyer 1978). Moyer described the distribution of caribou meat after a privately

organized hunt and a community organized hunt. Distribution for the private hunt was based on kinship or partnership ties with meat moving through a network of kin continuously for two or three days after the hunt. Meat from the community sponsored hunt was distributed throughout the entire community, with any surplus put into a community freezer. Moyer hypothesized that with increased modernization and relatively large permanent settlements, communal solidarity was increasingly reinforced by a co-operative community system of social cohesion rather than a sharing system based solely on kinship. In many ways, however, conjectures such as this may be thought of as still being based on extended kinship. The difference is that with increasing modernization, kinship is extended to include the entire community by means of an extensive system of alliance-building (Damas 1971).

3.3 Conclusion.

Background information about Inuit socio-economic characteristics necessary for further discussion has been outlined in this chapter. The most important aspect to remember is that the Inuit were in firm control of their livelihoods and extremely knowledgeable about their environments well before they had contact with Euro-Canadian society. Changes after contact occurred rapidly and while they were often readily accepted into Inuit society, they led to radical alterations in socio-economic structures in the Arctic although not to the point where they destroyed the distinctiveness of Inuit society. (There is a concern that young Inuit are losing some of their cultural identity, however). Later in this dissertation these alterations are outlined and lead to discussion of their consequences within a broader framework of global developmental perspectives.

4. ARCTIC CANADA AND THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT COMPARISONS

4.1 Introduction.

Arctic Canada has been adequately described by many academic researchers but interpretations and analyses are needed concerning the effects of overall development on the Inuit people. There is a wealth of information about Arctic Canada's history, settlement, resource use, and socio-economic conditions. In Hamelin (1978), Zaslow (1981a), and Coates (1985), historical events in the Canadian North are outlined and related to contemporary characteristics of the region. Authors such as Fried (1971) and Depape et al. (1975) classify types of Inuit settlements and their economic foundations stressing that most activities based in settlements or reliant on them are inexorably tied to forces in southern Canada.

Much has been written about the importance of renewable resources for Inuit economic livelihood, social structure, and cultural heritage (Berger 1977; Berkes 1981; Freeman 1981a; Usher 1981; Woods 1986). Also, there are detailed studies about specific aspects of socio-economic milieux in the North (Usher 1970; Riewe 1977; Wenzel 1981; Green, Green, and Bone 1986). It is clear that a better understanding of the Arctic has been furthered by a multi-disciplinary approach to research.

In many studies, terms associated with development, such as centralization (Scace 1975), modernization (Brody 1975), colonization (Laing et al. 1978), and acculturation (Young and McDermott 1988) are frequently used. Few researchers, however, have directly analyzed processes of development and related them to the Third World, the area where most development and underdevelopment studies have occurred. Zachariah (1984) attempted to attribute many of the ideas espoused by Berger in Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland (1977) to the influences of Latin American dependency theorists but Zachariah states that in reality Berger was only indirectly influenced by the work of Third World

scholars. Although Hamelin (1978) included a chapter entitled "The Underdeveloped Amerindian North" in his book, Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too, he did not refer to any processes of underdevelopment.

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, discussion centred on some of the concepts and theories of development and underdevelopment. One process that was discussed concerned the diffusion of modern ideas and technologies into a developing region. Modern goods and services provided by development agents or agencies often encouraged population redistribution from traditional areas of habitation to settlements based and/or created to support modern sectors of society, especially market economies. This led to increased dependence on modern sectors and in some cases resulted in conditions of underdevelopment.

Some outcomes of development and underdevelopment in the Third World and Arctic Canada are discussed in this chapter of the dissertation. General descriptions are presented first and centre on the effects of population redistribution and development. These are based on a literature review. After they are discussed, specific descriptions are included comparing development processes in Arctic Canada and Africa, especially Zambia. These are based on a literature review and research previously conducted by the author of this dissertation.

4.2 General Effects of Redistribution and Development.

During the course of colonization and modernization of the Third World, indigenous peoples became dependent on goods and services introduced by outsiders. Often the areas where these goods and services were established became attractions for indigenous people and frequently people moved to these areas. Just as important, however, was that sometimes people were forced to move to some areas in order to provide cheap labour for resource industries such as mines or in order to produce marketable goods so that they could obtain cash incomes.

Whatever the reason for population redistribution, the consequences of this movement sometimes led to conditions of underdevelopment.

Various forms of redistribution have directly influenced and been influenced by development the world over (Cole 1987; Vlassoff 1988). Typically, redistribution has been analyzed as one function of overall development processes and theories and is classified as either rural-urban, rural-rural, or urban-rural migration or circulation. Examples of this are offered in compilations such as by the United Nations (1984) and Clarke, Khogali, and Kosinski (1985).

In Zambia, a Third World country exhibiting many conditions of underdevelopment, Jaeger (1981, 1982) demonstrated that rural-rural migration produced a shift in settlement patterns leading to fundamental changes in socio-economic structures of the indigenous society which he researched. Some of these changes were that people moved to service centres or to roads easily accessible to service centres so that they could obtain modern goods and services easier than by living in more remote rural areas. This led to them neglecting agriculture for personal use and resulted in even more dependence on imported commodities, especially food. Similar conditions were observed in the Lwawu area of Zambia and illustrate conditions of underdevelopment resulting from population redistribution (Weissling 1986, 1990). (The Lwawu area is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.)

The above studies dealt with rural-rural migration, however. Overall underdevelopment in Zambia is generally viewed as having resulted from the rural-urban migration of labour to industrial centres (Biermann 1979). Regardless of the type of migration, redistribution was a factor causing conditions of regional or local underdevelopment in Zambia. Similar situations have also occurred in many Third World nations and Fourth World regions.

Illustration of the outcomes of development and population redistribution can be demonstrated by what happened to aboriginal people

of Australia during the 1960s. Altman (1987) described a society in Arnhem Land, Northern Territories, although from a purely economic perspective. He documented the process in which Aborigines were attracted during the 1960s to Euro-Canadian-run service centres resulting in conditions of underdevelopment.

Since then, however, people in Arnhem Land have returned to a more hunter-gatherer economy based on resource use of the land. Also, in the 1970s, Aborigines gained increased political control over their ancestral home. What evolved was a sort of 'happy medium' whereby there was periodic circulation between settlements and the bush. When people needed to lobby governing boards or, during the wet season when food was difficult to obtain, they journeyed to town. There they also enjoyed modern conveniences such as movies, discos, health centres, stores, etc. During the dry season they returned to bush living. "Aborigines are thus demonstrating a continual reassessment between rural and urban living" (Altman 1987:227). A similar condition, called 'living apart but within' was also observed in Zambia (Weissling 1986, 1990).

The effects of relocation among a hunter-gatherer people are also illustrated by a study in the Philippines. Primarily because of military occupation, hunters on the north-east coast of Luzon were forced into centralized settlements (Peterson 1985). There they became dependent on a cash economy supported from wage labour and from renewable resource use of the surrounding forest and agricultural lands. Diets changed to those stressing processed foods and sugar with accompanying tooth decay and poorer health. People there "seem to be reflecting a trend to decreased mobility of groups (and more permanent encampments), and concomitant increased mobility of men and of older women as they range farther from 'permanent' camps to gather forest products, trade, hunt and fish" (Peterson 1985:140).

The effects of redistribution and development are also certainly demonstrated in areas closer to the Canadian Arctic. In Greenland,

Inuit had contact with Euro-Canadians and incorporated some of their ideas and technologies into their societies but were not as abruptly redistributed into centralized, permanent settlements as in the Canadian Arctic. As Haller (1986:148) stated about the Upernavik region of northern Greenland, "the spatial patterns within the investigated marine hunting culture were not very susceptible to change despite the contact with an external culture. This is in sharp contrast with experience for northern peoples in some other parts of the world, particularly Canada".

While conditions of underdevelopment evolved in Greenland, they were not as pronounced as elsewhere in polar regions of Canada and the United States.

In Canada, Vestey (1973) described the effects of redistribution of Inuit in Igloolik, linking centralization to a variety of changes in socio-economic conditions, especially the increased dependence Igloolik Inuit had on southern Canadian sectors of economy and society. Usher (1970) described similar situations on Banks Island in the Western Canadian Arctic. Centralization of the Inuit "often destroyed the communal patterns of living and very often also the subsistence hunting. It often led to unemployment, disorientation and despair..." (Stenbaek 1987:305).

Dryzek and Young (1985) outlined the effects of dependence and internal colonialism in Alaska and generalized their findings to the Circumpolar North. In their article they argued that "once the residents of the Circumpolar North get caught up in the fur trade, they quickly become dependent on outside actors who often have the power to effectively determine whether they survive or perish" (Dryzek and Young 1985:126). The perceived needs for material goods which accompanied the transformation into a cash economy produce conditions of dependence and stagnated development. Furthermore, in Alaska, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Acts negotiated with the Federal Government compelled indigenous peoples to embrace the capitalist system prevailing in the

United States which, the authors argue, often led to more dependence on outside forces and to conditions of underdevelopment.

The examples in this section have been general and thus specific reasons about why and how regions became underdeveloped were excluded. In the following sections of this chapter a more detailed account is made explaining the processes of development and underdevelopment in Arctic Canada. These are compared with those of Africa and Zambia.

4.3 Development and Underdevelopment in Arctic Canada and Africa.

4.3.1 Overview

The processes of development and change brought about by North American and European colonization and domination of aboriginal societies bear striking similarities in Arctic Canada and Africa. Much of the justification for conquest and colonization of the Fourth and Third World was based on evolutionary theories of history which maintained that "societies organized within the framework of the nation-state and industrial capitalism represented the most advanced forms of human organization" (Gellar 1977:133). Colonizers believed that it was the right and duty of "higher" civilizations to conquer the "lower" and bring prosperity and progress to all parts of the world. The agents responsible for bringing changes to local social and economic systems were usually representatives of government, religion, or business. This is illustrated in a statement about Arctic Canada prior to the 1960s:

...Southern images were dominated by the noble trinity of the missionaries, the Mounties, and the Bay. Each was viewed as a means of civilizing the North. With the church saving souls, the Bay buying furs, and the kindly Mounties preserving law and order, there seemed to be little reason for alarm (Page 1986:16).

This 'trinity' in one form or another has been a part of development processes in not only the Arctic but also the African continent. These agents of change centred their attention on three objectives: gaining political control, religious evangelization, and commercial exploitation.

4.3.2 Development Agents in Arctic Canada and Africa.

Nationalist rivalries and a quest for national glory led to the desire of European powers to gain political control of overseas colonies (Gellar 1977). Military might and administrative expediency kept colonized regions in Africa firmly within European control (Freund 1984). It was not until the early 1960s that most African colonies gained their independence.

Canada similarly asserted sovereign control of the Arctic, but especially in response to threats by other nations to lay claim to Arctic lands. To emphasize sovereignty, by 1903 the North-West Mounted Police, later to become the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), were dispatched to the Yukon, Beaufort Sea, and to Hudson Bay. Representatives of the Crown asserted sovereignty over eastern Arctic islands during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Police posts were established in the High Arctic on Ellesmere Island in the 1920s. By 1950, RCMP detachments were located throughout the Northwest Territories. While police matters were handed over to local forces in Africa after colonies achieved independence, the RCMP still maintain a strong presence in Arctic Canada. Since 1960, governments in both regions have concentrated on providing services such as health care and education to their citizens. Whether for general welfare or to (from a cynical point of view) appease potential political dissidence, provision of services has been a goal of most governments throughout the world.

Missionary activities in the North and Africa share many characteristics. Indigenous peoples in both regions were prime targets of the evangelizing spirit of Christian religious orders.

...missionaries sought to change not only the ways of work and politics of native peoples but their innermost beliefs, feelings, and deepest held values as well; and because of this missionaries may be considered the most ambitious and culturally pervasive of all colonists, attempting social change and domination in their most radical forms (Beidelman 1981:74).

Although many missionaries were on the African continent in the 19th century, mission activities accelerated in the 1920s. In all African colonies where schools were common, missionaries completely dominated formal education and insisted on conversion as part of schooling (Freund 1984). Concomitant was mission encouragement to accept new commodities and commerce leading to increased orientation to a market economy. Christian missionaries spread the ideals of early capitalism: Western family structure, individualist orientation, and the self-justifying work ethic (Freund 1984). Indeed, Christianity was a *raison d'être* of European colonialism since the Renaissance and was carried forward on the wave of Western prestige and power (Neill 1964).

Eastern Arctic Canada missions were established early in the 1900s. An Anglican and Roman Catholic presence has continued ever since. While missionary activity undeniably set out to change Inuit life and culture, as Scace (1975:41) pointed out, they were "the first group of foreigners to place the condition of the Inuit ahead of resource exploitation". For most of the 20th century, mission schools were the only means of formal education in the Canadian Arctic. Nevertheless, the very reason for being with Native peoples was to transform selected personal and social aspects of their ways of life which were judged inimical to Christianity (Vallee 1972). In this way Arctic missionaries were not unlike those in any other part of the world.

While missionaries encouraged a Western work ethic to be incorporated into people's inner beliefs and lifestyles, commercial enterprises influenced people's outward systems of economy and exchange. In Africa, companies such as the British South African Company (BSA) illustrate this process. The BSA gained the right in 1891 to administer and occupy Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) as part of the British Empire. Initially, indigenous people were compelled to work as labourers outside the region in order to obtain cash to pay taxes. By the 1930s mining

expanded in Northern Rhodesia itself, centring on one commodity: copper.

This transformed a large region of the colony into an industrial area. Rural to urban migration increased as the demand for labourers accelerated. "These migrants needed cash, and not only to pay taxes, but to buy from European stores the imported household goods which were replacing the cloths and pots and hoes once made and bartered in the village" (Roberts 1976:178). Since independence in 1964, Zambians have continued to depend on cash crops and copper for their economic base and rely on imported goods and market commodities for their systems of exchange.

In Arctic Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was the pervasive agent of economic change. Instead of compelling Inuit to work as wage labourers, they persuaded local hunters to hunt and trap furs and skins which the HBC could sell in southern Canada and abroad. As Inuit reliance on the HBC for goods increased, their hunting practices shifted from primarily providing food and clothing to a mixture of commercial and sustenance purposes.

Hudson's Bay Company and free traders introduced Inuit to the southern economic system, and periodic trips were made by Inuit to HBC posts to purchase supplies in exchange for fox pelts and to socialize with friends and relatives (Condon 1981). After permanent settlements were formed in the 1950s and 1960s (often around the local HBC post), the Bay continued to supply Inuit communities with southern supplies and services. Although contemporary Inuit economy is mixed, furs and skins continue as important commodities and are subject to market fluctuations in supply and demand.

In general, arguably the most overt change to indigenous societies from contacts with agents from government, religion, and business was the shift into a modern market-oriented economy. Indeed, even in some of the most remote places visited by the author in Algeria, Niger, Senegal, the Central African Republic, and Zambia, people were clearly

oriented towards cash exchanges and the marketing of commodities. This was evidenced, in part, by the pervasive roadside or village stalls with consumer goods and produce for sale.

An orientation of indigenous economies to a capitalist structure can be viewed theoretically in two differing ways. From an economic paradigm, the pervasive presence of market economies throughout developing countries is evidence of the trickle down effect diffusing income to other sectors of society. If there is a cash flow throughout the national economy, entrepreneurs and market forces should flourish and sustain the supply and demand of the producer and consumer. Conversely, concentrating on generating a profit or cash return from specialized goods leaves the rural, remote farmer or hunter vulnerable to market fluctuations for the product. If most of their energies are spent on production of market commodities, the capacity to provide basic needs and sustenance is diminished.

Regardless of the theoretical viewpoint to which one subscribes, it cannot be denied that peripheral areas depend on market conditions in the metropolitan centres. When national and international economies or the commodities dependent on them are in a growth or 'boom' phase, even though the periphery ultimately depends on the core for its production or market, most people benefit. In reality, however, economies are rarely in an extended 'boom' phase.

Peripheral economies often lack the economic base to sustain, let alone lead to growth in, indigenous economies during 'bust' times. What results are situations where the agents overseeing development are unable to offer strategies fast enough so that peripheral economies can adapt to the effects of poor market conditions. Then programmes and processes of development already implemented tend to maintain a status quo, day to day living for the rural poor continues to be difficult, and government and academic researchers try to explain or offer suggestions to correct the situation.

An example of this is education, which is available to most indigenous peoples. A goal of education as a part of overall national development is to train people so that they can participate in a modern-sector labour market. This goal tends to remain the same regardless of whether regional and/or national economies are in boom or bust cycles. As explained in the following section, though, the maintenance of this goal does not necessarily benefit the indigenous individual.

4.3.3 Education in Arctic Canada and Zambia: An Example of Development

In Africa prior to the 1960s, requirements for labour generally centred on the extraction of raw materials or production of cash crops. Formal schooling was not necessary. Similarly, in Arctic Canada the primary need for labour was for the trapping and hunting of furs and skins, skills which were readily adapted to traditional subsistence living and requiring very little outside transfer of knowledge. In the early 1960s, with independence of countries in Africa, and the increase in government support and intervention in newly centralized communities in the North, an emphasis on formal education to fuel emerging modern economies became a mainstay of overall development strategies.

In this section, a brief overview of trends in education in Zambia and Arctic Canada is outlined. Then, more specific effects of education are analyzed in order to demonstrate the outcomes of this development component at a local level.

Most Third World nations "have been led to believe or have wanted to believe that it is the rapid *quantitative* expansion of educational opportunities which holds the basic key to national development" (Todaro 1981:289). Zambia was no exception. After independence in 1964, Zambia embarked on a Transitional Development Plan for the government's educational goals. The aim was for universal primary education. By 1970, 90 percent of the target for total primary school enrolment was reached (Hoppers 1981). Almost 97 percent of children aged 7 years were

estimated to be in Grade 1 in 1978 (ILO 1981). The provision of facilities, however, is not the only measure of education progress.

At independence and the following 5 to 6 years, Zambia's need for educated and trained personnel was great enough so that there usually were jobs for most graduates. Curricula were designed which emphasized skills and knowledge needed for an emerging industrial-based society. From 1965-1970 the annual percentage growth rate for wage employment was 5.1 percent. By the mid-1970s, though, Zambia's national economy began deteriorating under the effects of worldwide recession, a fall in copper prices, and war with white-ruled Rhodesia. Real Gross Domestic Product per capita fell by 52 percent, a terrible decline by international standards (ILO 1981). Consequently, the Zambian economy was no longer able to support employment for the many people being educated in schools throughout the country.

In response, the Zambian government came to recognize that schools should direct attention and expectations of young people away from wage-employment to rural self-employment (Hoppers 1981). Skills and knowledge obtained in rural schools were to be relevant for an agricultural environment appropriate to local cultures and ways of life. This new philosophy was not implemented, however, in actual rural curricula. Official government policy in 1977 continued to emphasize that primary education (which is most available in rural areas) follow the traditional European ideal of being an extended basic education relying on the fundamentals of reading, writing, arithmetic, and social studies. The Zambian economy throughout the 1980s has still been unable to support wage jobs for many of its educated individuals.

Education in Arctic Canada in the early 1960s was also geared to an industrial orientation and Inuit children were fit into whatever role the government thought they should play in northern development (Carney 1983). Academic achievement was emphasized amidst government promises that plenty of jobs would be available for every Inuit with Grade 12

education. While many Inuit did obtain jobs during the 1960s, it became evident that reality was not approaching the ideal. A centralized bureaucracy controlled the formulation of educational policy and goals, the recruitment of staff, and the determination of curricula (Sindell and Wintrab 1972).

Teachers were Euro-Canadians trained in and for southern Canadian institutions. The wants and needs of individual communities and children were rarely considered. As Honigmann and Honigmann (1965:174) stated, "... the official aim allows very little if any scope for suiting the school's curriculum to local conditions and problems, neither to the Eskimo's traditional role on the land nor his newly found career in town".

By the late 1970s, departments of education became more aware of the need for cultural and community needs in school curricula. Local education boards were given increased authority to determine languages of instruction, the length of the school year, curricula used, and the training of teachers (Carney 1983). But as reported from Arctic Quebec, even though new school curricula embraced Inuit culture, the gap between school and lifestyle has not been bridged (Souaid 1988). This is reflected in the high dropout rate of Canadian Inuit as a whole.

Based on Census Canada figures, only 39% of Inuit had attended Grade 9 in 1981, 19% had graduated from high school, and 4% from university (Robitaille and Choinière 1985). Furthermore, as an indicator that job opportunities were very scarce, these authors reported that the employment participation rate (the labour force as a percentage of population 15 years of age and over) was only 48% for all Inuit in 1981.

The remainder of this section focuses on the consequences of education, as part of a development strategy, on indigenous people in Arctic Canada and a peripheral region of Zambia. A case study conducted in 1985 (Weissling 1986) of the indigenous population, called Lunda,

near a Roman Catholic Mission in Lwawu, a rural area of Northwest Province, Zambia serves as background to analysis of some consequences of education in Africa. Several studies by other researchers are reviewed for discussion of education in Arctic Canada.

An upper primary school (Grades 5-7) in Lwawu was run by the missionaries. It provided relatively high quality education and was in operation from 1964-1978. Only two out of 77 men originally from the area near Lwawu and whom graduated from the school during its years of operation were unemployed in 1984. Sixty-four (83%) of them had migrated to urban or semi-urban centres from their home region, which is an area economically based on cash crop agriculture. The upper-primary school was closed in 1978 in part because of the downturn in the Zambian economy.

Since the closing of this school the missionaries, who are the main development agents at Lwawu, have been concentrating their efforts on assistance in commercial agriculture. A primary school (Grades 1-4) is still in operation at the Mission and is staffed by Zambians from urban areas. Curricula is based on urban-centred subjects and a core of reading, writing, arithmetic, and social studies. Education by teachers and missionaries is rarely devoted to encouraging expansion of non-cash agriculture or teaching local people how to best provide for their basic day to day needs.

Formally educated individuals still reside in Lwawu, though, and occupy most of the desirable and well-paying jobs near or on the Mission. These include health care workers and wage-labourers. Although the number varied, at most, 24 men were employed in these occupations in 1985. Other than a few commercial farmers and entrepreneurs developing fish-farming, most of the estimated population of 1200 within three kilometres of the Mission made a living solely by non-cash agriculture or small-scale informal economic activity such as beer-making for local consumption. All residents at least partially depended on subsidized

goods provided directly or indirectly by the Mission or consumer goods and produce bought or brought in from the nearest town, Mwinilunga, 50 km to the east. This, along with there being too many people in the area for the land to support, resulted in a relatively large number of people being overly dependent on the Mission or outside sources for their day to day living needs.

A sense of hopelessness prevailed in terms of these people ever finding a job or being able to make enough money from agriculture. Many spent most of the day drinking the potent locally made beer or hard liquor. In addition, the educated few were materially better off and obvious inequalities existed between them and the unemployed. Social tensions were in evidence as was polarization between socio-economic classes (Weissling 1990). Although education was not the only variable, because the few wage jobs were open only to educated individuals, it did contribute to inequalities and discrepancies between the few 'haves' and the majority 'have nots'.

Education in the Canadian Arctic prior to the 1960s was provided by a small number of regional residential (boarding) schools administered and staffed by missionaries. When government took over the delivery of educational programmes in the early 1960s many of these schools were utilized (Coates 1985). However, most Inuit attended government built and operated schools in the newly centralized, permanent communities which were formed throughout the Northwest Territories.

According to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the 1960s, the Canadian government, by providing education in all Arctic communities, enabled the Inuit to successfully make the transition into mainstream Euro-Canadian economic systems. Department representatives extolled the virtues of an educational system saying it gave the Inuit equal opportunity in education as Canadians have in the south. Although negative aspects were not ignored, most of

the educational processes in the 1960s North were viewed favourably by the Department.

Residential schools were seen as fostering "standards of regularity in eating and sleeping, cleanliness, clothing, diet and study habits" (Simpson and Wattie 1968:9). Inuit fathers were reported to encourage children to attend school, as opposed to helping hunt, so as to acquire the learning and skills essential for wage employment. English, educational, and vocational skills were seen by government as the means for an Inuk to acquire jobs and increase the degree of one's prestige and leadership in one's community. Perhaps most importantly, "the educational program contributes significantly to the development of local industry by providing training in a number of different fields" (Simpson and Wattie 1968:14).

A few years after these statements were made, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honourable Jean Chrétien (1973), was advocating similar roles for education by noting that the answers to providing jobs for northerners rested in education and training as well as influencing potential employees and prospective employers, broadening the bases for the North's economy and diversification of employment opportunities. Again, as in Zambia, the key to development was (and still is) to educate indigenous people so they can fuel the markets and industries in the likeness of modern, Euro-North American economies.

Hobart addresses the social and employment problems which have resulted from this type of strategy. He points out that almost every voice was heard in planning for the residential school system for Inuit in the Mackenzie District of the NWT, except the voices of the Inuit and behavioural scientists (Hobart 1968). If officials had planned education incorporating Inuit needs they may have realized that by removing Inuit children from their families and educating them according to Euro-Canadian middle-class standards, many children became

disillusioned with their place in traditional Inuit or Euro-Canadian society. Interviews with Inuit produced numerous examples of alumni from residential schools who "were profoundly confused in their sense of identity, who were ashamed of being Eskimo, and who felt inadequate, and unable to compete" (Hobart 1968:49). Many could not adjust to either the world of their parents nor the world of the Euro-Canadians.

With social alienation one possible outcome of education, the other major consequence is the attainment of skills and knowledge without a high probability of becoming employed. Hobart (1978) discussed this issue in a case study conducted in 1977 of all young people 16 to 25 years of age who had grown up in the Gjoa Haven area of the NWT. Among 48 Inuit in this age group, only three had moved out of the area. Twenty two had completed ten or more years of schooling, 22 had completed seven to nine years, and four had no more than six. Sixteen of them had attended residential school in Inuvik or Chesterfield Inlet. Including the three living away from Gjoa Haven, 20 of the 48, or less than half, had full-time or part-time wage employment. Eleven women had wage employment, two made handicrafts for sale, and 11 had no source of income. Among men, 11 of 24 were hunters and trappers, nine had wage employment, and four had no source of income.

Census Canada figures from 1981 (Canada 1983) also indicate the lack of wage employment opportunities in Gjoa Haven. Of 260 people (including Euro-Canadians) in 1981, 215 had less than a Grade 9 education. Of the population over 15 years of age, 65 out of 145 men and 30 out of 120 women were in the labour force. The employment participation rate for men 15-24 years of age was 27.3% while for women it was 22.2%. Considering that people in the age group of 15-24 have the greatest likelihood amongst adults of having some education, these participation rates are not encouraging.

A loss of identity and self-esteem from an outside education

system, coupled with a lack of employment opportunities, leads to a wide range of problems. Honigmann (1978) notes that Inuit must adapt and cope with an entirely new set of social interactions if they want to work as wage labourers. These include accepting schedules of work (one must be on time), making appointments to talk to otherwise relatively unapproachable people in positions of power, and adapting to economic systems in which savings, credit, and money management are integral parts. In addition, business ventures in a market economy are not based on strong systems of co-operation.

Inuit culture is rooted in traditions of co-operation. Family and community support are critical in determining the success of native entrepreneurial endeavours (Ironside 1982). However, young Inuit learn to achieve as individuals in school and once they leave or graduate, if they find a job, the work force they are in is usually competitive in nature. Thus, contradictions increase between traditional Inuit cultural values of co-operation and modern, industrial systems of competitiveness.

In both Zambia and Arctic Canada, education has been a part of a strategy which approaches development as 'top down' and planned from centralized sources who implement projects based on ideas and experiences external to the regions being developed. This has meant that schooling focuses on training young people to become active participants in the national economy rather than incorporating local needs and conditions into curricula. Education for many individuals has, indeed, led to viable employment either in home communities or urban centres of their country. For others, who often constitute the majority, very few opportunities exist to use their education in making a living based on wages.

In Lwawu, this has contributed to class polarization and dependence on outside sources for some, if not most, of local residents' sustenance. In Arctic Canada, it has led to a confusion about one's

cultural identity and concomitant hinderance in earning money by either traditional pursuits or modern wage labour. The end result in both countries is the same: many indigenous people are not necessarily better off socially, psychologically, or economically than before contact with development agents.

It cannot be denied that services such as education (and health care and access to consumer goods) should be available to all people. The problem is that those providing these services do not appear to have planned on how to sustain healthier, longer-lived educated consumers in peripheral societies integrated into national and international economies based on different socio-economic systems.

4.4 Conclusion

Peripheral regions in both Canada and Africa have experienced change brought about by development agents from government, business, and religion. Government has sought to elicit ways and means to achieve goals of increased Gross Domestic Product and to provide aspects of modern society for its citizens. Business overtly encouraged and often exploited labour to produce surplus commodities for a market economy and profit. Missionaries felt morally obligated to transform native peoples into likenesses of what they thought human beings should be. This usually was geared towards becoming similar to Euro-North Americans. These changes often did not conform to the culture, traditions, and means of survival by which indigenous people had lived for hundreds of years.

Even though both Inuit of Canada and Lunda of Zambia are in peripheries of the mainstream of national economies, the Inuit have direct and constant access to many of the same modern material goods and services as people in the metropolitan cores. Many items from basic health care to American television programs are as available in Igloolik as in Edmonton. The Lunda are certainly aware of national and

international socio-economic conditions and cultures different from their own, but these outside influences are not as pervasive in day to day living. Lwawu is not directly linked by communication or public transportation to any urban centres in Zambia. However, there is a more important difference between the Lunda and Inuit.

Whereas both Inuit and Lunda are taught the essentials to participate in a market economy, the Lunda have to transfer this knowledge to a national economy *similar* to a Euro-North American system. In addition, the Lunda are not a racial minority in their nation nor are they governed politically by people who are non-indigenous to Zambia. The Inuit, on the other hand, have to interact within a national economy which *is* a Euro-North American system. Also, they must live within a national political and economic system governed by people who are of different races and cultures to their own and not indigenous to Canada.

These concepts and those throughout this chapter are summarized in Figure 4.3.1. Development agents directly or indirectly influence the direction and goals of educating indigenous peoples. Depending on the regional or national economy, education can lead to employment or unemployment. Both employed and unemployed are dependent in varying degrees on external forces either to sustain jobs or provide for the welfare of those in need. The difference between Lunda and Inuit rests in the realization that Inuit are only partially within the national cultural, economic, and political systems which comprise Canada. Hence, Figure 4.3.1 illustrates conceptually the difference between Third and Fourth Worlders. Regardless of who they are trying to develop, agents must be aware of the effects and consequences of their strategies whether in the tundra or tropical worlds.

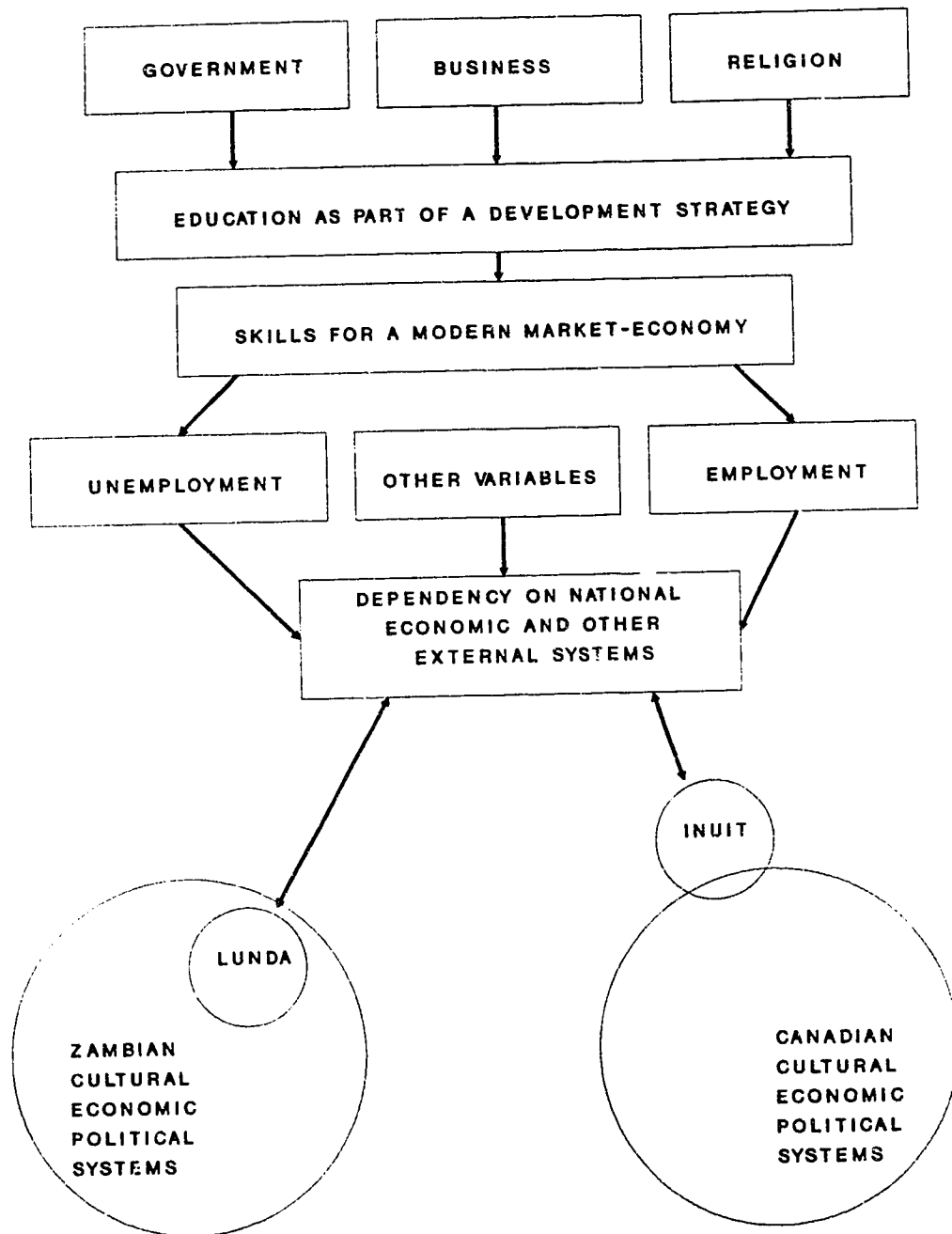


Figure 4.3.1: The consequences of one aspect of development- education- on the Lunda and Inuit.

5. METHODS

5.1 Introduction.

To analyze and discuss how the Arctic developed one must interpret and document the historical processes leading to contemporary conditions. There are many players in the history of Inuit settlement and development. Traders, the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), missionaries, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), government officials, and the Inuit themselves could all be a focus for discussion of this type. This dissertation concentrates on the effects of development brought about by all these agents using primary data from one source, the government archives, especially those written by the RCMP.

The RCMP established posts in areas of Inuit habitation during the 1920s with officers writing detailed reports about Inuit life as part of their job (Morrison 1985). However, archives about changes to Inuit society from 1950-1968 are emphasized in this dissertation because these years were the time when large-scale development occurred and almost all Inuit became redistributed to permanent settlements.

The Baffin region of eastern NWT is the focus of discussion for this research. To analyze the entire Arctic would be far beyond the scope of one dissertation. Chronological order to descriptions is maintained in dissertation sections about specific regions from the 1920s to the late 1960s.

A map of the Baffin Region is shown in Figure 5.1.1. The east Arctic was controlled politically by Ottawa during the period which is the focus of this research. Primary commercial linkages during this time were made by air and sea with Montréal. Flights were also made relatively regularly from the north Arctic and Baffin Island to Churchill, Winnipeg, and Edmonton. Settlements are shown as well as the general areas surrounding them (outlined by a dashed line). When the term 'settlement' is used in this dissertation, it means the actual town, when the term 'area' is used it refers to the subregion surrounding the settlement.

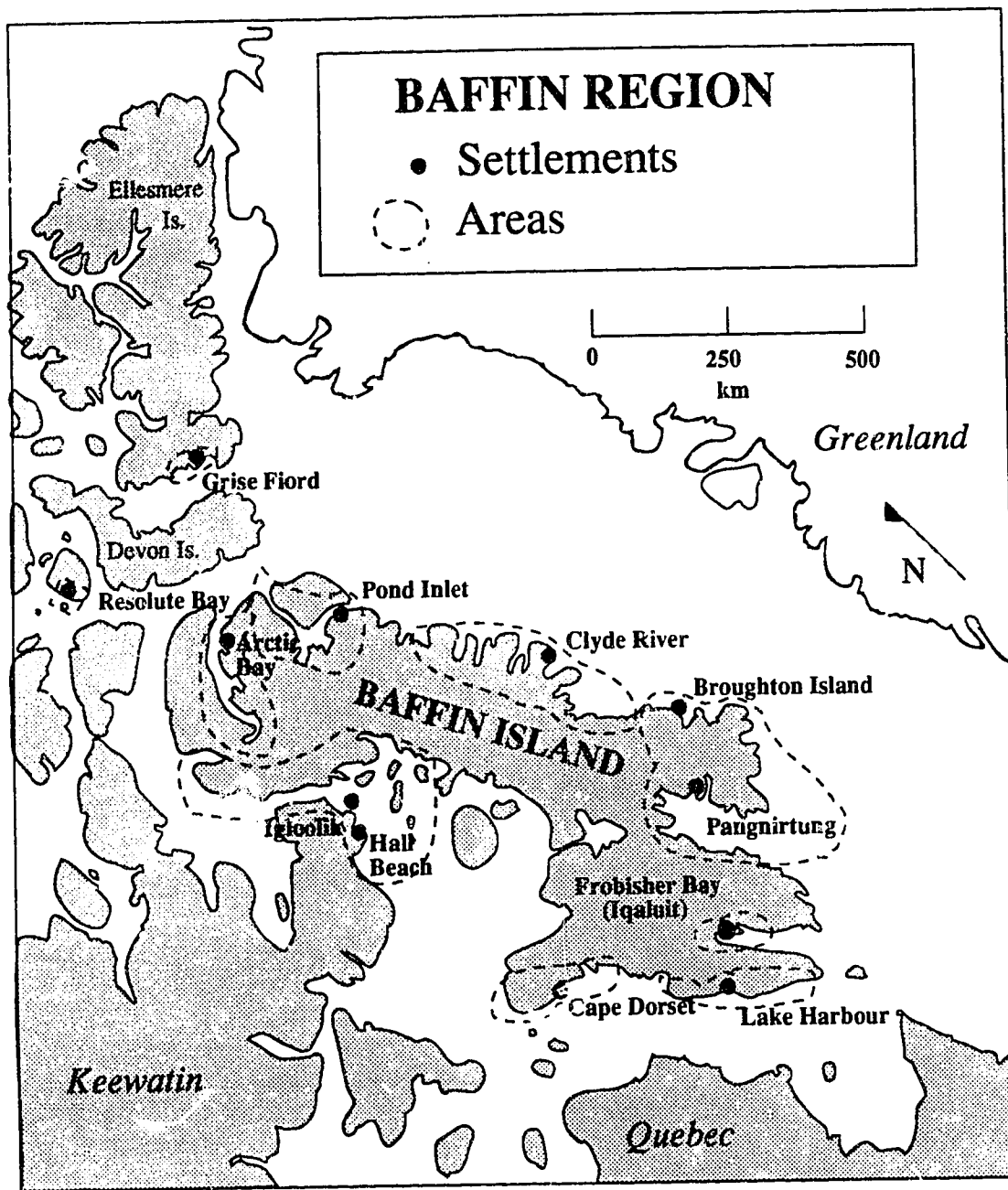


Figure 5.1.1: The Baffin Region.

All settlements in the Baffin Region were built along the coast. Most communities evolved around locations of HBC or RCMP posts. As supplies for HBC and RCMP posts were transported to the settlements during summer when there was open water, they needed to be located near ocean access. The total area of the Baffin Region is 1,017,889 km² and the 1986 population was 9,975 (Canada 1987). The largest town in 1986 was Frobisher Bay (now called Iqaluit) with a population of 2,947 and the smallest was Grise Fiord with 114 inhabitants.

5.2 Research Questions.

5.2.1 Overview

In the previous chapters of this dissertation, discussion centred on outlining objectives, presenting concepts and theories of development/underdevelopment, general descriptions of Inuit socio-economic conditions, and a comparison of Arctic Canada/Third World development. In order to fulfil the primary purpose of this dissertation- to define some realities and reasons underlying the development and underdevelopment of Arctic Canada- questions must be posed which assist in establishing general indications of development and underdevelopment.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, development consists of those aspects of socio-economic sectors of a developed, industrial society which have diffused into a less developed society by processes of modernization. These changes theoretically result in sustained economic growth and increased access to the benefits of the modern, developed world. But, as also mentioned in Chapter 2, modernization can lead to both development and underdevelopment. In order to identify various realities and reasons for development and underdevelopment, it is therefore necessary to (1) define what changes and influences were introduced to the developing region and then (2) ascertain how they led to the development and underdevelopment of the

region. For this dissertation, changes and influences fall under four categories: Education and Employment, Health Care and Demographic Characteristics, Material Goods, and Resource Use.

The provision of education and employment opportunities, health care, and material goods is generally part of most development strategies. Changes to demographic characteristics are often direct results of health conditions in developing societies and are therefore included with health care. Resource use is included as a topic concerned with modern change or influence because the harvesting of renewable resources was important not only to the Inuit but also for Euro-Canadian businesses. Arctic resource use is thus viewed as a modern influence as it supported modern as well as traditional sectors.

These categories are briefly described later in this section and a research question posed for each. These questions serve as guides for further analysis in that by answering them, identification can be made concerning how Arctic Canada was developed and underdeveloped. Before these are discussed, however, one more process which is directly related to development needs to be addressed, that of population redistribution.

5.2.2 Redistribution

As modern goods and services are supplied to a developing region, population redistribution often occurs as people move to growth centres which possess these goods and services. Most likely these people have moved from rural areas where they made a living by traditional ways. People in these sectors tend to migrate to growth centres "to improve their living conditions; but although the centres have grown fast during recent decades they do not offer sufficient opportunities for the migrants, and consequently there are high unemployment rates in urban areas" (Farah et al. 1985:30).

Several theories have been formulated which attempt to explain and predict what happens demographically to a population as redistribution

to modern areas occurs. The demographic transition theory is an example. Briefly, this states that "people with access to the benefits of modern economic development have experienced a transition from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates" (Newman and Matzke 1984). Zelinsky (1971) applied the principles of demographic transition theory to interpret changes in migration patterns in relation to the degree of their socio-economic development. More important, however, is the question, **what were the consequences of redistribution on Inuit socio-economic conditions?**

Redistribution is a cause and effect of both development and underdevelopment. For example, modernization in urban areas may attract large numbers of migrants to a city. There they would provide labour for industries and markets for consumer goods and services. They thus would contribute to sustaining development in a market economy. If ~~collapse~~ collapse, though, for industrial output or if there are too many people for available jobs, conditions of underdevelopment may evolve. Unemployment and poverty may increase. Furthermore, dependence would increase on imported or urban-produced food which people would need to buy as opposed to producing their own had they stayed in traditional areas of habitation.

Those who live in areas with modern goods and services, whether employed or unemployed, could still be viewed as being developed in the sense that by living there they had access to so-called modern conveniences. These same people, however, could be thought of as being underdeveloped in that their dependence on these goods and services necessitated becoming more involved with modern sectors in order to obtain income to purchase products while at the same time diminishing their traditional social and economic ties.

(It must be stated that even though many examples of development and underdevelopment refer to urban and non-urban areas, urban is a relative term. Towns and settlements in the Arctic may be viewed as

being urban even if they consisted of only a few hundred people. This is because they possess urban-like goods and services when compared to the semi-nomadic camps in traditional Inuit society.)

Redistribution may be spontaneous, as when people voluntarily move in order to receive perceived or real benefits from new areas. Redistribution may also be planned by external agencies or governments so that people are obligated to move to service centres. Furthermore, redistribution may involve a whole population or part of the population. In the case of the Inuit, the whole population became redistributed from small semi-nomadic camps to permanent settlements. In some cases, though, such as pupils temporarily moving to residential schools, partial redistribution occurred.

Regardless of the type, Inuit redistribution interacts with conditions of development and underdevelopment of Arctic Canada. Attention is given, then, to variables which indicate the effects of redistribution on Inuit socio-economic conditions.

5.2.3 Education and Employment

The consequences of education in Arctic Canada were outlined in Chapter 4. To briefly reiterate, many Inuit children throughout the 1950s and early 1960s were placed in residential schools in towns distant from their home areas. By the mid 1960s, day schools were established in all Arctic communities and entire families were resident in settlements. In both cases, the redistribution of young Inuit for purposes of formal education meant that they no longer lived year round in hunting camps. It was thus difficult for them to acquire skills needed for traditional hunting pursuits.

Meanwhile, whether in residential schools or schools in their home community, they became educated from curricula written for pupils in southern society, and learned skills and gained knowledge needed for a developed, market-oriented economy. Theoretically, by receiving an

education, young people would then easily obtain employment in modern sectors of the economy. Although the provision of schools is clearly a sign of development, the skills and knowledge gained by education inappropriate to local conditions, coupled with the lack of available jobs for young people, often led to conditions of underdevelopment.

These conditions came about when educated, young Inuit sought employment in modern sector activities. Market conditions in their home communities, however, precluded many from obtaining wage employment. There were not enough jobs for the number of people wanting work. Furthermore, many of these young people had not learned or had lost the skills necessary to make a living by traditional means. (They may not have even wanted to earn a living this way). Yet, they needed cash to participate in a market economy. If they could not obtain income from employment, many had to use welfare and other government aid.

If young Inuit had to rely on government for support and could not or would not pursue traditional means of living, it meant that they were dependent on outside influences for support and had lost some indigenous cultural and economic control over their lives, clear signs of underdevelopment. A question can be posed: **how did conditions evolve which prevented many schooled young Inuit from obtaining wage employment or from obtaining income from traditional pursuits?**

In order to answer this question, evidence must suggest that:

1. Many young, educated Inuit could not obtain employment in modern sectors of the economy and often relied on welfare and other government aid for income.
2. Young, educated Inuit lost or did not obtain the skills necessary to pursue traditional sources of income. (Granted, the market for traditional products may have prevented more participation by young people.)
3. Behavioural problems arose amongst young, educated Inuit concerning their role in Inuit society. These would be manifested by behaviour such as loitering, substance abuse, and other non-productive activities as defined by modern mores. These behaviours would suggest that youth could not fit in with either modern or traditional society, a sign of underdevelopment.

It is not assumed that education is the cause of the above conditions. Rather, education is viewed as a development priority which supposedly enabled people to proceed on the path of modernization and employment in modern sectors of the economy. When market conditions and other forces in the Arctic prevented this from occurring, it suggested that the manner in which Inuit were educated sometimes did not lead to achievement of development goals and also may have been associated with conditions of underdevelopment. Therefore, these conditions are associated with the topic of education and employment.

5.2.4 Health Care and Demographic Characteristics

As a component of development, health care is a basic right and need. Certainly in the Canadian Arctic, health services in one form or another have been available to most Inuit since the 1920s. Concerns about health care in the dissertation centre on describing it as a component of development and discussing demographic aspects of Inuit society during the period of redistribution. It is realized that demographic characteristics cannot be correlated specifically with any one component or socio-economic variable (Arcand, 1985). Health care is a prime contributor to demographic behaviour, however, and it is thus appropriate to discuss these variables in this section.

Development agents clearly stress the close and complex links between health and socio-economic development. "Health not only results from genuine socioeconomic development as distinct from mere economic growth, it is also an essential investment in such development" (WHO, 1987). Improvements in health care as part of an overall development strategy in Arctic Canada began in 1947 with federal medical officers conducting extensive tuberculosis (TB) testing (Coates 1985). Inuit who had contracted the disease were evacuated to southern hospitals ranging from Montréal to Hamilton to Edmonton.

Tuberculosis and diseases contracted because of contact with Euro-

Canadians, such as measles and venereal disease, were prevalent in the Arctic throughout the 1950s and 1960s. While RCMP officers were often the only outsiders overseeing health conditions in camps and settlements in some areas during this time, by the late 1960s every community had a health centre and at least a nurse on staff.

Even though health care was offered in the Arctic, it did not necessarily mean that the general health of the Inuit improved. Furthermore, poor living conditions in permanent communities contributed to the spread of these diseases. Also, the use of processed and imported foods poor in nutritive value, as well as increased consumption of alcohol and tobacco, contributed to poor health.

A research question can therefore be posed: **how did contact with outsiders and the introduction of modern health care and facilities, lead to both improved and worsened general health amongst the Inuit?**

In order to answer this question, evidence must suggest that:

1. Contact with Euro-Canadians and their ways-of-life in some cases resulted in poor health amongst the Inuit.
2. The provision of modern health care and facilities often contributed to improved health amongst the Inuit.
3. Overall development processes contributed to both improved and worsened health amongst the Inuit.

Obviously, many variables contributed to the conditions above such as the natural environment, knowledge of health matters by both development agents and the Inuit themselves, and overall personal hygiene. The analysis of these conditions, however, provides opportunity to demonstrate the parallel processes of development and underdevelopment. Development strategies such as modern health care were initiated which improved general Inuit health, but, at the same time, contact with Euro-Canadians and the introduction of some aspects of modern society led to worsened general Inuit health.

Demographic characteristics of communities and hunting camps also need to be considered when analyzing health care. Included is

information about births, deaths, and migration patterns. In terms of development, demographic features of Inuit have been compared with the Third World (Young 1983), have been the subject of conferences and workshops (de La Barre 1985), and analyzed on the basis of Census Canada statistics (Robitaille and Choinière 1985). Analysis for this dissertation focuses on demographic characteristics at a micro-level but compares community demographics on a regional level.

One approach is to determine whether Inuit demographics conform to general theories about demographic and mobility transition. A problem may be encountered with this analysis because of the small scale of population in the Arctic. Most theories are based on macro, large-scale population numbers. Nevertheless, there are enough data to make the analysis worthwhile.

The primary concern in this dissertation is whether demographic characteristics of Inuit are similar to populations in Third World countries. If this is true, it could indicate underdevelopment. One feature of underdeveloped Third World nations is that the size of their population far exceeds the demand for employment in national economies. This leads to unemployment, dependence, and poverty: conditions of underdevelopment.

A research question can be posed: were demographic features of Inuit similar to societies in early stages of demographic and mobility transition typical of Third World countries?

In order to answer this question, evidence must suggest that:

1. Inuit birth and death rates were similar to those in the Third World.
2. After moving to permanent settlements which had modern goods and services, Inuit experienced socio-economic problems similar to those in the Third World. These would include high unemployment and dependence on imported goods and services for food and cash income.

Again, demographic characteristics did not cause development or underdevelopment. By analyzing them in the context of adjusting to changing socio-economic conditions, though, insight is gained into the processes of development and underdevelopment of the region.

5.2.5 Material Goods

An indicator of development is the availability and consumption of material goods. For this dissertation, several items which have direct relationships with development and change are analyzed. One commodity, the snowmobile, had particularly strong and direct effects on hunting practices and is examined more thoroughly than other items. Also, housing as an indicator of development is described in the dissertation. Sources of income and ways of spending are also investigated.

Using the conditions of development as outlined in Chapter 2, modern material goods in Inuit society indicate the integration of their society into modern sectors based on Western technologies and economic systems. These influences led to modernization of the Inuit society and, theoretically, to sustained economic growth and increased access to the benefits of the modern, developed world.

The use of modern material goods by an Inuit individual, group, or community, then, indicates development since it may be argued that consumer behaviour of Inuit was more like that of developed society. Also, in the case of the Arctic, the in-flow of money obtained from modern sector employment or government relief such as welfare demonstrates that the economy was based more on national economic conditions than on more traditional, local sectors. This is a sign that Western economic systems were replacing indigenous economic systems.

A research question can be posed: what were the consequences of material goods and services becoming established in Inuit society?

To answer this question, evidence must suggest that:

1. Modern technologies and imported commodities became integral components of Inuit societies. This indicates that these commodities may have replaced traditional items and certainly that the Inuit needed to obtain cash income to purchase the products.
2. The establishment of a market economy allowed the Inuit to enjoy modern conveniences but also led to dependence on imported items and to changes in their local socio-economic conditions.

The provision and accessibility of modern and imported commodities in and of itself is certainly not necessarily a negative condition. The problem is that when some modern technologies and commodities became necessities to the Inuit, it meant that they became dependent on items which may not have necessarily been beneficial to overall Inuit development. Eating processed food of low nutritive value instead of seal was not healthy (Royal Commission 1986). Having modern housing was certainly a sign of development but if the home was not suited to environmental and cultural considerations, it could lead to poor living conditions (Thomas and Thompson 1972). Again, as with other categories, consequences of the provision and use of modern material goods in Inuit society was part of a complex pattern which benefited the Inuit in some ways but was a detriment in others. Thus, material goods can be associated with conditions of both development and underdevelopment.

5.2.6 Resource Use

Hunting played and continues to play a major role in the traditional and modern socio-economic organization of Inuit society (Birket-Smith 1936; McConnell 1978; Wenzel 1981). As the Inuit became more tied to a market economy and permanent settlement living, however, the reasons and ways of utilizing renewable resources changed. Usher (1981) hypothesized that hunters from more modern, urbanized communities have a different approach to hunting than Inuit from more traditional, smaller settlements. This is based on theories that, although hunting was important to all Inuit, those employed in modern sector activities tended to hunt more for recreation or only when convenient, unlike hunters who depended on resources as primary sources of both food and income.

The key for discussion of development and resource use rests in analysis of the changes which occurred in hunting practices as a function of redistribution and development. A research question may be

posed: did changes to Inuit socio-economic conditions lead to them depending less on hunting for food and income?

In order to answer this question, evidence must suggest that:

1. The participation in a market economy and living in permanent communities lessened the importance of renewable resource use as a source of food and income.
2. By depending less on hunting for food and income, Inuit depended more on imported food and income from non-traditional sources.

The concern, again, is whether changes to Inuit resource use contributed to conditions of underdevelopment. If it is ascertained that a decreasing reliance on traditional pursuits led to conditions of dependence and a loss of indigenous control over their socio-economic conditions, the realities and reasons of underdevelopment may be identified.

5.3 RCMP Archives as a Primary Data Source.

5.3.1 Overview

The documentation of the development and underdevelopment of the Canadian Arctic is the primary focus of this dissertation and therefore an analysis of the history of the region during the 20th century is needed. The primary data sources for this historical development study are government archives. As Moodie (1977:268) stated, "...the pivotal importance of archives in historical geographical research is no longer in question...Their increased use in recent years has been manifest, not only in the quantity and quality of recent research, but also in the appearance of...literature pointing to the opportunities for geographical research offered by discrete types of archival holdings and by certain unique collections". The importance and pertinence of archives as data sources is also reiterated in an article by Hall (1982).

The discrete type of collection used in this dissertation comes from the RCMP Archives. The RCMP (along with missionaries and HBC employees) were dominant agents of change who had close contact with the

Inuit throughout the 20th century. The RCMP ultimately received orders from the federal government but nonetheless had authority to undertake various tasks such as maintenance of law and order, census taking, game law enforcement, medical treatment, and supervision of the general welfare of people in individual communities and camps (Scøce 1975).

As Morrison (1985:179) stated, the RCMP were "agents of metropolitanism" in the north, imposing the policies and controls of Ottawa on Canada's peripheral regions. Also, because the Arctic was not a priority for the federal government, the RCMP imposed their control more gradually than they did in other parts of the country. Morrison commented, "The police did not "develop" the northern frontiers; this was done largely by missionaries, miners, and traders, who preceded them or who were their contemporaries. The police were essentially overseers of much of this development".

The RCMP "had a genuine desire to see the government and others do what was best for them [the Inuit]. They did not look upon the Inuit as nuisances or as failures, but as wards, to be protected and encouraged as much as possible" (Morrison 1985: xviii,155). Indeed, the RCMP generally won accolades on how they conducted themselves (Paine 1977).

The key in justifying the use of RCMP records as the primary data source for this dissertation rests in the observation that RCMP officers were "the government's eyes and ears, observing and preparing useful reports on conditions that occasionally influenced future programs and policies" (Zaslow 1981b:78). Although they were not necessarily impartial witnesses, they were not in the Arctic expressly to gain commodities and profits, goals of HBC traders, nor to evangelize and overtly and purposefully transform Inuit beliefs and cultural values into Christian ideals, the objectives of missionaries. (This is not to deny that the RCMP did directly strive to eliminate some cultural practices, for example, infanticide (Diubaldo 1985)).

Traders and missionaries would be more apt to be concerned with

conditions and behaviours directly related to their goals and objectives. Certainly, the HBC and Church archives can also provide valuable information. Indeed, archives of the HBC have been used in several studies and emphasize details primarily related to trade (Moodie 1977). Church records are also useful but, as observed by the author of this dissertation, are mainly concerned with people of the particular religious denomination.

The RCMP had to be concerned with general Inuit socio-economic conditions and needed to constantly keep in touch with a variety of aspects about Inuit life (Morrison 1985; Duffy 1988). As is demonstrated in this dissertation, the RCMP archives, along with published literature, provide enough evidence to achieve the purpose of this research, to define the realities and reasons of overall development in the East Arctic.

Several authors have relied heavily on government archives for their research, notably Diubaldo (1985), Morrison (1985), Clancy (1987), and Duffy (1988). Their studies concentrated on documenting overall government policy towards the North. While they used RCMP archives, except for Clancy (1987), most of their data sources were from other government departments. Duffy (1988) referred to more RCMP archives than the other authors. Although he analyzed specific development strategies and their effects in the Arctic, he emphasized how specific government policies influenced these strategies rather than the effects these strategies had on overall Inuit socio-economic conditions.

Although this dissertation derives evidence from many of the same archives as Diubaldo, Morrison, Clancy, and Duffy, it differs from these studies because information in the archives is used to demonstrate the general development and underdevelopment of Inuit socio-economic conditions rather than specifically researching how and why government policies were implemented. Furthermore, development issues derived from knowledge and study of Third World regions are used in this

dissertation. These were not employed or mentioned in any of the above studies.

5.3.2 Methods of Research and Content Analysis

Officers of the RCMP compiled detailed reports of their activities and those of other development agents. The reports are stored in Ottawa at the National Archives of Canada (NAC). Information includes RCMP patrol reports and other government documents. An in-depth, comprehensive analysis and interpretation of archival documents provides the major foundation of discussion in this dissertation.

The archives used for this dissertation consist of 2112 pages of memoranda, letters, minutes of meetings, and field reports from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA), and its predecessors, as well as the RCMP. Archives from DINA consisted of policy statements and memoranda from officials of the department. These sources were not written in a systematic manner but only as the need arose, although they span all years under investigation in this dissertation. As such, they do not provide consistent information about local conditions in the Arctic but are very useful to clarify overall government policy and attitudes towards the Inuit from government bureaucrats' perspectives.

The most important archives used in this analysis were written by RCMP officers and are called 'Conditions of Eskimos, Generally'. Within these reports are descriptions of general Inuit socio-economic conditions at a local level as well as specific details related to education, health, housing, and hunting. Although annual reports, they were based on daily records made of events and comments on the Inuit, game, and geography of the Arctic (Morrison 1985).

Archives were reviewed by the author of this dissertation in Ottawa during February 1988, May 1988, February 1989, and August 1989. A preliminary investigation was conducted in February 1988. Many steps were necessary in establishing which archives to review and especially

which archives to photocopy and use for analysis. (Relevant archives had to be photocopied as they were not allowed out of one room in the archive building). The first step consisted of perusing hand-written indexes of general topic areas from specific government departments. Indexes of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and the RCMP were viewed. When a listing seemed relevant, for example, 'Conditions of Eskimo in Pond Inlet, 1920-1925', the file number of the documents was recorded.

The file had to then be retrieved by archive employees if it had been cleared for public use. If the document had not been cleared, termed as being accessed, an archivist had to read it and censor any reference which would invade the privacy of an individual mentioned in the document. In order to eliminate an invasion of privacy, the archivist used a magic marker to remove identification numbers which would identify an individual. No other comments about that individual were removed, however, so the content of the document was never changed.

Many of the archives ordered for this research had never been accessed. An archivist told the author of this dissertation that no private researcher had ever requested some of the documents reviewed for this study (White, personal communication). The accessing process required weeks to months of work for the archivist. Most archives were ordered during an investigative visit to the Archives in February 1988. In May 1988 these archives had been accessed and the author of this dissertation was allowed to read them.

During research in May 1988, it was discovered that additional archives were required. Several months were necessary for these to be accessed, hence a return visit to the Archives was made in February 1989, the earliest date the author of this dissertation could travel. After analyzing documents obtained on this visit, it was found that even more archives would be necessary to read and possibly obtain. One last trip to Ottawa was required, then, in August 1989. Throughout this

process, approximately 10,000-12,000 pages of archives were read.

Determination of which documents to photocopy for possible analysis was made by a systematic content analysis of the archives. As mentioned by Babbie (1973), some research topics are amenable to be analyzed through this method. If comments and information were mentioned in a document which related to redistribution, education and employment, health care and demographic characteristics, material goods, resource use, or general socio-economic conditions, the document was photocopied. Examples of quotes from specific documents which illustrate these topics are given below.

For Redistribution:

The only foreseen problem in the immediate future in the population of the people, will be the mass migration from the camps to the settlements. This has been quite noticeable this year in Pond Inlet. Last year the settlement had a population of 103, while this year there are 155, which is a considerable increase. This is brought about mainly by the parents wishing to be close to their children, when they leave the camps to attend school in the settlement. Because of the close knit Eskimo family, this will continue to be a problem, and in the future, I would imagine a very great one (NAC18/85/86/048/55/mm 1966).

For Education:

Some of the older fathers are not in favour of sending their children outside to school. As one hunter stated, his children are sent out to school and then they are given back to him. The boys don't know how to hunt and sometimes they don't even speak the [Eskimo] language properly. Most of them, both boys and girls, don't even desire to live like an Eskimo after they return. They are content to hang around the larger settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

For Health Care and Demographic Characteristics:

The writer's observations would indicate that most sickness amongst the Eskimos is due to (a) their habits in the care and handling of food, use of common utensils, etc., (b) poor diet, and (c) contact with personnel who arrive daily from the south. This does not apply to the Frobisher Bay Eskimos to the same extent as to those who live in the newly opened areas. Inadequate clothing and careless use of clothing on youngsters leads to the death of many of the very young. Since July 1947 out of a total of 157 deaths, 106 of these have been of infants under three years of age. This is compiled from the Frobisher Bay detachment registration of deaths (NAC18/55f 1957).

For Material Goods:

The tendency of the Lake Harbour Eskimo to purchase manufactured clothing is increasing to a large percent. There is very little evidence of native made clothing other than boots. The occasional Caribou Skin parka and to a lesser degree seal skin outer pants appear in extreme weather conditions on the trail. Some of the manufactured clothing is purchased at the local Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post but most of the clothing is being purchased by "mail order" from T. Eaton Co., and Simpsons-Sears. As a matter of interest the white population wear native made clothing to a greater extent than the Eskimo... (NAC18/55jj 1961).

For Resource Use:

So, some of the Natives in this district continue to live in poor sealing areas, but good trapping areas, and they come into the detachment periodically and lament the lack of seals at their camps and when they are advised to move to a better area, they agree and say it would be an excellent idea, but they never do because Foxes [sic] mean wealth and wealth is apparently more important than a full stomach to some Eskimos (NAC18/55z 1955).

For General Socio-economic Conditions:

In conclusion, I would say that the Eskimos of this area are steadily becoming more dependent upon the government for a living. They are capable of doing good work, but there is a lack of job opportunities in the area. The current slump in the price of seal skins has been a major downfall to the economy as well, as men who normally were at least partially supported by the proceeds of hunting are idle. Should this current trend continue I feel that within a very short period of time a complete welfare state will exist insofar as the Eskimo is concerned (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968).

Thus, if documents had comments which could be used to illustrate development and underdevelopment, they were photocopied. Comments on the photocopy specific to the topics of research were then highlighted. They were then used, where appropriate, for analysis to provide evidence of the realities and reasons behind the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic.

A photocopy of an RCMP report is in Appendix B. When referenced in the dissertation, problems were encountered because many archives shared the same codes and file numbers. It was difficult to code single documents. The reference codes used in this dissertation are indexed with NAC representing National Archives of Canada. The next one to four numbers indicate the Record Group from where the file is taken. Record Group 18 is from the RCMP, Record Group 22 is from the Department of

Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and Record Group 85 is from the Northern Affairs Program, a precursor to DIAND (Cook 1982). The last number in the reference code is the specific file number for the document. Because many documents shared the same file number, a letter was used to further specify the document. These letters were used solely by the author of this dissertation and unlike all other numbers used, are not found in indexes of the Archives.

Comments in most annual reports were categorized under specific conditions affecting Inuit life. These included, but were not limited to, Health, Housing, Hunting Equipment, Morale, and Clothing. While most annual reports included comments under the same categories, the details conveyed in them depended on the individual writer. Some reports were far more detailed than others. Furthermore, prior to the mid-1950s, reports often were not categorized under specific topics. There was not as much information within them as after the mid-1950s. Most analysis in this dissertation is based on reports after the mid-1950s. The most dynamic time of development occurred after the mid-1950s anyway so relying mainly on these reports is not a problem.

The specific number of comments within photocopied archives appropriate for analysis are listed in Table 5.3.1. Note that the number listed under specific categories represents the number of pages with at least one comment concerning the topic. This means that one page could have more than one comment about the topic or about different topics.

There were 1653 pages of RCMP reports with at least one comment about topics pertinent to this study. Except for the reports from 1920-1942, most reports had similar percentages of comments about specific topics. Most comments concerned health issues or general socio-economic conditions. Health conditions were readily identifiable and thus many comments about them would be expected. As overseeing the general welfare of the Inuit was one job of the RCMP, it makes sense that there

Table 5.3.1: The number of pages on which at least one comment was mentioned about the topic or topics listed. (PI=Pond Inlet; FB= Frobisher Bay; LH= Lake Harbour; CD= Cape Dorset; Pang= Pangnirtung; BI= Broughton Island; CR= Clyde River; AB= Arctic Bay; Ig= Igloodik; Res= Resolute; GF= Grise Fiord).

Community	Educ/ Employ	Health/ Demo.	Material Goods	Resource Use	General Comments	Total
PI 1920- 1942	6-3%	86-37%	50-21%	70-30%	21-9%	233
FB 1947- 1967	28-19%	35-23%	29-19%	23-15%	35-23%	150
LH/CD 1945-1969	58-21%	68-24%	50-18%	47-17%	56-20%	279
Pang/BI 1952-1967	40-16%	58-23%	43-17%	52-21%	58-23%	251
CR 1959- 1963	27-18%	35-23%	34-22%	22-15%	34-14%	152
PI/AB/Ig 1953-1967	51-20%	56-22%	62-25%	34-14%	48-19%	251
Res 1954- 1967	27-18%	27-18%	31-21%	22-15%	40-27%	147
GF 1954- 1967	41-22%	26-14%	43-23%	38-20%	48-25%	190
Total	278	391	342	308	340	1653

 were many inclusions of general comments about Inuit life. Education and employment issues were least mentioned but this is logical as very few education or employment opportunities existed when many of these reports were written.

The total number of actual pages from which these comments were taken was 1143. In addition, 617 reports on game conditions were read. These primarily contained information about different species of animals which were killed by the Inuit. More important were 352 pages of government memoranda, letters, and miscellaneous documents from various departments concerned with the Arctic. In total, 2112 pages of information were actually used for this research.

They include reports of conditions amongst Inuit, government policies concerning welfare of the Inuit, explanations of why policies were enacted, general census data, and sources of income from both the

public and private sectors as well as the interactions between the Inuit and these sectors.

One problem encountered when analyzing the archives was how to determine the accuracy of comments made by the RCMP officers. As mentioned above, RCMP officers in general were well-regarded and were genuinely concerned about the Inuit (Scace 1975; Paine 1977; Zaslow 1981b; Morrison 1985; Duffy 1988). There are few ways to prove that their comments were a true reflection of life in the Arctic, however. The best evidence that they were, in general, accurate is that many researchers (refer to those cited in Chapter 3) have commented on the development and socio-economic changes which did indeed occur in the Arctic. The RCMP officers also wrote about many of these conditions. Much of the information in the RCMP reports is substantiated by the literature. The RCMP officers, though, conveyed this information from a non-academic perspective based on actually living in Inuit communities and thus bring new insights into the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic.

Furthermore, based on the range and diversity of comments in the reports, many of which were not favourable to the Canadian government or agencies such as the HBC, it is assumed that the officers were not trying to impress any one agency or bend the truth to conform to overall government policy. The possible exception would be that the officers would not want to jeopardize their position in the RCMP and would not, therefore, speak negatively about their personal activities.

5.4 Additional Data Sources

Some of the ideas formulated for this dissertation were gained by a five day visit to Iqaluit, NWT in February 1988. Although it had been decided prior to this date that archives would be used as a data source, this visit established the need to investigate the evolution of the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic. This was determined by

talking to various people ranging from engineers from the south to Inuit managers in government organizations to Inuit wage labourers. General observations of the community and its inhabitants also established this need. Many hours were spent walking around the town, shopping in its stores, and watching people. Included was an evening in the pub frequented by local Euro-Canadians and Inuit.

During many parts of the visit, it felt as if the author of this dissertation was in a Third World, post-colonial country. Indeed, many of the skills necessary for this analysis were derived from personal experiences travelling, working, or studying throughout 49 countries around the globe. Thus, some of the ideas, perceptions, and backgrounds necessary for research conveyed in this dissertation are based on non-academic foundations. This is not a hinderance to this study, however. Rather, it broadens the understanding of the Arctic by utilizing thoughts and knowledge not normally associated with researchers studying in the region. It must be remembered that this dissertation is not about the Inuit *per se* but about a region with a historical development not unlike many areas of the world.

5.5 Conclusion.

Investigating the research questions and objectives for this dissertation should provide insight into the processes and effects of Inuit redistribution and development in the Canadian Arctic. In addition, the dissertation should lead to a greater understanding of the recent developmental history of these people. There are few populations on Earth as isolated as the Inuit or who have experienced such profound changes to their socio-economic systems in such a relatively short time. It is hoped that documenting these changes will provide a clearer understanding of how development and underdevelopment affected the Inuit.

Equally important is viewing these processes and changes from a

national and international perspective. Because it is clear that contemporary socio-economic conditions in the Arctic are tied to world social, economic, and political systems, approaching analysis from this viewpoint is necessary so that the evolution of the ties and dependence on outside forces can be identified. Finally, the interpretation of the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic, facilitated by study and knowledge of the Third World, is necessary to increase awareness of Arctic Canada as a component in overall global socio-economic milieux.

Thus, processes and changes in the Arctic are perceived as resulting from identifiable, tangible influences with the results of these influences discerned only by careful analysis and interpretation. Therefore, this dissertation conveys knowledge and increases understanding by analyzing the practical in order to conceptualize the abstract.

6. INUIT LIFE IN THE EASTERN CANADIAN ARCTIC, 1922-1942

6.1 Introduction.

Numerous articles and books exist which record the history and explorations of the Canadian Arctic prior to large scale development of the region. These include but are not limited to Boas (1907), Birket-Smith (1936), and Coates (1985) as well as compilations such as Valentine and Vallee (1968), Wonders (1971), and Zaslow (1981a). They indicate that Inuit were affected by contact with outsiders before the early 20th century, but it was not until the advent of large scale white fox fur trading in the 1910s and 1920s that they had long-term involvement with market-oriented socio-economic sectors of Euro-Canadian society. Permanent ties to the south and Europe began with contact with whalers and the acquisition of rifles and other modern tools and commodities.

These contacts evolved throughout the 20th century to a dependency on a wide variety of goods traded or bought at established Hudson's Bay Company and other trading posts. Until the 1930s, the white fox fur trade provided sufficient income or bartering power to allow many Inuit to obtain some of Euro-Canadian society's technology, staples, and luxuries. But these goods reduced the Inuit's self-sufficiency as they increasingly relied on steel traps, staple foodstuffs, and especially rifles and ammunition (Zaslow 1981b). This was because when Inuit hunters did not have enough money or bartering power to purchase imported goods, they had difficulty hunting without these necessities. When the Great Depression arrived during the 1930s, not only did the fox pelt market fall sharply but Inuit were no longer in a position to revert to a traditional lifestyle as they needed modern technologies to hunt. Because of this, plus harsh climatic conditions and other factors, many Inuit faced hunger, malnutrition, and disease.

In several reports, Diamond Jenness discussed many aspects of Inuit life during the 20th century. His texts outline the change-over of Inuit socio-economic conditions from a "stone-age economy to an economy

based on the trap-line" (Jenness 1964:51), along with the problems faced by Inuit during this change-over. Jenness related that a white fox fur price collapse, along with a severe winter in 1934-1935, led to several cases of starvation across the Arctic, including northern Baffin Island. He cited a RCMP report from Pond Inlet as stating that some families in Admiralty Inlet had "starved to death" as they had been unable to hunt seals (Jenness 1964:51-52). Jenness blamed such situations partly on Inuit dependence on ammunition and store-bought goods which resulted when their economy changed to being market-oriented. If people could not obtain enough furs or if fur prices were too low to receive enough money to purchase or barter for ammunition, they could not harvest food as easily.

The overriding issue in reports by Jenness is that the Canadian government did not provide sufficient guidance, services, and money to enable the Inuit to survive and prosper on their own. As he described the situation, "...the Arctic stagnated...Destitution and hunger stalked the Arctic, and Ottawa could see no remedy except unending relief" (Jenness 1968:25). Similar themes concerning the government's approach to Arctic administration and development are discussed in literature such as Diubaldo (1985), Duffy (1988), and Grant (1988). They, along with Jenness, present a broad-based description of life in the Arctic from the perspectives of government bureaucrats in Ottawa.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe life in the Arctic, specifically northern Baffin Island, from a more local perspective. The objective is to ascertain if local conditions reflected the general situations as conveyed by authors such as those cited above. Is there evidence in the RCMP archives that as Inuit relied more on store-bought commodities and based their existence on trap-lines, their subsistence economy was transformed into a market economy which resulted in a dependence on outside forces? Did Inuit become destitute because of this dependence? And, were Inuit running short of food and suffering

hardship because of their reliance on trapping and concomitant dependence on imported commodities and relief?

All the above questions use the word 'dependence', a term which could require a textbook to define. As Lantis (1958) pointed out when discussing environmental stresses on human behaviour in the circumpolar Arctic, the concept of dependency is broad and difficult to study. Within the context of a descriptive chapter such as this, however, dependence simply refers to people in peripheral regions having to rely on socio-economic sectors of metropolitan centres for some or all of their physical, social, and economic well-being. In Arctic Canada, this reliance primarily resulted from contact with missionaries, traders, and the RCMP (Scace 1975). While these specific types of agents were unique to Arctic Canada, the processes of development they initiated, whether intended or not, were similar to those in other parts of the world, including Africa (Weissling 1989).

For this chapter, patrol reports written by RCMP officers provide the source of information to describe life in the Arctic during the early part of the 20th century. RCMP officers conveyed in their reports both characteristics of the Inuit and also opinions about what was best for them. The 20 years spanning the reports used for this chapter cover a transition period from the establishment of the Pond Inlet RCMP post in 1922, through the Great Depression, to 1942.

The role of the RCMP was essentially unchanged between 1922 and 1940. After 1940, tremendous expansion of government aid and development occurred brought about by World War II and the need to protect Arctic Canada from potential foreign threats. The years 1940-1942 are included in this discussion because RCMP reports from 1941 to 1942 contain much useful information and allow for a more complete discussion than if only reports to 1940 were analyzed. An overview of government policy towards the Arctic is outlined first. Analysis and description of demographic information are then presented. This is

followed by review of specific conditions in Inuit camps as reported by the RCMP.

6.2 Government Policy Towards the Inuit.

The government of Canada's primary objective in the Arctic prior to World War II, other than maintaining sovereignty, was to protect and sustain the traditional pattern of native existence (Zaslow 1981b). Indeed, Ottawa expected the Inuit to remain as nomadic harvesters and saw the government's function as providing a measure of stability and control over an isolated region. The programme fit Inuit desires- although they were not consulted- but it was not founded on a humanitarian impulse. "Leaving the Inuit alone... was simply a cost-effective means of administering Inuit affairs" (Coates 1985:153).

A benevolent despotism emerged in policies of the government which sought to maintain Inuit health and happiness while at the same time keeping them 'down on the hunting grounds' by leaving the Inuit more or less alone. This is reflected in a passage of a memorandum written in 1922 from a government field representative in the Keewatin, the region west of Hudson Bay, to the Department of Indian Affairs about what government policy should be towards Inuit.

It would undoubtedly be a great mistake to inaugurate a broad system of assistance through relief issues. Charity, even in such places will lead to pauperization as quickly, if not more so, than [sic] in civilization. It would be equally irrational to attempt to change their mode of life or their habitat. Rather should they be encouraged to follow their natural, healthy nomadic life, teaching them, if necessary, to develop their native handicraft, or other means of obtaining food from the countries [sic] natural resources (NAC 85/786a 1922).

In 1928, O.S. Finnie, the director of the Department of the Interior, which took over administration of Inuit affairs in 1927, stated in a letter to the explorer, Dr. Knud Rasmussen, that services such as health care and education should be brought to the Inuit in their own environment and that the Inuit should not be "herded together at any central point" (NAC85/584 1928). Thus, government had intentions

of providing services to maintain health and happiness but the burden was on the Inuit themselves to take care of their day to day needs.

If Inuit had not had contact with any outsiders and survived as a purely traditional subsistence people, this policy might have been ideal. Realistically, though, even if Inuit still relied on hunting for most of their food and clothing, they were not economically, socially, or culturally isolated from aspects of more developed, industrial societies. They were in periodic contact with and/or need of Euro-Canadian society's weapons, food, and medicine. Concomitantly, they also had contact with their diseases, trade and barter systems, and codes of law and order. But what were the effects and consequences of these contacts and/or needs at a local level? Did the government's desire for Inuit to remain hunters and trappers increase their susceptibility to hardship and starvation as suggested by Jenness and others? An analysis of RCMP reports helps in answering these questions and furthers our understanding of life in the Arctic during Inuit development.

6.3 Demographic Characteristics.

The Pond Inlet detachment of the RCMP was established in 1922 and officers stationed there had jurisdiction over all of northern Baffin Island and Melville Peninsula (Figure 6.3.1). Periodic patrols were conducted to check on the welfare of the Inuit and record their general living conditions. The location of winter hunting camps and the number of igloos, families, and/or individuals in each were recorded. Unfortunately, data for the same characteristic were not recorded in the same manner from one year to the next. Thus, one year's report may list only the number of families at a location while in the next year the total population may be recorded. The population numbers are only approximate.

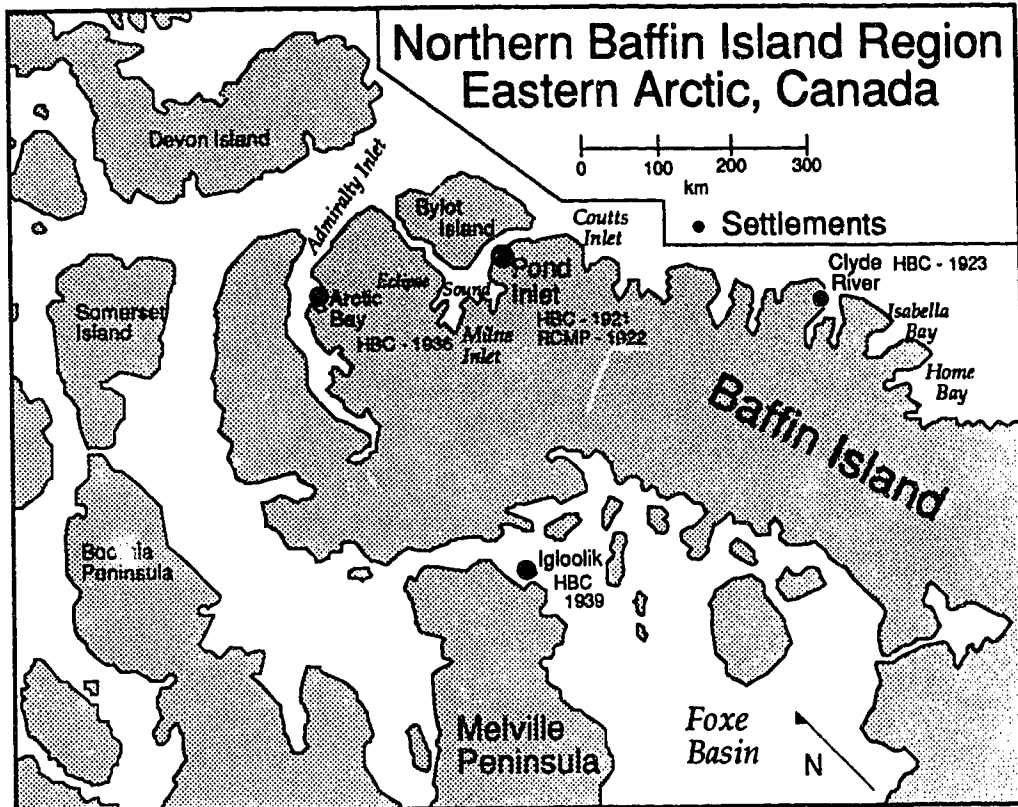


Figure 6.3.1: Region of jurisdiction for RCMP post, Pond Inlet, 1922-1942, and dates of establishment of RCMP and HBC at settlements.

In 1941, though, nearly all Inuit were recorded by the RCMP and every individual was given a disc so that the census taker could keep track of Inuit names and their distribution in future years (Robinson 1944). Many census books for 1941 were not returned until 1943, however. Therefore, population numbers presented in RCMP patrol reports up to 1942 are assumed to be the most accurate available data about regional Inuit demography from 1922-1942.

Detailed regional demographic data from the Pond Inlet detachment were reported only sporadically until 1937. All population figures, births, and deaths recorded in the reports from 1937-1942, except for 1940 which had inadequate data, are summarized in Table 6.3.1. It is obvious that the complete demographic characteristics of people in the region cannot be attained based on these data. Several characteristics, however, can be discussed.

One demographic measure based on these data is the crude birth rates amongst the Inuit. From 1937-1939 and 1942, the crude birth rates for the entire region were relatively consistent in 1937 (51 per 1000), 1938 (49 per 1000), and 1939 (42 per 1000), but they doubled in 1942 (88 per 1000). Choinière and Robitaille (1983) reported that the crude birth rate amongst all Inuit in the NWT averaged 33 per 1000 from 1939-1943, while Birket-Smith (1936) reported 35 per 1000 for 1936-1940. The birth rate for Canada as a whole in 1941, excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories was 20 per 1000 (Canada 1950). Crude death rates were even more variable, ranging from 8 deaths per 1000 in 1937, to 63 deaths per 1000 in 1941. Choinière and Robitaille (1983) indicated that from 1939-1943 the overall Inuit crude death rate in the NWT was 26 per 1000, and Birket-Smith (1936) stated 23 per 1000 for 1936-1940. The only years that the crude death rates covered by the Pond Inlet detachment were close to these figures occurred in 1938 (23 per 1000). The death rate from 1936-1940 for Canada as a whole, excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories was 10 per 1000 (Canada 1950).

Table 6.3.1: Inuit population in subregions. (Ig=Igloodik, Ad=Admiralty Inlet, Ec=Eclipse Sound, Ne=Northeast Baffin Island, Re=Entire Region.)

YEAR	TOT POP	(EST.)	BIRTHS	B RATE	DEATHS	D RATE
1937:						
Ig	283		12	42/1000	3	11/1000
Ad	83		6	72/1000	0	0
Ec	25	(53)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ne	138		9	65/1000	1	7/1000
Re	529	(557)	27	51/1000	4	8/1000
1938:						
Ig	296 \					
Ad	83	combined:	50	46/1000	10	23/1000
Ec	53 /					
Ne	142		8	56/1000	3	21/1000
Re	574		28	49/1000	13	23/1000
1939:						
Ig	267 \					
Ad	67	combined:	17	39/1000	5	12/1000
Ec	98 /					
Ne	144		7	49/1000	1	7/1000
Re	576		24	42/1000	6	21/1000
1941:						
Ig	255 \					
Ec	59 /	combined:	29	71/1000	30	74/1000
Ad	NA	(93)	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ne	163		NA	NA	6	36/1000
Re	464	(570)	NA	NA	36	63/1000
1942:						
Ig	217 \					
Ad	106	combined:	37	95/1000	14	36/1000
Ec	66 /					
Ne	178		13	73/1000	11	62/1000
Re	567		50	88/1000	25	44/1000

(Sources: NAC18/3668a-w 1923-1942)

Analysis of general population trends in the area for 1937-1942 makes more sense. The total population of the entire northern Baffin region varied from 529 in 1937 to 576 in 1939. When the patrol reports were reviewed, however, it became clear that the total population was quite stable during all years of 1937-1942. In the winter patrol of 1937 the officer did not visit or record Inuit north of Eclipse Sound and the population was listed as only 25. If the figure of 53 from Eclipse Sound in 1938 is used to calculate population for 1937, the total population of the entire region in 1937 would have been 557. Considering 10-20 people could easily have been missed during patrols, this new total of population from 1937 was not substantially different from other years. The other major variation in total population was in 1941. During this year, the officer remained at Fort Ross on Somerset Island from spring through summer. He never visited or enumerated anyone in the Admiralty Inlet area. If the population of Admiralty Inlet in 1941 is interpolated as being between the 67 people living there in 1939 and the 106 people in 1942, then the estimated population of the area in 1941 would have been 93. The total population for the entire region, then, would have been 570. Again, this is not substantially different from total numbers of all years from 1937-1939 and 1941-1942.

The relatively stable total population of the entire region contrasts with noticeable fluctuations within different areas of the region. This is especially true for the Igloolik area, which had a population of 296 in 1938 but only 267 in 1939. One explanation for this 11% decrease is offered by the RCMP officer who reported that several families moved in 1939 south from the Igloolik area to the region covered by the Repulse Bay RCMP detachment (NAC18/3668q 1939). Indeed, Bissett (1968a) reported that many Inuit were not normally present in the regions in which they were enumerated. Migration from other areas occurred.

For example, Cape Dorset and Spence Bay Inuit often travelled to

Somerset Island and thus could have been included in the Igloolik region population figures. Fluctuations of regional population numbers could easily be explained by in- and out-migrations. The relatively stable overall population for the Pond Inlet detachment region, however, suggests that interregional migration was significant. The high birth rate along with the stable total population, though, indicates that perhaps in- and out-migration was a more important contributor to the number of people living in the region. This is obviously because the births and deaths recorded over the years covered in this analysis would have led to a total population of the entire region being over 600 by the end of 1942 had only natural increases or decreases to the population occurred. Errors in enumeration or migration out of the region are the likely reasons why the total population in 1942 was only 567.

One further demographic note is appropriate and is concerned with Bissett's (1968a:60-63) Area Economic Survey. His figures for population of the Pond Inlet detachment area derived from counts of individual camps for 1939 and 1942 are exactly the same as those in RCMP reports used for this analysis. There are at least two differences in how the data were used, however.

Bissett included two winter hunting camps in 1942 located on Steensby Peninsula as being in the Igloolik area. For this analysis, these camps were added to the Admiralty Inlet group because the camps were situated on the shores of Admiralty Inlet. They were far closer to Arctic Bay and its HBC trading post than to Igloolik.

Bissett also reported, even after presenting population figures listed by individual camps, which totalled 51 for the Arctic Bay area and 255 for the Igloolik area, that the total population for the Arctic Bay area was 172 and for Igloolik, 353. This is a large discrepancy. All these figures were obtained from one RCMP report. The figure of 172 for the Arctic Bay area as a whole exactly matched the figure obtained by

counting the population of individual camps listed in the RCMP patrol report about Eclipse Sound, Arctic Bay, and two camps situated on Steensby Peninsula in Admiralty Inlet (NAC18/3668w 1942). Thus, the count of 172 reported by Bissett most likely included all the Eclipse Sound and Admiralty Inlet areas rather than just the Arctic Bay area. It is unclear in the RCMP report where the figure of 353 for the Igloolik area population was derived except that it came from HBC members. It is possible that this figure included people from outside the Igloolik area who happened to trade at the Igloolik HBC post. Because the figure of 217 for the Igloolik area (Table 6.3.1) was garnered from visits to individual camps it is assumed that it more accurately reflects the resident population in the Igloolik area. Regardless, these discrepancies illustrate the difficulties in quantifying Inuit population during that time.

The locations of winter camps and, thus, population in northern Baffin Island were more accurately described in the Pond Inlet patrol reports and their specific locations recorded. These are shown in Figure 6.3.2. The most important information to note is that the Inuit located their winter camps along the coast, which provided for access to marine mammal habitat as well as areas where they could trap foxes.

There were no indications in the patrol reports, except for a very few exceptions, that the Inuit located in places solely to trap instead of areas which provided access to traditional food sources. What is also important is that throughout these years the Inuit continued to rely on a semi-nomadic existence, hunting inland during the summer and spending the winter along the coast in relatively small camps.

Even large concentrations of people near Igloolik were dispersed amongst several camps within a 60 km radius. To trade their fox pelts, the Igloolik Inuit had to make yearly trips to HBC posts in Clyde River, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay from 1936, Igloolik from 1939, or, for some residents before the HBC post was built at Igloolik, Repulse Bay. Usual

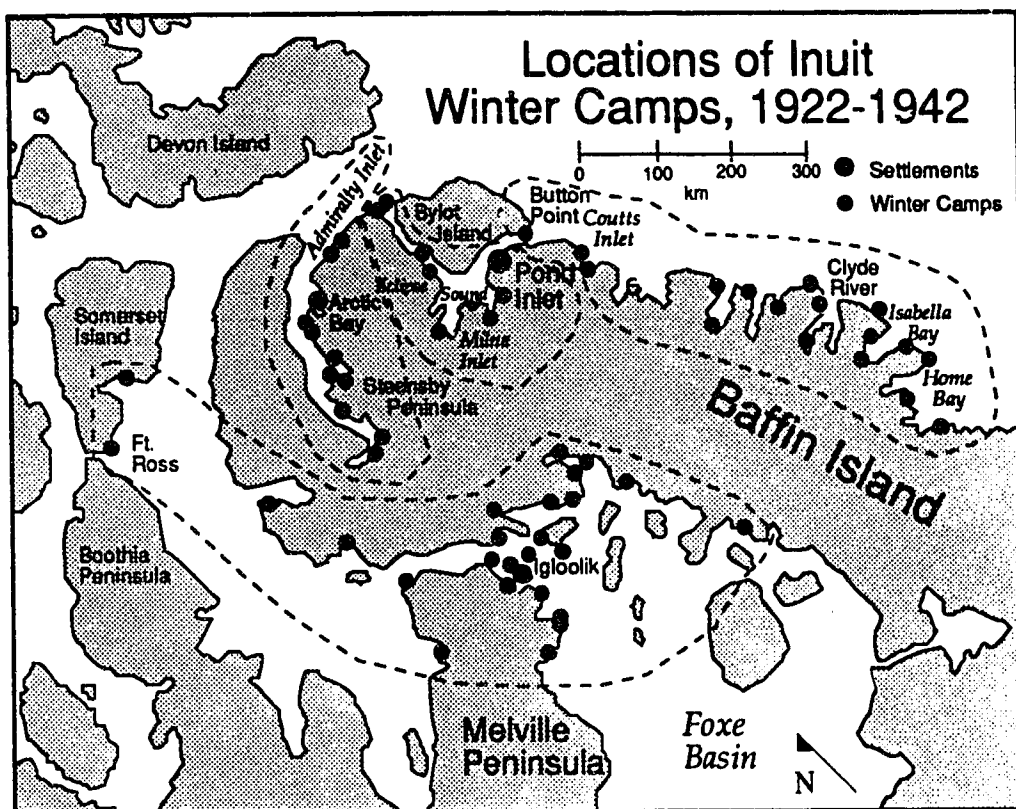


Figure 6.3.2: Locations of Inuit camps in the Northern Baffin Region, 1922-1942, covered by the Pond Inlet RCMP detachment. The Northeast Baffin, Eclipse Sound, Admiralty Inlet, and Igloolik subregions are outlined by dashed lines.

(Source: NAC18/3668a-w 1923-1942)

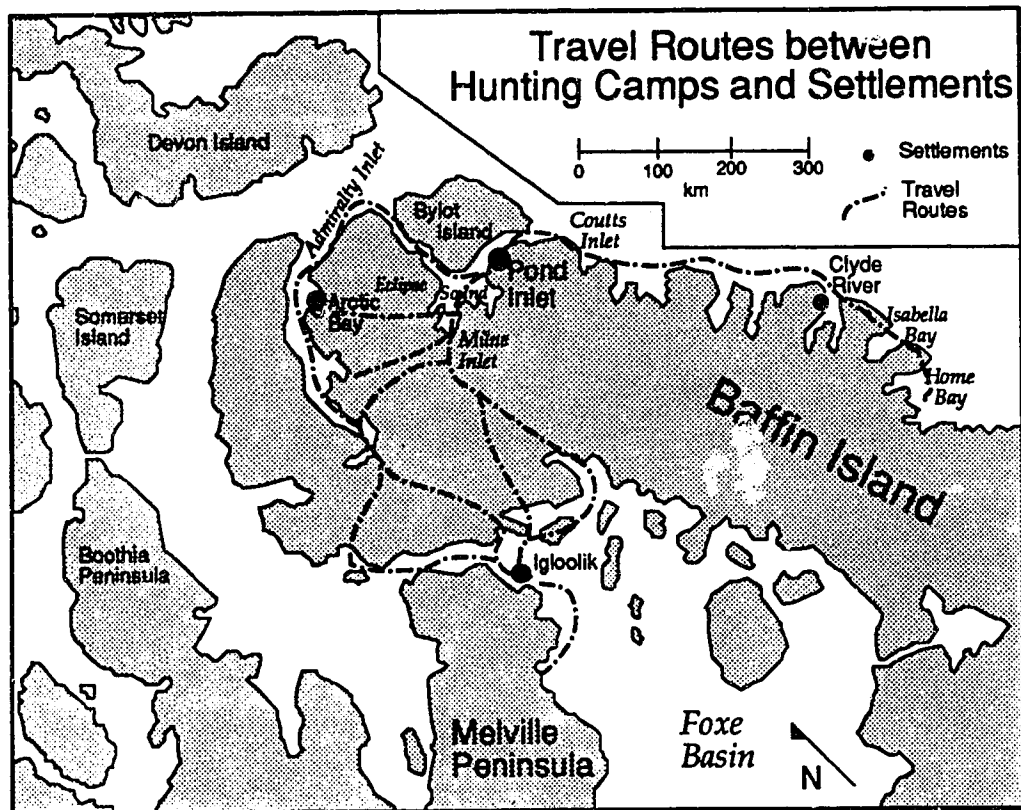


Figure 6.3.3: Usual routes of travel for Northern Baffin Island Inuit.
(Source: Bissett 1968a).

routes of travel are outlined on Figure 6.3.3. During most of the year, however, people continued to live off the land. Inuit were indeed staying 'down on the hunting grounds'. But what did this mean to individuals? The RCMP reports provide clues about how the influences of modern capitalist society affected a hunter-gatherer people.

6.4 Conditions of the Inuit, 1922-1942.

It must be remembered that Inuit have always faced periodic hardships, including hunger and starvation. When these occurred within the realms of a wealthy nation-state such as Canada, however, they could not be ignored. Although Ottawa did not actively strive to alleviate hardships, government agents, especially the RCMP, did all that they could to assist the Inuit when necessary (Morrison 1985). Regardless, though, as is documented below, people in the Arctic did starve to death even after RCMP and other Euro-Canadians lived in the region.

An RCMP report dated 26 May 1923 described the conditions of all 13 individuals from three families who starved to death on Admiralty Inlet sometime during the first months of 1923 (NAC85/786b 1923). An Inuk who found the bodies reported that there was nothing in the way of food or fuel at their igloo except some dog bones, suggesting the party had eaten their dogs. The officer reported that they had a rifle and ammunition but did not otherwise speculate on why these people ran out of food. Another case of starvation occurred late in 1923 when it was reported that an Inuk man and his infant daughter died of starvation (NAC85/786c 1924).

An indication of direct intervention, as well as sincere concern, by an RCMP officer to alleviate such hardships is contained in a report dated September, 1926. The officer described a camp of Inuit from Igloolik camped at Milne Inlet. The party was on their way back to Igloolik after a journey to Pond Inlet for their annual trading trip. During their return, several party members fell ill but one Inuk managed

to return to Pond Inlet and inform the RCMP of their plight. The officer travelled to the camp and subsequently filed the following report.

I found about twenty igloos at this camp and of their numbers fifteen [people] were ill with a form of pneumonia. The conditions were pitiful in the extreme. The weather was getting warm, with the result that during the day the interior surface of the igloos was thawing and then freezing at night. As a consequence the interior of the igloos was a mass of icicles. The floors were covered with about six inches of slush, and to add to their discomfort they were without oil for their lamps. I found three of the women were running temperatures of 105 and 106 and their bodies were covered with sores. As can readily be understood their spirits were very low, they were thoroughly disheartened and feared the worst. I immediately made hot tea and gave all a ration of tea and biscuit, and treated those that were sick with Dover Powders, poulticed their chests and gave them a laxative. It was very noticeable how their spirits rose after my arrival I visited all and tried to assure them of their recovery (NAC85/786d 1926).

He reported that in a few days all were feeling better and able to travel.

This incident leads to several speculations. First, it may be safely assumed that weather conditions have directly contributed to difficult living conditions since Inuit first settled the Arctic. Slush in an igloo in spring, although uncomfortable and unhealthy, must nevertheless be viewed as part of the 'traditional' life Inuit had to endure for thousands of years.

The main point, however, rests in the fact that these families from Igloolik had to travel some 400 km over difficult terrain in less than ideal weather because they had to trade a product, fur, from an animal not traditionally hunted in order to obtain imported implements and commodities to maintain their subsistence and market economies. They may have even contracted their illnesses at the trading post in Pond Inlet. Even though long-distance travel was not unusual for the Inuit, these people may not have suffered the hardships described had it not been necessary to travel to the HBC trading post. Regardless, because of the presence of development agents in the form of the RCMP, modern, albeit rudimentary, medication was available to alleviate their suffering.

This juxtaposition epitomizes the contradictory processes which characterized the Arctic during this period. On the one hand, the Inuit lived off the land pursuing trapping for their livelihood and hunting for their sustenance. They could not survive, however, without aspects of the more modern, developed sector of Canada and the world. But if they were to remain hunters and trappers, as Ottawa wanted, how could they adapt and adequately cope in both worlds? As described in the remainder of this chapter, until 1942 Inuit basically maintained a status quo, with significant but sporadic bridging of the 'traditional' and 'modern' worlds.

6.5 Inuit Who Faced Ill Health and Lack of Food.

While specific cases of starvation and ill health were not uncommon, RCMP reports indicate that most people were healthy and had adequate food. In fact, reported cases of ill health and/or lack of food other than those mentioned above were so few that all are described in this section.

An epidemic of pneumonia and lung trouble occurred in Button Point on Bylot Island and near Clyde River in the winter of 1925-1926 (NAC18/3668b 1926). Four deaths were recorded for the year with the cause reported as tuberculosis. In winter 1928-1929, the RCMP officer described two native families in Admiralty Inlet as being very poor and having little ammunition to hunt seals. They were "forced to hunt seals primitively through the ice" (NAC 18/3668d 1929). Although their dogs were in wretched condition, they had obtained seals for themselves and all Inuit there were in good health. In fall 1929 and winter 1930, seven families in eastern Foxe Basin did not have sufficient ammunition to secure adequate numbers of walrus for the winter. They were all in good health, however, and not starving. An exception was an old blind woman who received some provisions from the government. By March, conditions in this area made it easier for these people to hunt, and on 10 March

1930 the RCMP officer met three hunters from this camp on an ice floe edge with three walruses (NAC18/3668e 1930).

A destitute family consisting of an old man and his invalid daughter and unmarried granddaughter lived near the Clyde River HBC post in the early 1930s and received government welfare relief (NAC18/3668f 1932). This was the only consistently destitute family in the region covered by the Pond Inlet detachment. Seals were reported to be scarce near three camps at Clyde River Fiord in winter 1932-1933, but no one was starving (NAC18/3668g 1933). A scarcity of seals also occurred around a camp of four families living on south Bylot Island during winter 1933-1934 (NAC18/3668h 1934). They did not heed the urgings of the RCMP officer to move to better sealing waters as foxes were too numerous and they wanted to continue trapping until the season closed. This was the only case of a family placing trapping ahead of food procurement in all reports reviewed.

According to Diamond Jenness, the winter of 1934-1935 must have been exceptionally severe and he stated "the police report from Pond Inlet informed Ottawa that some families in Admiralty Inlet had been unable to kill enough seals for themselves and their dogs, and after their dogs had died of starvation they too starved to death, being unable to communicate with other natives" (Jenness 1964:51-52). There was no mention in the patrol reports, however, that the winter of 1934-1935 was exceptionally severe. Furthermore, assuming Jenness based his statements on the same report, reference to starving people on Admiralty Inlet could only have been based on the following passage which is the complete and sole mention of the subject in the report.

NATIVES GENERAL: Whilst the patrol was at No's. 3 and 4 camps, mentioned in para. 5. it was learned that several families had starved during the winter, in camps at different points at the South [sic] end of Admiralty Inlet, these people had also lost their dogs through starvation, and were unable to travel where food was plentiful, luckily enough their plight became known to the natives at No's. 3 and 4 camps (Elwin Inlet and Arctic Bay) who brought them in and fed them. With the exception of these people who starved, all camps visited reported good catches of

fur, this year being the good year for fur in the fox cycle, would account for that of course. A repetition [sic] of the fore-going case of starving natives could no doubt be avoided, if the native Native [sic] were closer to a trading post, which of course, would only become possible, with the re-opening of the Post at Arctic Bay, had that place been open, it would have helped the natives considerably (NAC18/3668i 1935).

Thus, according to this report, the Inuit in question were able to communicate with others and furthermore did not die. (It is understandable that confusion occurred as the term starved was used instead of starving.) Indeed, there were no deaths recorded for Admiralty Inlet that year. During winter 1934-1935, five people did die, however, at Coutts Inlet. The RCMP officer attributed their deaths to dysentery (NAC18/3668j 1935). During winter 1935-1936 another case of starving families in the south end of Admiralty Inlet was recorded (NAC18/3668k 1936). They were assisted by people camping to the north who brought them to their camp. They were then able to hunt and obtain sufficient meat to regain their health. Conditions were more dire, though, during 1935-1936 at Isabella Bay on the northeast coast of Baffin Island.

According to the RCMP officer, due to "hard luck" a man and his family (at least six people in total) were unable to hunt sufficient food for the winter (NAC18/3668l 1936). They were found by an Inuk, in emaciated conditions, lying in their igloo too weakened to rise. They had survived 28 days by eating starved dogs and caribou clothing and bedding. The police patrol met them as they were being carried on komatiks (sleighs) by other Inuit to Home Bay. They were given rations of tea, sugar, and biscuits. All survived and regained their health.

Winter 1940-1941 was described as "a hard one on the majority of the native residents of the district" (NAC18/3668u 1941). All the people in the Eclipse Sound region and many in the Igloolik region were hungry over the winter. Flu, presumed to be contracted from a supply ship, caused the deaths of 19 people at Fort Ross on Somerset Island. Causes of the hunger were attributed to bad hunting weather in the summer and

winter, and to the inability to purchase enough ammunition because the price paid for fox pelts was so low.

Conditions in 1940-1941 were not as bad on the northeast coast of Baffin Island. Camps visited by RCMP patrols had sufficient quantities of food. Four families received destitute relief, however. These included one hunter suffering from a festering ear all winter, and a needy family consisting of a man 61 years old with six children. Other destitute families were a hunter whose wife had died that winter and who had to support three small children, and another hunter who had lost all his dogs over the winter. All relief consisted of ammunition with the widower additionally given oatmeal to feed his children (NAC18/3668t 1941). Patrol reports from winter 1941-1942 indicate conditions were much improved, with all people in the entire region experiencing good health and obtaining plenty of food. No cases of destitution were reported (NAC18/3668v,w 1942). Perhaps not coincidentally, the region also experienced a very high birth rate (88 per 1000) during 1942.

The above cases of illness and shortages of food illustrate the hardships some Inuit faced as well as the need to provide relief for a few families and individuals. In the main, however, the majority of Inuit during 1922-1942 appeared to fare quite well in terms of year to year living. Descriptions of socio-economic conditions of this majority reveal insights into their lives during this time.

6.6 Socio-economic Conditions in General.

Inuit continued to be semi-nomadic people during 1922-1942. The important variable to keep in mind is that even if they continued circulating throughout the region, the purpose of their movement was shifting from purely hunting for food to hunting for food and fur, and to travel to conduct trade at HBC posts. It would be expected, then, that the change into a market economy may have altered the demand for more traditional means of obtaining food and clothing.

An indication in the RCMP reports that trapping may have infringed on collection of traditional food and clothing is in a 1923 patrol north of Igloolik (NAC18/3668a 1923). The officer reported that three hunters and their families were poorly off for clothes (it is assumed they had enough food) because they had not obtained caribou skins even though it was stressed that they had made successful hunts for foxes. In the same report, however, mention was made of the plentiful game resources and prosperous look of other people in the Igloolik area.

Although scattered on and around Igloolik Island, these Inuit were usually referred to as one large group in most reports. Comments about the plentiful game in the area were mentioned yearly. The Igloolik Inuit were always fettered, though, by the distances they had to travel to trade their fox pelts. They divided their trade between HBC posts at Pond Inlet and Repulse Bay, the former being closer but more difficult to reach due to rough terrain. Most of them travelled to Pond Inlet, however, as they had relatives near there, a distance of over 150 km. Regardless of the reasons, there is no doubt that circulation within the region was affected by the need to visit trading posts. This may have altered hunting for purposes of obtaining food and clothing.

A particularly revealing and insightful aspect of Inuit life becoming tied to market economies was described in a patrol report from 1929. Although the officer reported all Inuit except one were in good health, that there was no destitution, and everyone had plenty of food during winter 1928-1929, the officer went on to state,

As the natives of Foxe Basin and Admiralty Inlet are able to come to the Trading Posts only once a year, on account of travelling conditions, they are generally out of ammunition, tobacco and tea, by spring, which to these natives are now a necessity. As these people are absolutely dependent upon a gun in the summer, ammunition for which is, obviously, essential, a shortage of cartridges hinders, on a year like this, by not allowing them to cache enough meat to enable them to trap efficiently during the winter. Foxes are their only marketable commodity [sic] with the exception of a few bear-skins and a wolf or two, sea mammals and fish being out of the question, owing to the difficulties in transportation (NAC18/3668d 1929).

Thus, during the seven years the RCMP post was established at Pond Inlet, the officers revealed through their reports that by 1929 the Inuit were firmly entrenched in a dependency on Euro-Canadian commodities while concurrently maintaining their reliance on traditional food and clothing. Whether they realized it or not, the RCMP also provided evidence of Inuit as 'economic, rational people', to borrow terminology from contemporary indigenous economics. After ascertaining that the Igloolik Inuit in winter 1929-1930 had obtained sufficient food to feed themselves and their dogs over the winter, the RCMP officer commented that "very few seals are hunted by the members of this camp, as they find it more economical, in the way of ammunition, to hunt walrus..." (NAC18/3668e 1930). Again, comments were also made about the healthy, happy people in the area, all of whom had plenty of food.

Dependence on store-bought goods was clearly illustrated in a report from March 1934. The RCMP patrol met five families en route to Pond Inlet from Arctic Bay to trade their furs. This was before the trapping season was over and it was obvious these Inuit pulled their trap lines early. When asked why they did not wait until the end of the season in order to obtain more furs, they replied that they could no longer wait for tobacco and they had already caught enough foxes to purchase the necessities they wanted (NAC18/3668h 1934).

Unfortunately, patrol reports from 1936-1942 do not give examples of day to day living in the same detail as those outlined above. It is not until a report in summer 1942 that an officer recounted aspects of life which illustrate change amongst the Inuit. In the report, the officer described a large gathering of Inuit at the HBC post at Clyde River who all seemed to be "enjoying life to the utmost, having had a good fur catch they were well stocked with flour, biscuits, tea and sugar and last but not least, their invaluable tobacco. It was a pleasure to see both men and women smoking away on their new pipes, they looked the picture of happiness and contentment. Being without tobacco

is now a hardship on these people as they have a great craving for it" (NAC18/3668v 1942). It is ironic that in addition to the hardships of dealing with severe weather and difficulty obtaining food, by 1942 the Inuit apparently had to cope with periodic shortages of tobacco. Such is the price of progress!

The importance of store-bought commodities and the influence of market-oriented economic systems are poignantly summarized in the same report.

During the past winter it had been the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to encourage the natives to establish credits, which is a very good policy if it can be put into effect, but the natives are all very much against this method of doing business. Their policy is to spend everything today and let tomorrow look after itself. For instance, one man, EETOOTA, who is a very good hunter although getting old, bought thirteen hundred pounds of flour. This man was asked why he bought so much flour and why he didn't leave a credit until next year, replied that he was getting old and that maybe next year he would be dead. There is just himself and wife to feed. The rise in price of fox skins was a great help to the natives in many ways but in regards to the flour, in the opinion of the writer, it will tend to make the natives of northern Baffin Island "flour-eaters" instead of meat-eaters, which will prove harmful to their health. If the natives knew the proper method of using flour it would not be so bad, but the way they make their soggy bannocks and the quantities they consume at a sitting is enough to kill the ordinary white man. It was noticed this past winter that the people in the vicinity of Pond Inlet consumed large quantities of flour but did not hunt seals as much as in previous years. It is much easier to make a bannock than to hunt a seal (NAC18/3668v 1942).

6.7 Conclusion.

During the years covered in this analysis, 1922-1942, it was apparent that Inuit in general remained hunters and trappers. There was evidence in the RCMP reports that as Inuit relied more on store-bought commodities, they became more dependent on outside forces. There were very few indications, however, that they became destitute, ran short of food, or suffered undue hardships solely because of this dependence. Hardships and illness may have resulted from the need to trap, travel to HBC posts, and being exposed to foreign diseases, but in the main most Inuit in the northern Baffin region obtained adequate food and clothing. Travel to HBC posts enabled them to buy or barter for ammunition which

was essential to hunt for food.

Some Inuit did indeed suffer hardships when they could not obtain sufficient ammunition to hunt. More importantly, though, was that many Inuit came to regard commodities such as tea, flour, and especially tobacco as essential to their lives. This provides the key to better understanding the processes which were the foundations of later migrations to permanent, centralized settlements. The attainment of these seemingly benign goods provided many individual Inuit with the motivation to trap and travel to HBC posts. When explicit government intervention providing health, education, and housing commenced in the 1950s and 1960s, the seeds had already been sown which made settlements attractive. These seeds were not, however, what would generally be called parts of overall development schemes. The seeds were retail commodities. The transition towards integration with Euro-Canadian socio-economic structures progressed prior to WWII on a commercial framework based upon supply creating demand. The problem was that the goods supplied were foreign to traditional Inuit livelihood and led not to continuation of a life of hunting and trapping but to an increased reliance on government and business establishments.

7. POST-WAR GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS THE ARCTIC

7.1 Introduction.

World War II provided the impetus for rapid large-scale development of the Canadian Arctic. No longer did bureaucrats in Ottawa view the North as merely an outpost to control while still leaving it by and large alone. Now there was a perceived threat from hostile powers and also the possibility that Canada's ally to the south may eye the Arctic as strategically important for U.S. defence (Zaslow 1981b). Canada realized the region must become fully integrated politically and economically into national interests which concomitantly necessitated integration of indigenous people into overall Canadian society. But as Zaslow (1981b:78) pointed out, "Despite the best efforts of its well-intentioned, caring administrators, the region and its people would be hurled totally unprepared during the 1940s into the maelstrom of modernization and of world war."

Several key issues contained within Zaslow's statement are addressed in this chapter. The first is that, despite criticisms at the time or analysis of policy in retrospect, generally, government administrators and agents were sincere in their efforts to provide development inputs which would benefit the Inuit, the Arctic, and Canada as a whole. Secondly, with WWII as a catalyst, the 1940s brought tremendous growth of modern aspects of development to the Arctic which continued through to the 1960s and beyond. In many instances changes were introduced to the Inuit faster than those experienced by other indigenous societies elsewhere in the world. This leads to a final issue, one which has not been fully explored. Regardless of the changes and modern forces brought to the Arctic, how were Inuit on a local level affected by these inputs? This question must be analyzed in order to gain a better understanding of the evolution of Inuit socio-economic conditions since contact with Euro-Canadians.

7.2 Government Policy

As mentioned in Chapter 5, Diubaldo (1985), Morrison (1985), Clancy (1987), and Duffy (1988) have compiled extensive archival analyses of government policy towards the Arctic prior to 1970. While they utilized both administrative records and RCMP reports (except for Clancy) for their research, they emphasize how Ottawa responded to situations occurring in the Arctic rather than analyzing conditions in the Arctic conveyed by development agents living there.

Canada considered the Arctic a vital part of the nation after WWII but its indigenous inhabitants were secondary to the perceived threat of the Soviet Union and the continuing and expanding presence of the United States and the inherent threat it posed to Canada's sovereignty and control (Diubaldo 1985). National defence was of paramount concern with a resultant infusion of money to maintain a Canadian presence in the Arctic. It cannot be ignored, however, that the United States was allowed to hold a strong influence in the Arctic, especially at a U.S. Air Force base at Frobisher Bay. Another direct development component influenced by the U.S. was the establishment of Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line sites across the Arctic. These radar stations tracked any incoming airborne objects to North America.

From the end of WWII to the mid 1950s, direct influences over the day-to-day life of the Inuit remained much as they had prior to 1940. The primary agents interacting with them were the RCMP, missionaries, and HBC personnel. Health and happiness were to be maintained amongst the Inuit but it was the agents who decided who would be helped and how to go about doling out benefits. It was hoped that Inuit would remain hunters and trappers although, increasingly, Inuit were being drawn into wage employment in settlements such as Frobisher Bay. It was not until 1952 when wide-ranging proposals and programmes were implemented and directed specifically at the Inuit (Duffy 1988). These were decided upon by the federally appointed Eskimo Affairs Committee which was

composed of government officials, the RCMP, missionaries, and representatives from the HBC.

An overall goal as specified by the Eskimo Affairs Committee in the 1950s was to provide education for the Inuit (Duffy 1988). The main committee devoted most of its time to improvements to the Inuit economy, however (Clancy 1987). To this end, an Eskimo Loan Fund was made available from the federal government to assist individuals or groups to establish businesses or projects to increase incomes. Northern Service Officers (NSO), as direct representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (DNA), later to become the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), were placed in larger communities to assist Inuit integration in market, wage-based economies. It was recognized that the Inuit economy was still based on resources but that it also was important to diversify into other income earning endeavours. Overall, governmental development programmes centred on aspects of Inuit education, health, shelter, and economic activities, including welfare. Strategies instituted by the government dealing with these developmental inputs are briefly outlined below.

7.2.1 Education

As previously mentioned, education of Inuit was a primary goal of the government. If Inuit as Canadians were to realize their potential in economic activities other than hunting and trapping, a sound education was needed based on teaching skills necessary to gain employment in a market, wage economy. The federal government took over northern education from the missionaries in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s (Coates 1985). The first government-run schools were in the Mackenzie District in the western NWT. Settlements in the eastern Arctic lacked day schools and if children were to be educated they needed to travel to residential schools outside of the Baffin region. These were in Chesterfield Inlet, NWT, Coppermine, NWT, or

Churchill, Manitoba. All these communities were at least 800 km away from any Baffin settlement. In the Baffin region, day schools were operated by missionaries or federal employees in Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung, and Lake Harbour in the early 1950s but all closed down due to lack of regular students (many were needed in camps to assist with hunting activities) or the unavailability of teachers.

Permanent day schools began operating in Frobisher Bay in 1955 and were established in all Baffin settlements by 1963, the exception being Hall Beach which received a school in 1967 (Duffy 1988). Administrators in Ottawa realized the importance of preserving hunting and trapping economies but nevertheless, curriculum, textbooks, and teachers were solely from the South. Young Inuit were being educated for southern sector jobs although in most instances there were not enough jobs available or they required personnel with far more education than could be achieved from schools in the Arctic.

In addition, by 1960 the demand for education often outweighed the supply of schools and teachers (Duffy 1988). In the 1950s and early 1960s, hostels had to be constructed for students as they moved from hunting camps to settlements to become educated. This encouraged parents to eventually move to be near their children. This led to settlements having more people than their services could handle. Thus, education, as a basic right and foundation of development efforts, resulted in many unplanned consequences for the settlements in which schools were located.

5.2.2 Health Care

Two overriding problems influenced decisions to provide health services in the Arctic: the high incidence of TB and infant deaths. The prevention and treatment of other health concerns were also provided but TB and infant mortality were so visible and, at times, embarrassing to the government, that something had to be done to decrease their

prevalence. Until the mid 1940s, health care was rudimentary and administered by RCMP officers and missionaries (Duffy 1988). Inuit death rates in the NWT reported from 1941 for TB, influenza, and pneumonia were far higher than Euro-Canadian death rates in the NWT. For Inuit, the rates per 100,000 were 314.6 for TB, 148 for influenza, and 203.6 for pneumonia while for Euro-Canadians they were 43.7, 43.7, and less than .1, respectively (Wherrett 1947).

As for infant mortality, in 1946 the Minister of Health and Welfare reported in the House of Commons that during 1942, 1943, and 1944, infant mortality for northern natives was roughly three times higher than that among Euro-Canadians outside the NWT (Duffy 1988). It was not until 1945 that the federal Department of Health and Welfare assumed responsibility for health care in the Arctic and health care and medical facilities began to improve.

Commencing in 1945, summer patrols by ship became regular and medical officers checked people for disease and provided medicines and special food such as dry milk and pablum (Duffy 1988). Also, nursing stations were established in many settlements where RCMP and/or HBC posts already existed. Perhaps the most extensive development input for health was annual x-rays given to most Inuit to detect TB. This also became a controversial issue as those with TB were evacuated to hospitals across southern Canada where patients remained for years, isolated from family and friends.

Other variables influencing health issues were conditions of housing, sanitation, diet, and whether babies were breast fed. In general, the health of Inuit did not improve during the 1950s even though more health care was provided (Diubaldo 1985). Many of the reasons for this were related to social and environmental conditions related to moving to and living in permanent, centralized settlements. Thus, in addition to education and health care, to maintain health and happiness of the Inuit, government also had to provide adequate homes

and urban environments.

5.2.3 Shelter

A constant, although not always large, flow of Inuit moved from semi-permanent hunting camps, where they continued to live primarily in igloos during the winter, to permanent settlements throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. During the 1940s, in general, once Inuit became established in settlements, they lived in make-shift homes constructed of scrap wood and other material discarded from Euro-Canadian establishments. Euro-Canadians who lived in the settlements, most notably the RCMP and government teachers, increasingly voiced their opinions to Ottawa deploring the living conditions in which settlement Inuit existed. Terms such as 'appalling', 'squalor', 'filth', and 'destitution' were often used to describe housing conditions in settlements (Duffy 1988). Obviously, these dwellings were not conducive for maintenance of good health among their inhabitants. Improved housing thus became a high priority of northern administration during the 1950s.

The Federal Government endeavoured to supply low cost or low rent structures which would require a minimal expenditure to maintain. The first experimental houses of this type were constructed in Cape Dorset in 1956 (Duffy 1988). The igloo-shaped structure consisted of white styrofoam, 4.2 metres in diameter, with wooden floors and a small door. Light seeped in through the translucent walls. This design did not meet the needs of the Inuit and was abandoned.

Over the next few years, several basic designs evolved which became the norm in housing to the mid 1960s (Duffy 1988). One type of house, called the Atwell and used especially along DEW-Line sites, consisted of a frame covered by two layers of canvas with rock-wool insulation between the double layers. What became most common, however, was a pre-fabricated one-room rigid frame wooden house measuring 4.8 by

4.8 m. but lacking a toilet, stove, bath, or porch. These became known as 'matchboxes'. They were essentially stop-gap homes provided as welfare relief to the burgeoning populations in Arctic settlements (Duffy 1988). Larger homes were constructed for those who could afford them. All types of housing were sold to the Inuit with subsidies and Eskimo Loan Fund assistance. Welfare housing was provided free or for a very small rent.

Most all types of homes were inadequate for the social and physical milieux in the north. By 1964 it was apparent to Ottawa that Arctic housing continued to be substandard and led to deplorable health conditions. In 1964 a subcommittee in Ottawa made recommendations on how to improve housing and a massive plan was initiated to replace some 1600 houses. The new style dwellings were prefabricated wood three bedroom homes with a heater, sink, water storage tank, electric fixtures, and basic furniture. They were to be sold for \$5600 or rented, on a scale based on income, for \$2.00 to \$67.50 a month (Duffy 1988). While these homes were better than those they replaced, they were designed in southern Canada with the designers neglecting cultural aspects of Inuit society such as places to store and butcher seal or repair ski-doo's and outboard motors (Thomas and Thompson 1972). These homes were also far inferior in quality to those of Euro-Canadians living in the communities. This condition and that of many Inuit still living in matchboxes continued through the 1970s even into the 1980s.

5.2.4 Socio-economic Activities

Problems associated with maintaining a viable Inuit economy after WWII centred on how to create and sustain wage labour as well as to ensure that renewable resource use continued to provide revenue and food for hunters and trappers. Economic sectors associated with these income earning ventures were hindered by physical isolation, environmental fragility, and vagaries of markets. Many commodities considered

necessities were imported long distances from the south, which increased costs. Labour often was available only seasonally and markets for Inuit products, most notably fur, depended on the fads of fashion and other market conditions in Europe as well as North America.

During the 1940s, although continuing to depend on renewable resources for food and income, Inuit increasingly found wage labour not only available but a desirable method of generating income (Duffy 1988). Many jobs were seasonal such as unloading ships or constructing buildings during summer. DEW Line sites and the USAF base at Frobisher Bay, however, provided jobs for some Inuit. As with trapping, however, these jobs were dependent on many variables which made them far from long-lasting. Construction jobs ended when no further buildings were necessary. The U.S. closed their base in 1949 although Canada re-opened it on a much smaller scale a few years later only to have the USAF take it back until 1963 when the airbase was again turned over to Canada and used as a civilian airport. Income did not depend entirely on these sources, though. Handicrafts and carvings also generated income.

An important development strategy initiated in the late 1950s throughout the Arctic by the federal government was subsidized co-operatives. These provided outlets for the sale of Inuit arts and crafts and provided valuable training of Inuit in book-keeping and managerial skills (Ironside 1982). They had widespread success and made a big contribution to economic development (Duffy 1988). Problems were encountered, though, in that co-operatives often lacked experienced managers and lacked financial resources and communication between themselves (Ironside 1982).

Regardless of whether people obtained income from furs, wage labour, or handicrafts, any income received usually was not enough to fully support an Inuit family for the entire year (Duffy 1988). What resulted was that government continued to provide relief when Arctic inhabitants could not earn enough income to survive. Welfare payments

and Family Allowances became essential to many residents. Provision of welfare and the description of conditions influencing Ottawa to provide such assistance often fell to the RCMP. As the primary government agents reporting to Ottawa, the RCMP provided accounts of the changes and characteristics of Canada's citizens in the North.

7.3 Attitudes of Government Officials toward the Inuit.

Equally important as actual government policies were the attitudes and perceptions which motivated the articulations and implementation of those policies. Without delving too deeply into these, it is informative to present some of the attitudes before describing how the policies derived from them affected Inuit in specific areas of the eastern Arctic.

Throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, archival documents suggest that Ottawa conveyed a sense of paternalistic altruism towards the inhabitants of the Arctic. While sincerely wanting to treat Inuit as full Canadian citizens, directives and memoranda indicate they were considered as wards needing to be guided into the realms of modern society with a fatherly hand. This is aptly illustrated in a letter written in 1955 by R.G. Robertson, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, to an executive of a mining company interested in hiring Inuit. Robertson referred to all Canadian Inuit in his comments.

As a race they have many fine qualities; they are always honest, they are usually courageous and they have often great powers of endurance and fortitude...The Eskimo is a logical fellow. He is quick to adopt techniques which will improve his way of life...But now we are bringing to him a new environment and a variety of experiences and sensations completely foreign. Not all Eskimos will be able to adapt themselves to this new world...it is essential that new livelihood [sic] be found for a certain proportion of them because of the diminishing game resources (NAC22/324 1955).

There, indeed, was an awareness that new forces and cultures were being introduced to a distinct race of people. The race, albeit adaptable and intelligent, still needed help, guidance, and programmes

to bring it into mainstream Canadian society. But were there reasons for these efforts, other than simply moral ones, in that Inuit were Canadians and entitled to rights and services as everyone else in the country? B.G. Sivertz, Director of the Arctic at DNA, addressed this question in a speech he gave to the Kiwanis club of Ottawa in 1956.

I have said that the economic importance of the Arctic will mainly depend upon mineral wealth. There are, of course, other values. The fur trade had produced many dollars for Canada since the first explorers came to its shores, and even today fur is the main source of revenue for the Eskimos of the Canadian Arctic. Without fur to trade, the Eskimos have only a small fraction of the essential goods they must buy...[but] Why should the Government of Canada make plans for the Eskimo people? I think it is because they are a group who have always lived isolated in regions where activities of other Canadians are now influencing their lives. This influence takes place in ways which can and do bring disadvantages or even disaster if steps are not taken at least to ameliorate the impact of civilization. Preferably the steps we take should direct the forces of this impact into channels that not only avoid being injurious but which will be beneficial (NAC22/166 1956).

Sivertz continued to state that all people should have access to the benefits of accumulated human knowledge and that Inuit should have the same opportunities as other Canadians. Later in the speech he extolled the virtues of education and the benefits of wage employment.

Interpretation of the archives and sources such as Duffy (1988) leads to the speculation that, overall, policy throughout the 1950s was directed at integrating Inuit into Canadian society and perpetuating their socio-economic activities based on principles and systems from southern Canada. Officials seemed sincere in their desire to benefit the Inuit, recognized that change was not always easy, and provided the Inuit with development inputs and programmes to integrate them into a market economy. Government plans and directives, however, were made by southerners and motivated by knowledge and socio-economic systems foreign to the Arctic. Many development inputs, then, were planned on an ad hoc basis without fully analyzing the effects they would have at a local level. Indeed, it was not until 1959 that an Inuk was invited to participate on the Eskimo Affairs Committee (Diubaldo 1985).

What were some of these projects which Euro-Canadian experts decided to implement for the benefit of Inuit? Contained in the minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee of 10 May 1954 are listings and descriptions of development inputs for Inuit for 1953 and 1954 (NAC22/298a 1954). While only for those years, the projects described were typical of development at the time. One project acted upon in 1953 concerned the relocation of Inuit from Pond Inlet and Port Harrison, Québec to Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island and Craig Harbour and Alexandra Fiord on Ellesmere Island.

The reason stated for these moves was because renewable resources at Port Harrison were declining and it was thought better hunting and trapping would be encountered in the high Arctic (NAC22/298a 1954). Pond Inlet Inuit were moved to assist Québec Inuit with hunting in a new and different environment. In 1954 another proposal was discussed to move more Québec Inuit to Resolute Bay because of the demand there for casual labour for unloading supplies during airlifts and summer ship visits. This illustrates that many Inuit lives were affected and planned at board meetings in Ottawa.

Discussion during the Committee meeting also included reports that 20 Inuit men were permanently employed at Frobisher Bay Airbase in 1953 and 1954 and other Inuit were finding summer employment unloading ships and other casual labour. Consideration was made about the means by which "more advanced Eskimos", as termed in the minutes, could be assisted to take up occupations other than hunting and trapping by arranging for employment at northern establishments and on-the-job training (NAC22/298a 1954). In addition, discussion included preparation of uniform wages and rationing scales, the handling of employee savings, and the most suitable types of dwelling for permanent Eskimo employees.

Specific projects which were started or investigated in the Baffin region in 1953 and 1954 were the following (NAC22/298a 1954):

1. Boat building in Lake Harbour.
2. Handicraft and other local industries.
3. An eiderdown industry.
4. Tanning of sealskin, shell reloading, weaving and knitting, and the manufacture of boots, clothing, baskets, and furniture.
5. Survey for coal in northern Baffin Island.

It was estimated that all Inuit families received an income of \$1,350,000 or \$677 per family in 1953. This included \$650,000 from furs, \$300,000 from wages and handicrafts, \$275,000 from family and old age allowances, and \$125,000 from direct welfare relief (NAC22/298a 1954).

The minutes of the Eskimo Affairs Committee indicate that members of the committee had good intentions for the Inuit and tried to provide the projects they thought would allow them to participate in income-generating ventures (NAC22/298a 1954). The success or failures of these projects, if they were ever implemented, are discussed in later chapters of this dissertation. What is important about this description is that the projects discussed by the Committee were in the main large-scale, top-down approaches to development. Even handicrafts were not traditional as carvings and other items made had to be marketed for southern tastes and demand. What is also important is that furs provided almost half of the total income of Inuit. This meant that renewable resource harvesting continued to play a major role in the Inuit economy. Regardless of the income source, however, what did these development efforts mean to the Arctic overall?

An answer to the above question is contained in a poignant memorandum written by J. Cantley, Arctic Division of DNA to the Deputy Minister of DNA concerning the administration of Inuit Affairs. It illustrates the difficulties and, more importantly, the realities of life in the Arctic as it was affected by decisions from Ottawa.

The following outlines briefly some of the problems...in the administration of Eskimo affairs as Arctic development continues...I have become rather perturbed lately over the

approach we are making to cope with some of these problems...we are inclined to let the ideal run away with the practical and to attempt to make up for past deficiencies by attempting now to do too much in too little time...Under a functional administration such as we have here now, general agreement on policy is very difficult to obtain. Each department and organization has its own ideas and its own ends to serve...At the present time, few if any of these, have any real conception of the problems outside their own restricted areas... we should also perhaps consider the Eskimos themselves and how they will regard all these plans we are busy making on their behalf. My own feeling is that the Eskimos are the least concerned of anybody. They listen politely to the trader, the policeman, the teacher, the missionary, the nurse and perhaps to a few other incomers, try possibly to make some sense of all their different ideas, try undoubtedly to see what is to be gained in a material way from any or all of them and then decide to follow their own bent. We should never delude ourselves into believing that the Eskimos are just waiting to be shown a better way of life. Their present way suits them very well, so long as they can be assured of the necessities and the few small luxuries they crave.

In anything we may attempt to do to improve the Eskimos lot, therefore, we must be prepared to sell them the idea and to keep on selling it... Considerable emphasis is now being placed on education and vocational training for Eskimos, but here again, I suggest...that we have still to consider more fully what the ultimate goals are to be. Are we to educate these people to be better Eskimos and to retain the aptitudes for living in the Arctic that have been handed down from generations, or are we to educate them to be merely "poor white" no more fit to survive in the Arctic than the white man and not fitted to compete with him on an equal footing there or any where [sic] else (NAC22/298b 1955)?

5.4 Conclusion.

Of all comments made by government officials read for this research, Cantley grasped best the essential realities of a powerful majority developing a politically weak, traditionally-oriented indigenous minority. Three important points were made or inferred by Cantley which are illustrated elsewhere in this thesis and which have been observed in other parts of the world by this author, most notably Zambia.

1. Those implementing development often lack co-ordination amongst themselves and furthermore, see their specialties as the most important aspect of development. Often their ideas are based on an ideal, not practicalities.

2. Indigenous peoples are not intellectually naive and waiting to

be moulded and formed into the image of their economic, political masters. They will utilize what they desire or what they want to learn from development agents and then do what they decide is best for them (which is not necessarily what the development agent intended).

3. Even if it is a basic right, education for education's sake will not solve development problems amongst indigenous, rural, and/or poor people. The economic base must exist in any given region to perpetuate and sustain employment for individuals. Furthermore, curricula should be geared for the population to whom it is directed.

The points Mr. Cantley made in 1955 reflected Arctic development from the 1940s to 1955 but also prophetically described conditions which continued in the Arctic through the 1960s. These are discussed later. Before this, however, the demographic and economic characteristics of the Baffin Island region are analyzed.

8. DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION

8.1 Demographic Characteristics.

[Note: Data in Section 8.1 are derived from the following sources:
Frobisher Bay: NAC18/55h-55o 1959-1968; MacBain Meldrum 1975.
Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset: NAC18/55ff-55vv 1959-1968; Higgins 1968.
Pangnirtung/Broughton Island: NAC18/85/86/048/55j-55y 1959-1969; Anders
1967.
Clyde River: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f -TA-500-8-1-3l 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Igloolik/Hall Beach: NAC18/18/85/86/048/55ee-55rr
1959-1969; Anders 1965; Bissett 1868a.]

Detailed demographic data about characteristics of people in individual east Arctic communities and areas are lacking in the literature. Many studies have been conducted about individual settlements and regions but year to year differences in the 1960s about, for example, population growth rates, were rarely recorded. This literature includes, but is not limited to, studies on Frobisher Bay (Honigmann and Konigmann 1965; MacBain 1970), Igloolik (Damas 1963; Hughes 1969; Beaubier, Bradley, and Vestey 1970; Vestey 1973; McAlpine and Simpson 1976), Pond Inlet (Treude 1977), and Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (Roberts 1977).

Other studies, however, do contain accounts of yearly changes in demographic characteristics such as for Lake Harbour (Graburn 1963) and the Area Economic Surveys about the Igloolik Area (Anders 1965), Pangnirtung, Broughton Island, and Clyde River (Anders 1967), Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset (Higgins 1968), Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (Bissett 1968a), Resolute (Bissett 1968b), and Frobisher Bay (MacBain Meldrum 1975). In addition, analyses have been conducted about demographic trends and characteristics for Inuit as a whole, primarily by Choinière and Robitaille (1983, 1985) and Robitaille and Choinière (1985). Overall demographic characteristics of the NWT are also listed in Reports on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories published by the Northern Health Service (Northern Health Service 1962-1968).

When figures presented in these various sources and the RCMP reports are analyzed on an individual community basis, however, it becomes clear that there are some inconsistencies in the numbers. For

example, the Inuit population of Frobisher Bay in 1961 was listed as 900 by the RCMP (NAC18/55i 1962), 761 by Honigmann and Honigmann (1965) (who obtained the figure from the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources), and 841 by Census Canada (Canada 1962).

Graburn (1963) mentioned within the same report on Lake Harbour that the area population in June 1959 was 126 (page 3) while on page 9 the population was listed as 150 for the 1958-59 year. It is not stated exactly when during the year the population was 150 or whether it was an estimate over the year, but a likely assumption would be that it meant at the end of the 1958-59 year, or around June 1959. Thus, there is a discrepancy of 24 people, or 16%, for the same year within the same report.

Similarly, in the Area Economic Survey for Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay (Bissett 1968a:64), the Inuit population in Pond Inlet settlement was listed as eleven families and 19.62% of the total area Inuit population. The camp population was given as 192 and the total area population, extrapolated from family unit size and number of families, was 269. This would mean that 77 Inuit lived in Pond Inlet settlement. But 19.62% of the total population of 269 is 52.8, which is different from 77. What is interesting, though, is that 77 is 28.62% of 269. The exact figure of .62 seems more than co-incidental, which may indicate that the number of 19.62% is a misprint. Regardless, this illustrates that published statistics may need to be scrutinized before being interpreted.

It cannot be assumed that numbers used in this analysis are absolutely accurate. Most figures of population numbers for individual communities in various sources, though, are similar. For example, the Area Economic Survey for Clyde River (Anders 1967) lists exactly the same numbers for population of the area for each year from 1958-1966 as reported by the RCMP. Indeed, many researchers have used the RCMP reports as sources of information (Weissling 1991). If there are

discrepancies, they are usually within 10% of each other. It is therefore assumed that the RCMP reports are valid sources of demographic information.

Population numbers listed in this chapter are based on the RCMP reports listed in the Note at the beginning of Section 8.1 when these numbers are within 10% of those reported in other sources. If there is greater than a 10% discrepancy, the mean of all sources is used as it is difficult to prove that one source is more reliable than others. If only one source of information lists numbers, only that number is used, whatever source that may be.

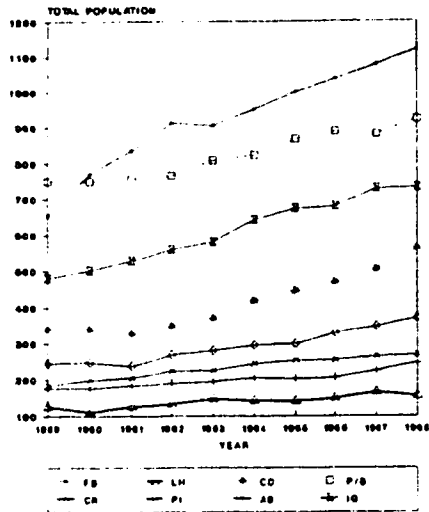
8.1.1 Population Change.

Population in the eastern Canadian Arctic would be expected to have steadily increased during the 1950s and 1960s as the region progressed towards development and followed patterns in the demographic transition theory which state that societies in early development experience high birth rates and low death rates (Newman and Matzke 1984). As illustrated in Figure 8.1.1a, total population among areas of the eastern Arctic did steadily increase. (Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay are not included as only eight settlements could be produced on the graphics package used for this presentation. The communities are very small, anyway, and were not areas of traditional Inuit settlement.)

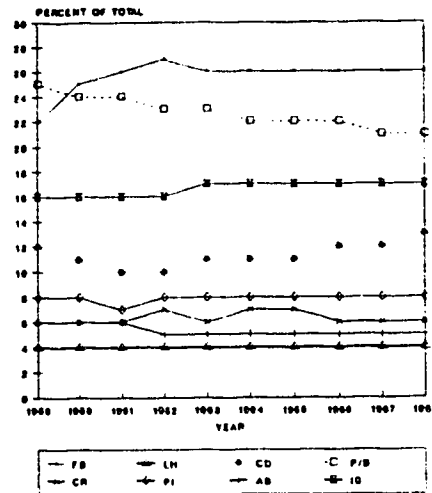
Only population of the decade 1959-1968 is analyzed because there are only data for a few areas in a very few years before 1959. The year 1968 is the final year used because it is the year that essentially all Inuit were firmly within market economies and living in permanent settlements.

Frobisher Bay especially had steady increases in population except for 1962-63. From 1959 to 1962, Frobisher Bay and Igloolik were the only areas exhibiting a steady rise in population. All other areas had relatively stable population numbers although Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset,

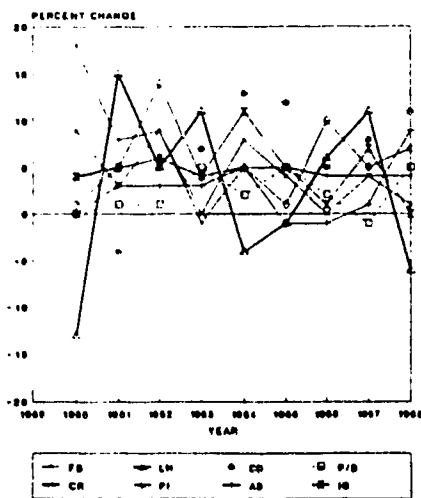
A. POPULATION SIZE IN EAST ARCTIC



B. PROPORTION OF AREAS TO TOTAL INUIT POPULATION IN EAST ARCTIC



C. INUIT POPULATION CHANGE IN EAST ARCTIC (% CHANGE)



Frobisher Bay (FB)
 Lake Harbour (LH)
 Cape Dorset (CD)
 Pangnirtung/
 Broughton Island (P/B)
 Clyde River (CR)
 Pond Inlet (PI)
 Arctic Bay (AB)
 Igloodik/Hall Beach (IG)

(Exc. Gries Flord and Resolute Bay.)

Figure 8.1.1: Population Characteristics of Inuit.
 Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

and Pond Inlet slightly decreased in population over one year but not over all years from 1959-1962. From 1962 to 1968, all areas increased in population with increases in Frobisher Bay, Pangnirtung/Broughton Island, Igloolik, and Cape Dorset the most marked.

When area population as a proportion of total population is viewed, however, these increases do not reflect significant changes in overall population characteristics (Figure 8.1.1b). Only Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung/Broughton Island experienced overall changes during 1959-68. While Frobisher Bay increased from 22% of total population in 1959 to 27% in 1962, it stabilized at 26% from 1963 to 1968. Pangnirtung/Broughton Island, meanwhile, dropped from the highest proportion of total population at 25% in 1959 to second highest at 21% in 1968. All other areas had very little variability in terms of proportion to total population over the 10 year period.

Changes in population within separate areas varied widely, however. Percent changes in area population ranged from a loss of 13% at Lake Harbour between 1959 and 1960 to a gain of 18% for Frobisher Bay during the same years (Figure 8.1.1c). This is misleading, however, considering that a 13% loss in population at Lake Harbour represented only 16 people as the area only had a total population of 126 in 1959. The most important information conveyed in Figure 8.1.1 is that population changes were not consistent between years in specific areas. Figure 8.1.2 and 8.1.3 illustrates the size of settlements at a regional level in 1959 and 1968.

Figure 8.1.4 represents total population and yearly percent changes to total population of the region. While the total population steadily increased during 1959-1968, the rate of increase varied between 3% and 6% per year. As a point of comparison, the northern Baffin region as discussed in Chapter 4 had a total population of 567 in 1942. In 1968 the same areas had 1617 Inuit inhabitants, an increase of almost 300%, or 11% a year.

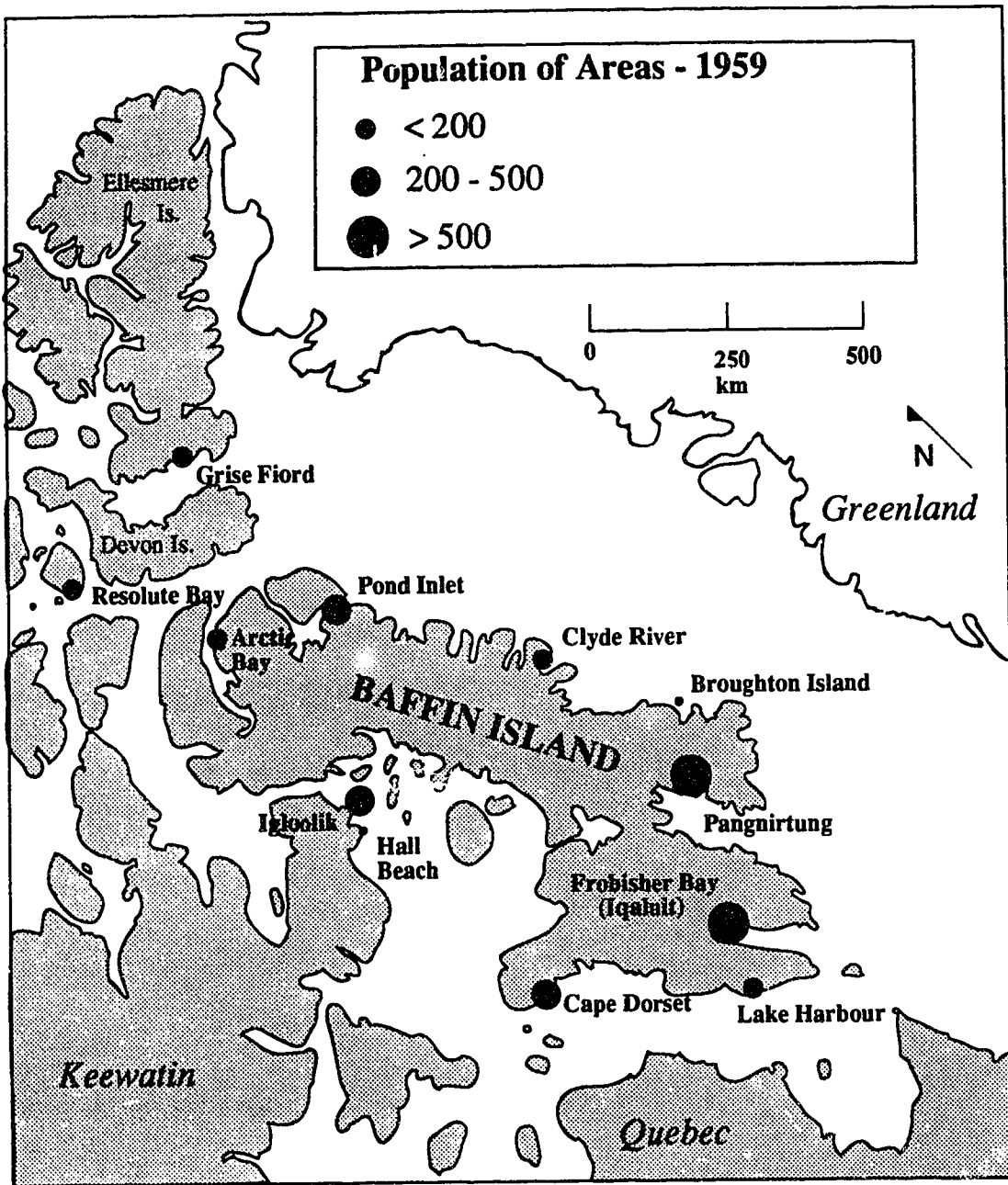


Figure 8.1.2: Population size at a regional level, 1959.
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

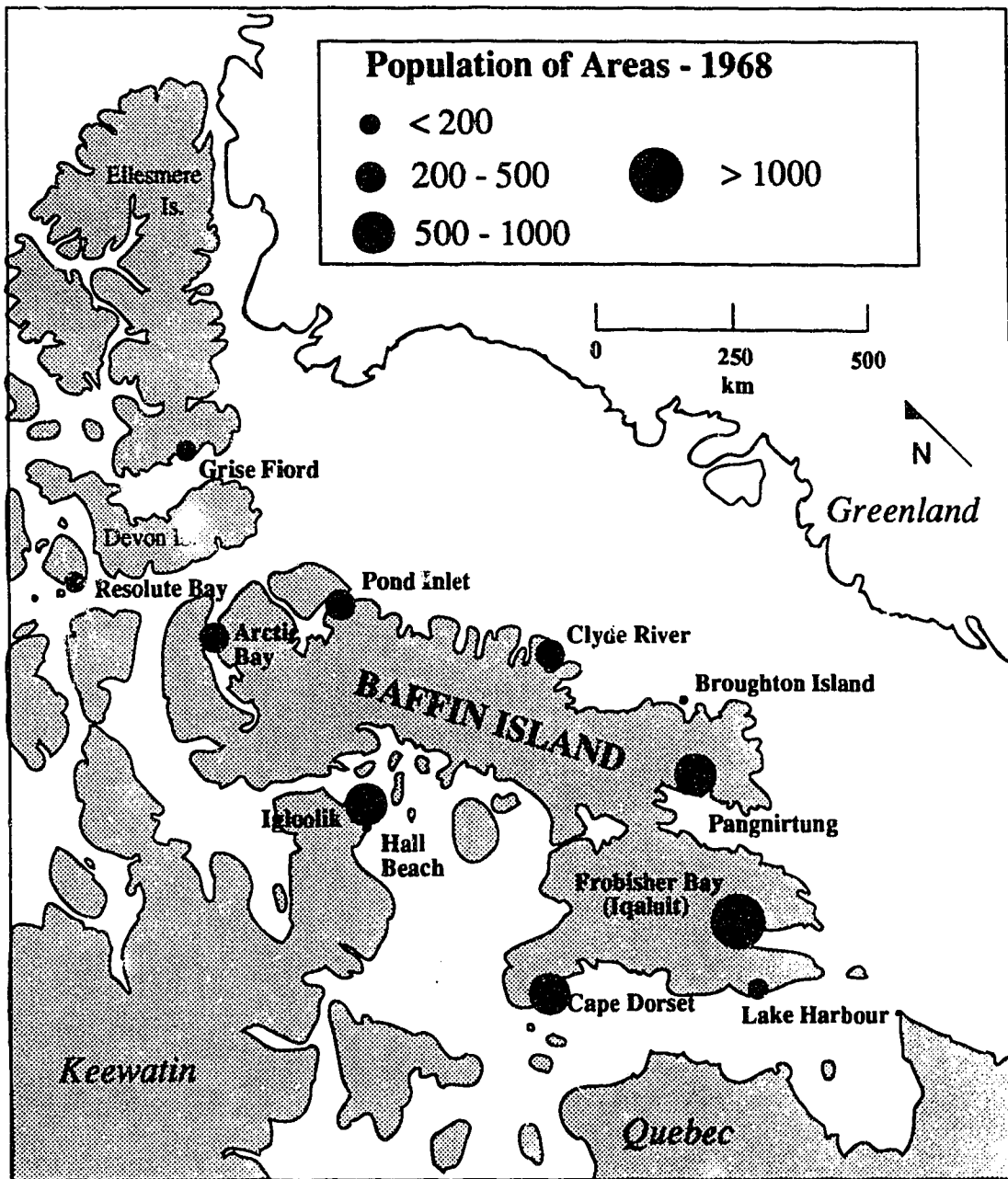


Figure 8.1.3: Population size at a regional level, 1968.
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

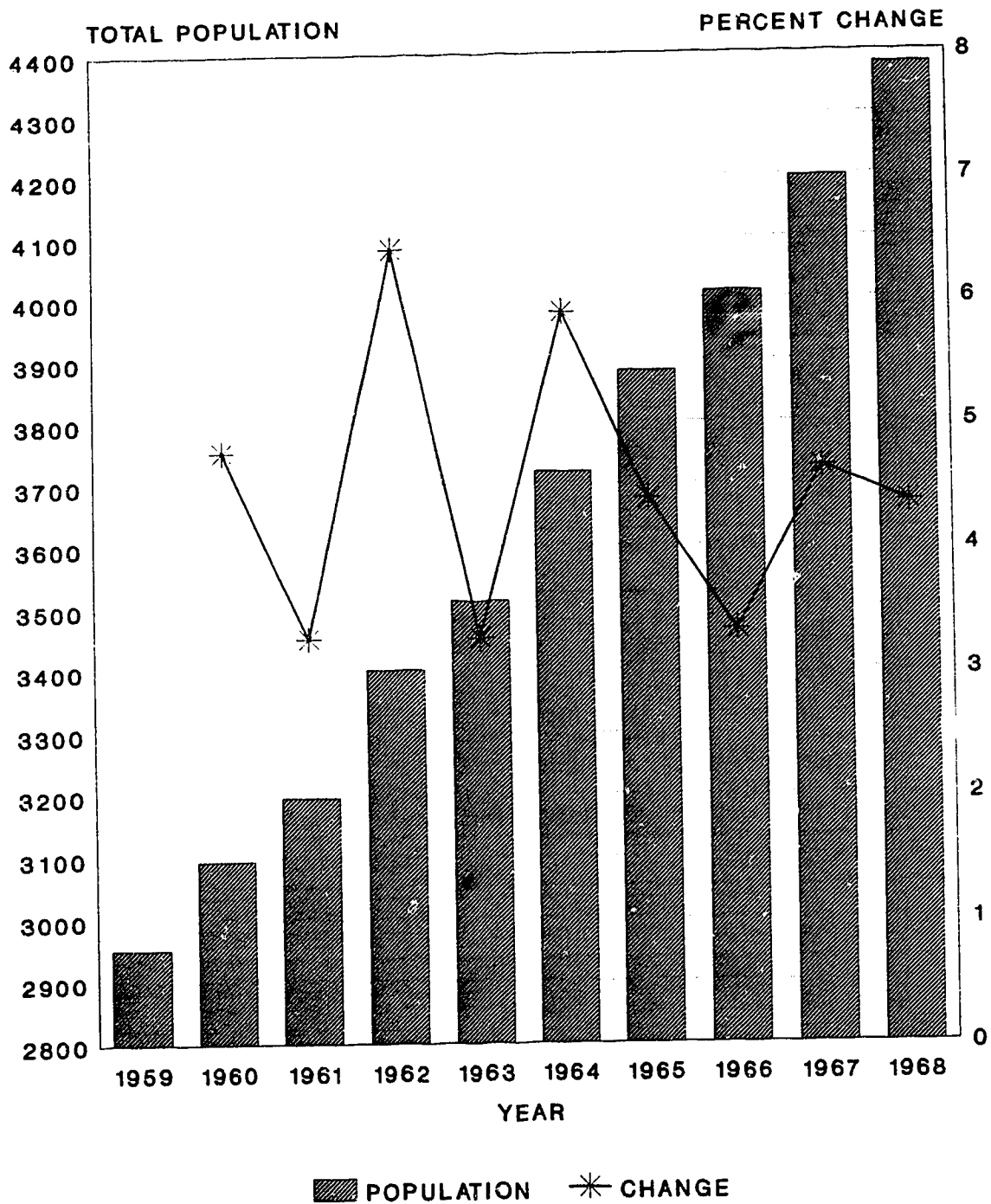


Figure 8.1.4: Population and Change. (Exc. Resolute and Grise Fiord.)
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

Only general population trends can be identified from analysis of data from the sources listed at the beginning of Section 8.1. (Perhaps this is why there is a dearth of literature which presents demographic information about specific east Arctic areas on a comparative, regional scale). One characteristic suggested by available data is that, except for Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung/Broughton Island, population increases can be attributed primarily to high numbers of births, which is discussed below.

Frobisher Bay was the destination of many migrants throughout the 1950s and early 1960s (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965), although after 1963, births were a more significant contributor (MacBain Meldrum 1975). Indeed, if population growth was more conditional on migration than on birth rates, the proportion of Frobisher Bay to total population would have continually increased as those of outlying areas steadily decreased. The only place where this was the case was Pangnirtung/Broughton Island which declined in proportion to total population over 1959-1968. It would be expected that while this area declined, the proportion of Frobisher Bay would have increased. This was the case until 1962. When analyzed over the ten year period, however, two observations may be made which dispute this expectation.

While Frobisher Bay did greatly increase in population from 1959-1962, Pangnirtung/Broughton Island experienced only a steady or slightly increased population. If migration were the most influential demographic force in these areas, Pangnirtung/Broughton Island would have decreased in population.

From 1962-1968, both Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung/Broughton Island increased in population but the latter area decreased in proportion to total regional population. Frobisher Bay's proportion, however, was absolutely steady during those years. If large numbers of migrants were the primary factors increasing population, again, Frobisher Bay's proportion would have increased at the expense of

Pangnirtung/Broughton Island's.

The implications of all data conveyed in this section is that while migration may have contributed to increases in certain areas, specifically Frobisher Bay, high birth rates in all areas were the major cause of increases in total population of the region. Perhaps this is a statement of the obvious but it does indicate a contradiction to what is assumed in the theoretical literature: that as development occurs, increased migration from rural, less-modern areas to more urban, developed areas will alter population structures of those areas, with the urban area increasing its proportion and rural areas exhibiting a decrease (Newman and Matzke 1984).

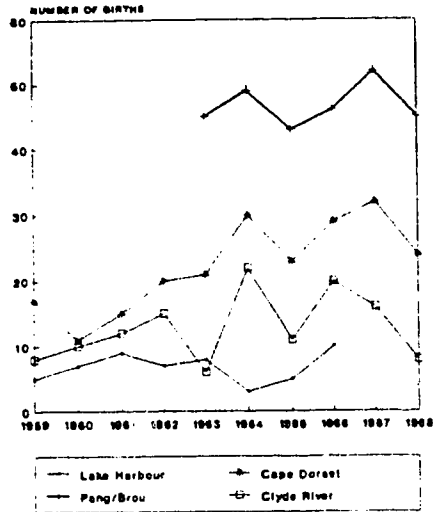
In the east Arctic, Frobisher Bay, the most urban and developed of regional communities, did not have enough in-migration by 1968 to increase its proportion of population to total population and furthermore did not produce a corresponding decrease in proportions of population in outlying areas.

Concerning births and deaths, the most complete listings for each year covered in this analysis from RCMP patrol reports or Area Economic Surveys are from Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset, Pangnirtung/Broughton Island, and Clyde River (Figure 8.1.5). These still do not cover all years from 1959-1968. Some interpretation of these data can be made, however. (The data in Figure 8.1.5 are similar, if not exactly the same as those from reports of the Northern Health Service.)

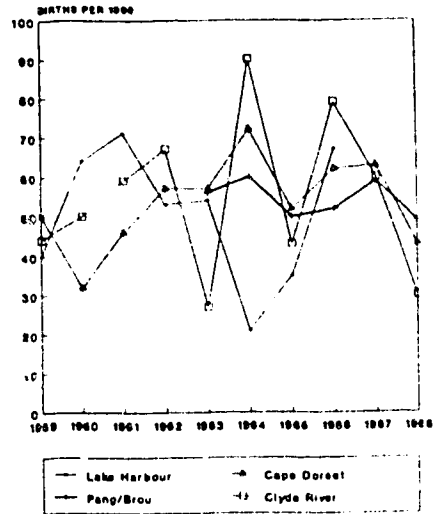
From 1959-1966 the population of Lake Harbour increased by 23. Births totalled 54 and deaths 18, leaving a net gain of 36. As Lake Harbour residents frequently migrated to Frobisher Bay (Graburn 1963), the 13 person discrepancy could easily be attributed to out-migration.

In Cape Dorset, the population increased during 1959-1968 by 223 people. There were 222 births and 54 deaths, leaving a net gain of only 168. RCMP reports, however, indicate that in-migration from Québec was common, including 37 people in 1967-1968. If these 37 people are added

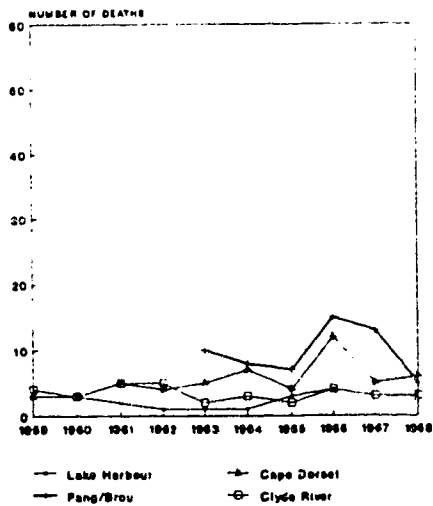
A. BIRTHS IN AREAS



B. CRUDE BIRTH RATES OF AREAS



C. DEATHS IN AREAS



D. CRUDE DEATH RATES OF AREAS

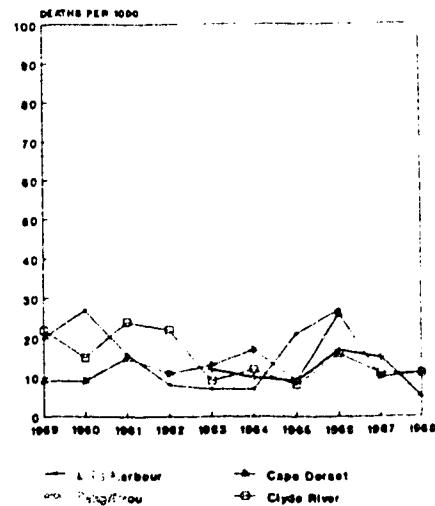


Figure 8.1.5: Births and Deaths. (Available data only.)
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

to the net gain from births and deaths, the overall gain would be 205, leaving 18 people unaccounted for. These 18 people could have been in-migrants in other years because if there were not many people moving in, the RCMP simply reported that there was in-migration without stating how many people that included. Regardless, though, the greatest contribution by far to population increase in Cape Dorset was by births.

Data about Pangnirtung/Broughton Island are complete only from 1963 to 1968. The overall population increased by 115 during this period with 280 births and 58 deaths. Subtracting deaths from births leaves a net gain of 222, over 100 more than the overall population increase. Again, however, many people migrated from Pangnirtung/Broughton Island to Frobisher Bay (MacBain Meldrum 1975). Indeed, unlike other areas, the proportion of Pangnirtung/Broughton Island area to total regional population decreased during this time. While the migration of this many people would decrease the proportion of Pangnirtung/Broughton Island, the corresponding increase in population of Frobisher Bay would not affect its proportion to total population as Frobisher Bay had a higher population to begin with. Regardless of the amount of outmigration, Pangnirtung/Broughton Island still had substantial natural increase.

From 1959-1968, Clyde River increased by 85 people. Births totalled 128 and deaths, 34, for a net gain of 94. Again, 9 people could easily have migrated out of the area or have been missed by census takers.

8.1.2 Birth Rates

As with percent population change in individual areas, birth rates varied widely in the four areas with available data. From a low of 21 births per 1000 at Lake Harbour in 1964 to a high of 90 births per 1000 at Clyde River, also in 1964, birth rates ranged anywhere between these extremes (Figure 8.1.5b). There is no consistency or steady trend

exhibited in any area, although Pangnirtung/Broughton Island had consistent rates ranging from 49-60 per 1000 during 1963-1968.

Of course, these figures can be misleading. Because age breakdowns were not consistently recorded, fertility rates cannot be determined. When dealing with such small populations even one birth will cause the birth rate to jump. For example, the nine births in Lake Harbour during 1961 translates to 71 births per 1000 as Lake Harbour only had an estimated population of 127.

Though there is great variability of birth rates within each area, overall, there is no significant difference between areas (Table 8.1.1). Indeed, an Analysis of Variance test of birth rates per area yields an F statistic of .15, far lower than what would indicate the means being statistically different. The overall mean from all years of available data was 53.25 births per 1000. For comparison, the birth rate for Canada as a whole in 1961 was approximately 25 while for all Inuit in the NWT it was 60 (Robitaille and Choinière 1985). In the areas with available data, the mean birth rate for 1961 was 58 per 1000, close to

Table 8.1.1: Birth Rates (per 1000) in areas with complete data.

YEAR	LAKE HAR.	CAPE DOR.	PANG/BRO	CLY.RIV.
1959	40	50	--	59
1960	64	32	--	50
1961	71	46	--	57
1962	53	57	--	67
1963	54	57	56	27
1964	21	72	60	90
1965	35	52	50	43
1966	67	62	52	79
1967	--	63	59	60
1968	--	43	49	30
MEAN	50.6	53.4	54.3	54.7

(Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

the reported rate for all Inuit in the NWT. Official government reports also substantiate these findings. The births rates (live births per 1000) for Baffin Region Inuit were 59 in 1960, 55 in 1961, 63 in 1962, 60 in 1967, and 56 in 1968 (Northern Health Service 1963, 1968). (Other years were not specified by region in reports for other years.) Thus, birth rates from various sources were all in similar ranges, which from a global perspective were very high. For example, the highest birth rates during 1960 in other parts of the world were in Ghana, Africa at 56 per 1000, Venezuela, South America at 50 per 1000, and Brunei, Asia at 49 per 1000 (United Nations 1961).

6.1.3 Camp to Settlement Migration

Information contained in RCMP reports was used to present locations of hunting camps in 1958 and 1968 (Figures 8.1.6 and 8.1.7). The maps show an almost complete loss of permanent hunting camps in the east Arctic by 1968. If specific locations of camps were mentioned in the RCMP reports they are indicated on the maps, if not, the general areas of their locations are marked.

In 1958, permanent hunting camps were located along most of the coastline of eastern and southern Baffin Island. The camps were dispersed throughout areas with established settlements acting as service centres having RCMP and HBC posts. Most of these were areas which had historical Inuit habitation although camps around Broughton Island were in the main established because of the presence of DEW Line sites and the accompanying perceived or real employment opportunities. By 1968, only a few camps remained. These, too, would soon disappear. For all practical purposes, 1968 marked the complete transition of Inuit habitation from hunting camp to permanent, centralized settlement.

Some RCMP reports list year to year distributions of camp and settlement populations. These are illustrated by pie diagrams in Figure 8.1.8. Even though data from all possible years and areas are

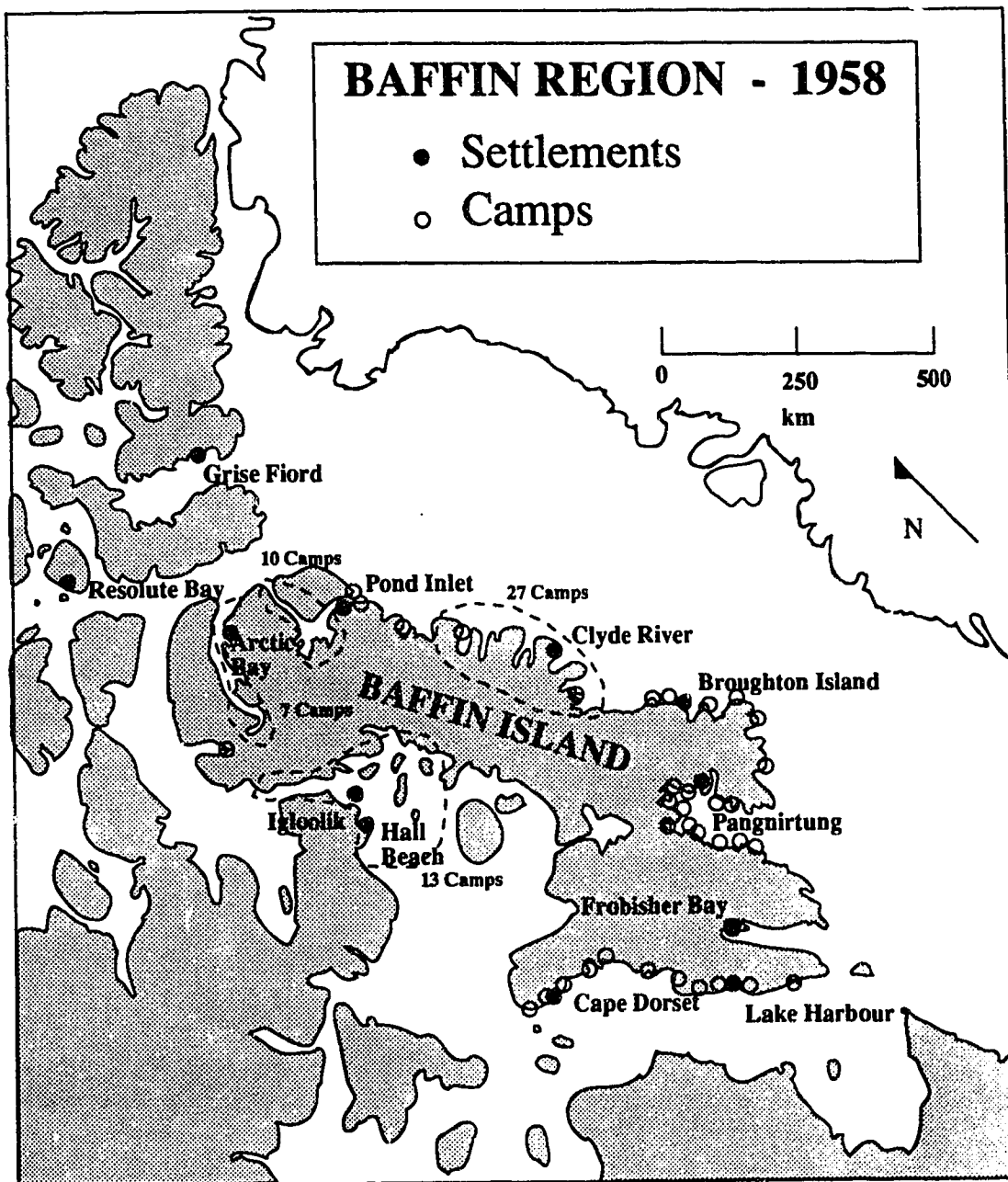


Figure 8.1.6: Settlements and Camps, 1958.
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

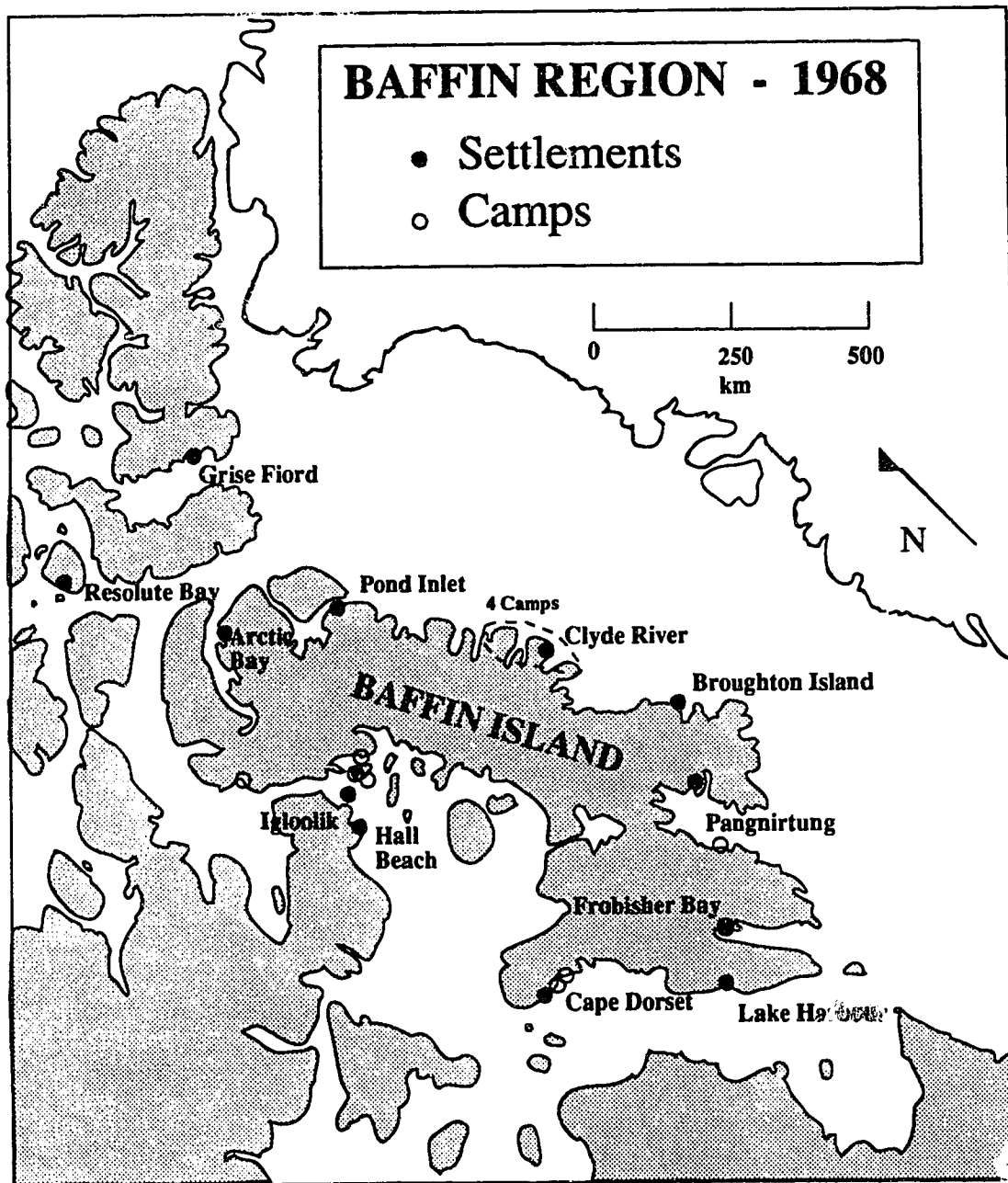


Figure 8.1.7: Settlements & Camps, 1968.
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

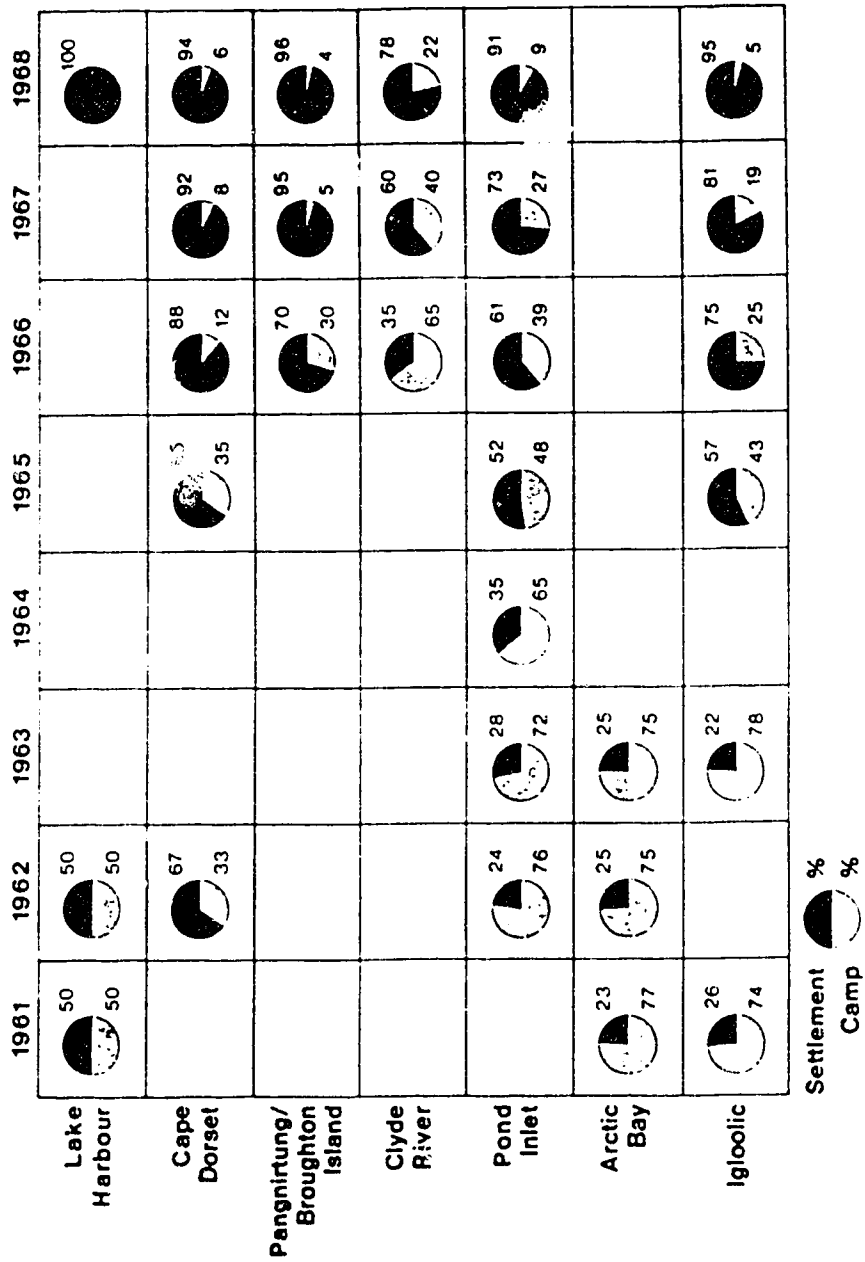


Figure 8.1.8: Proportions of camp and settlement population.
 (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

Table 8.1.2: Proportion of population residing in settlement.

Area	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
LH	50%	50%						100%
CD		67%			65%	88%	92%	94%
P/B						70%	95%	96%
CR						35%	60%	78%
PI		24%	28%	35%	62%	61%	73%	91%
AB	23%	25%	25%					
IG	26%	22%			57%	75%	81%	95%

LH= Lake Harbour CD= Cape Dorset P/B= Pagnirtung/Broughton Island
 CR= Clyde River PI= Pond Inlet AB= Arctic Bay IG= Igloolik

(Source: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.1.)

unavailable, it is still clear that there was a steady decrease in proportion of camp population to settlement population from 1959-1968. The only area with a relatively substantial camp population left in 1968 was Clyde River with 58 Inuit living in permanent camps. All other areas by that year had over 90% of inhabitants living in settlements, including Frobisher Bay, Grise Fiord, and Resolute Bay with 100% settlement dwellers. This is also illustrated in Table 8.1.2.

8.1.4 Summary

Overall, during 1959-1968, the east Arctic region was characterized by high birth rates, increased population, and a steady migration from camp to settlement. Except for increases to Frobisher Bay and decreases to Pagnirtung/Broughton Island prior to 1962, overall proportions of individual areas to total population remained relatively constant. This indicates that, indeed, high birth rates were the chief contributor to increased population growth. Frobisher Bay after 1962 was not a primary destination of migrants. Migration occurred between areas lower on the hierarchy of settlements. Specifically, migration occurred from camps to small communities, albeit those which possessed development inputs such as the HBC, RCMP, housing, and education and

medical facilities.

Another concern when discussing quantifiable changes which occurred in the east Arctic is the amount of material goods and wealth which the Inuit theoretically should have attained as they made the transition into a market economy.

8.2 Material Possessions and Income.

[Note: Data in Section 8.2 are derived from the following sources:
 Frobisher Bay: NAC18/55h-55o 1959-1968; MacBain Meldrum 1975.
 Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset: NAC18/55ff-55vv 1959-1968; Higgins 1968.
 Pangnirtung/Broughton Island: NAC18/85/86/048/55j-55y 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Clyde River: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f -TA-500-8-1-3l 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Igloolik/Hall Beach: NAC18/18/85/86/048/55ee-55rr 1959-1969; Anders 1965; Bissett 1868a.
 Resolute: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g -TA-500-8-1-14p 1959-1969; Bissett 1968b.
 Grise Fiord: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5f -TA-500-8-1-5p 1959-1969]

8.2.1 Overview

Economic characteristics of the Inuit also illustrate the development of the region. Overall development of the area, theoretically, should have brought the Inuit benefits which improved their lives. Todaro (1981:72) identifies three objectives of development which all societies must possess in order to achieve this better life. They are:

1. To increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods.
2. To raise levels of living, including higher incomes.
3. To expand the range of economic and social choice to individuals.

Analysis follows concerning whether these objectives were met in Arctic Canada.

In communities within the Inuit domain, especially prior to the 1970s, most economic and social well-being centred on the ability to hunt and the subsequent income generated from trade of fur and skins. Measures of development, then, were usually associated with the

harvesting of renewable animal resources. Material goods, especially the snowmobile, enhanced the ability of an Inuk to travel to hunting grounds. This, in turn, increased his chances of obtaining more income from the sale of furs and skins and also provided him with food. Even the right to adequate shelter, a basic goal of development, was tied to obtaining material goods used in the pursuit of hunting.

Because snowmobiles enabled the hunter to travel faster to far-off hunting grounds, he could live in more centralized communities which had amenities such as health and education facilities and commercial establishments. As one became more sedentary, a permanent structure was needed in which to live. This, along with the attraction of living in a southern style house and the government's desire to provide for the welfare of their wards (as cheaply as possible), meant that pre-fabricated houses were a primary component of development in the Arctic. For this analysis, two measures are used to indicate development and the transition from the more 'traditional' to more 'modern' era. They are the presence of houses and snowmobiles in the community.

Income sources cannot be ignored when measuring development as, theoretically, increased opportunities for wage employment in modern sectors is a goal of development. Income for Inuit, not including imputed income from country food obtained directly from hunting, was generated from three primary sources in the east Arctic. The sale of furs and skins was obviously based on activities directly related to traditional hunting. Related to this was carving and handicraft production. This industry, though, was created for the purpose of marketing products outside the Arctic and thus can be included with the second type of income source, wages.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, working for government agencies, missionaries, the HBC, or other entities became increasingly important sources of income. Most wages were paid for seasonal work such as in construction of government buildings or unloading ships during the

summer. Permanent employment was available, however.

A final source of income was welfare, Family Allowances, and other government aid. As Canadians, the Inuit were entitled to these types of support. Income from direct subsidies from the government is termed government aid in this discussion.

As development of the Arctic progressed and the Inuit became a more integral part of the Canadian economy, ideally it would be expected that income from fur sales and wages would increase while that from government aid would decrease. This would mean that Inuit were retaining their traditional economy while also gaining the benefits of the market, producing a sort of 'happy medium'. If income was inadequate from wages, money could be raised from fur or skins. Moreover, if the Inuit were completely transformed into a market economy, traditional sources of income would be expected to decline while those from wages would increase. Regardless, in an ideal situation, government aid should decrease.

As with most other information about individual Arctic communities, data are incomplete for specific indicators needed in this analysis. The RCMP reports and Area Economic Surveys provide very specific information for some communities in certain years but do not consistently list similar data over all years and all communities. Other studies include needed information but often are very site specific to individual camps or deal only with a specific topic. Their data are often too specific to use for comparisons of individual communities on a regional context. Therefore, data presented and analyzed in this section are not complete over the time frame in question. But, like the demographic data, are complete enough to make conjectures. Also, only the years 1959-1968 are analyzed as data prior to 1959 are too incomplete to incorporate.

There are several other problems when discussing snowmobiles and houses as indicators of development. These are associated with the

question about how many people used these goods. Snowmobiles may be shared by several hunters. Just because a community did not have as many snowmobiles as another comparably sized settlement did not mean that fewer hunters benefited from the machine.

Even more uncertainties are raised concerning dwellings. Pre-fabricated one-room homes were the norm in Arctic communities in the early 1950s. By 1968, however, many houses were larger, three-bedroom structures. Obviously more people could live in these homes than the one-bedroom 'matchboxes'. If data were converted, for example, to number of homes per 1000 inhabitants, there could be a higher rate when more numerous one-bedroom homes existed than later in the 1960s when fewer three-bedroom homes held just as many or more people.

Furthermore, there are no listings of how many people actually lived in each dwelling. Compilation of the amount of material goods, then, can only be taken at face value. The effects which the goods had cannot be inferred merely by listing numbers but, in general, an increase in material goods and incomes would indicate an increase in development ties to a more modern, market economy.

8.2.2 Housing

According to RCMP reports, Frobisher Bay had a total of 78 houses in 1961. No further totals were listed for the 1960s although it was reported that 29 new homes were built in 1966 and 34 in 1967. Lake Harbour did not receive pre-fabricated houses until 1962 when four one-bedroom homes arrived on the sealift. Five more were added in 1963 and an unspecified amount were erected each year until 1966. During 1967 and 1968, 10 and 12 three-bedroom homes were erected, respectively.

A one-bedroom house was built in Cape Dorset in 1959 and a total of six existed by the end of 1960. Housing numbers increased each year with a total of 30 in 1963 and 50 in 1965. By the end of 1966 there were 67 homes, 25 being new three-bedrooms. An additional 24 three-

bedroom homes were added in 1967 with almost all one-bedrooms being abandoned. In 1968 no new homes were erected in Cape Dorset.

Little information is contained in accounts of Pangnirtung/Broughton Island until 1964 when 13 houses were reported as being in the communities. Homes were added at Pangnirtung in 1965 bringing the total there to 15 while 21 existed in Broughton Island. Three-bedroom homes were erected during the next two years and at the end of 1967, Pangnirtung had 73 homes, 49 of which were three-bedrooms and Broughton Island had 50 homes, with an unspecified number of three-bedroom dwellings.

The first reports about housing in Clyde River were in 1962 when 4 homes were added to the community. Houses were erected each year. In 1966 they totalled 16 and by 1968 there were 24. Pond Inlet only had one Inuit pre-fabricated house in 1960. Large increases in housing occurred in 1964 when 14 were added and 1966 when 20 were erected. By the end of 1968, 46 Inuit homes had been built in the community.

The only mention of housing in Arctic Bay was in 1966, 1967, and 1968 when 11, 7, and 2 houses were added, respectively. Igloolik and Hall Beach possessed a total of 42 Inuit homes in 1965, 80 in 1966, 101 in 1967, and 105 in 1968. Grise Fiord had 10 one-bedroom homes in 1961, and a total of 14 homes in 1967. Some of these were three-bedrooms, however, so even though there was not a large increase, actual living space most likely rose. The only information about Resolute Bay was that there were four additional homes in 1968, bringing the total to 19.

6.2.3 Snowmobiles

Perhaps no other single item since the rifle generated more profound changes on Inuit hunting behaviour than the snowmobile, or skidoo as it is generically called. Put into commercial production by its inventor, Joseph Armand Bombardier, in 1960, the one-person snow vehicle soon became a highly desired machine in the circumpolar Arctic (Pelto

1973).

The cost of the machine, plus fuel and maintenance, made the snowmobile an expensive possession. This had a profound effect by increasing the need for adequate income to purchase and maintain the equipment. In addition, snowmobiles often had adverse effects on Inuit culture and the physical and biological environment (Osburn Jr. 1974). Nonetheless, snowmobiles became an integral part of Inuit life and serve as indicators of development and contact with southern society.

Information about the numbers of snowmobiles present in east Arctic communities are more complete in the RCMP records than data about housing. The numbers of snowmobiles as mentioned by the RCMP are listed in Table 8.2.1. Rates of snowmobiles per 1000 residents were computed for standardization purposes so that comparisons between communities could be made.

As expected, the numbers of snowmobiles steadily increased in all communities except for a slight decrease at Resolute Bay between 1965 and 1966. By 1968, all communities where data were available had rates of over 100 snowmobiles per 1000 people except Clyde River and Arctic Bay (and most likely Igloolik). Perhaps not coincidentally, these communities also had a relatively high proportion of Inuit still living in hunting camps. Conversely, most settlements had decreasing percent increases in number of snowmobiles over the years with available data. The exceptions were Arctic Bay and Igloolik/Hall Beach, communities with a relatively high percentage of camp population later in the 1960s.

Although data are not complete enough to make valid conclusions, one speculation may be proposed. In general, those communities more on the periphery of contact with southern transportation, communication, and social sectors had lower rates of snowmobiles but higher percentage increases in the number of snowmobiles later in the 1960s. Certainly more study would have to be conducted to verify this hypothesis.

Table 8.2.1: Snowmobile use in Eastern Arctic.

AREA	YEAR	#	RATE	CHANGE
FROBISHER BAY	1965	50	50/1000	--
LAKE HARBOUR	1964	7	50/1000	--
	1965	12	85/1000	71%
	1966	20	134/1000	67%
	1967	26	156/1000	30%
CAPE DORSET	1967	46	91/1000	--
	1968	61	108/1000	33%
PANG/BROU	1964	14	17/1000	--
	1965	32	37/1000	129%
	1966	80	90/1000	150%
	1967	100	113/1000	25%
	1968	115	125/1000	15%
CLYDE RIVER	1965	6	24/1000	--
	1968	21	78/1000	--
POND INLET	1967	28	80/1000	--
	1968	38	102/1000	36%
ARCTIC BAY	1967	10	44/1000	--
	1968	22	89/1000	120%
IGLOO/HALL	1966	23	34/1000	--
	1967	47	64/1000	104%
RESOLUTE BAY	1964	11	92/1000	--
	1965	19	153/1000	73%
	1966	15	110/1000	-21%
GRISE FIORD	1966	3	35/1000	--
	1967	12	134/1000	283%
	1968	16	182/1000	36%

(Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.2.)

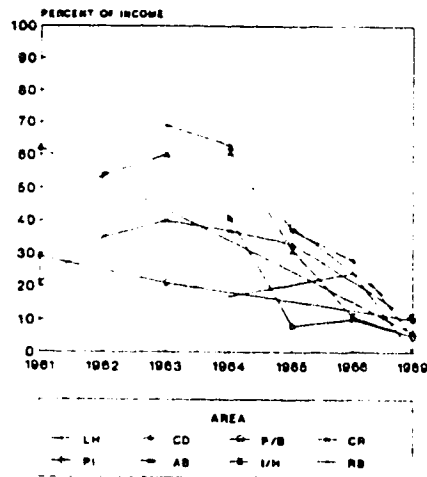
8.2.4 Income

Income in the east Canadian Arctic from the three major sources, fur, wages/handicrafts, and government aid, was a major focus of the Area Economic Surveys conducted in the 1960s. While the surveys used RCMP reports for some of their information, the Area Economic Surveys used other sources as well and give more complete data, albeit with inconsistencies. What is new in this analysis is that nothing has been found in the literature which compares incomes of settlements on a regional level. Discussion of income is not, therefore, merely repeating what has already been declared.

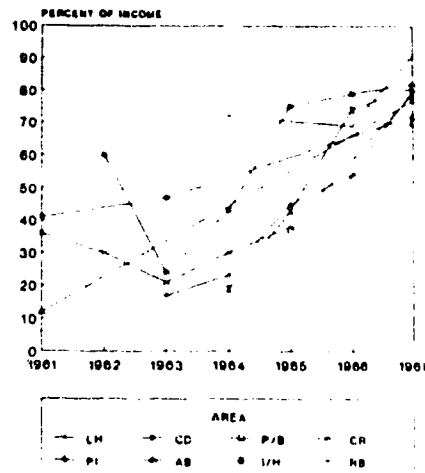
Even though income data for all years in all communities are not recorded, trends may be plotted using information from the RCMP reports and Area Economic Surveys listed in the Note at the beginning of Section 8.2 and, for 1969, a DIAND publication by Kuo (1973). The proportions of various sources of income to total income in given areas are displayed in Figure 8.2.1. It is obvious that throughout the 1960s, the proportion of income from furs and skins decreased, especially after 1964 (Figure 8.2.1a). Concurrently, the proportion of income from wages increased. Indeed, there is almost a perfect ($r=-.93$) negative correlation between the two variables. Meanwhile, government aid constituted a relatively stable proportion of income after 1964, falling by 1969 to below 20% in all communities. In the early 1960s, however, it was quite high in some places. For example, government aid was the largest source of income at Clyde River in 1961.

Overall, these income data illustrate the declining importance of traditional sources of income and the increasing reliance on wages. What is surprising is that even though government aid was stable or decreasing as a proportion of income during the 1960s, in 1969 it accounted for more income than fur and skins in all communities. This indicates that rather than being able to rely on traditional economic ventures if wages were not adequate, government aid became the

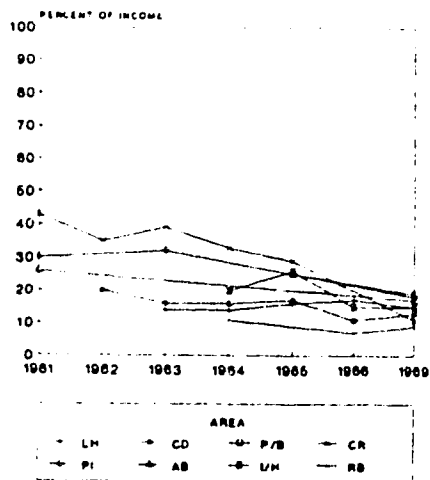
A. PROPORTION OF FUR AND SKINS AS SOURCES OF INCOME



B. PROPORTION OF WAGES AS SOURCES OF INCOME



C. PROPORTION OF GOVERNMENT AID AS SOURCE OF INCOME



Lake Harbour (LH)
 Cape Dorset (CD)
 Pangnirtung/
 Broughton Island (P/B)
 Clyde River (CR)
 Pond Inlet (PI)
 Arctic Bay (AB)
 Igloodik/Hall Beach (I/B)
 Resolute Bay (RB)

Figure 8.2.1: Income Sources in the East Arctic. (Available data only). (Sources: Please see Note at beginning of Section 8.2.)

alternative to making a living. Of course, other factors were involved such as a decline in market value of fur and skins, but even a 'top-down' strategist would not view this situation as ideal.

Without considering these and other variables, the changes in income sources during the 1960s are clear illustrations of the transition into a market economy. By 1968, almost all Inuit were established in permanent communities and firmly dependent on a monetary system to buy the goods and services they desired. As Figure 8.2.1b shows, in 1969 income in all communities was at least 70% derived from wages.

Development thus appears to have led to opportunities for Inuit employment in modern sectors. Concurrently, however, hunting and trapping became less important, a clear signal that traditional sources of economic and perhaps cultural power were being diminished.

Overall, though, when trends of the early 1960s, including government aid as income (Figure 8.2.1c), are analyzed and compared to those of the late 1960s, it becomes further apparent that income sources reflected development of the area. Prior to 1964, there was wide variation between areas in the proportion of different sources of income. In 1963, fur and skin income proportions ranged from 21% in Pond Inlet to 69% in Lake Harbour. Proportions of wages ranged from 17% in Lake Harbour to 47% at Pond Inlet while government aid ranged from 14% of all income in Lake Harbour to 39% in Clyde River. (Note that Lake Harbour, with the highest proportion of income from fur and skins also had the least amount of government aid).

In 1969, the ranges in proportions were much smaller. For fur and skins, proportions ranged from 0 in Resolute Bay to only 11% in Pangnirtung/Broughton Island. Proportions of wages were between 70% in Pangnirtung/Broughton Island to 91% in Resolute Bay, and for government aid, proportions ranged from 9% in Resolute Bay to 19% in Pangnirtung/Broughton Island. (Ironically, the community with the highest

proportion of income from fur and skins now received the most amount of government aid).

It is clear that areas had unequal distributions of sources of income in the first half of the 1960s. This suggests that development and the transition to a market economy were introduced at different times during the decade. By the end of the decade, all communities conformed to similar breakdowns in proportions of income generated. Thus, they were more or less equally tied to the processes which brought money into the settlement. This is what would be hoped for in development of a peripheral area.

8.3 Conclusion.

All three measures of development used in analysis for this chapter, as well as Inuit demographics, suggest that Inuit economic and material well-being progressed steadily and relatively smoothly throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Death rates went down as births increased, a sign of healthier people in early stages of development. Inter-regional migration increased, indicating greater access to transport and the freedom to choose and move to where one wanted to live. Access to modern housing steadily rose, along with acquisitions of material goods such as snowmobiles. Finally, the importance of wages as sources of income increased while that from more traditional aspects declined drastically. Furthermore, by the end of the decade, the proportion of income from different sources was quite evenly distributed among all communities, certainly a goal of development efforts. Based on numbers alone, it appears that the Inuit reaped many rewards from development as defined by Euro-Canadian standards.

Of course, however, one can rarely make conclusions in social science from numbers alone (although no doubt many a government bureaucrat or academic has). Many problems were associated with development of the Arctic. There are also different interpretations

concerning, for example, why the proportion of income from fur and skins declined so drastically in the last few years of the 1960s. Discussion in the Chapters 9 and 10 centres on qualitative descriptions of life in the Arctic during the development of the Arctic. It demonstrates that even though data discussed in this chapter indicate development, conditions of underdevelopment were also present.

9. RCMP REPORTS ABOUT INUIT SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EAST ARCTIC AREAS, 1950-1968

9.1 Introduction.

In order to achieve the purpose of this dissertation- to define some realities and reasons for the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic- and to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 5, a qualitative content analysis of the RCMP archives is necessary in addition to information presented in Chapters 6-8. In this chapter, descriptions of events and conditions in east Arctic communities is presented. These are based on the 1653 pages of RCMP documents and annual reports, described in Chapter 5, with at least one comment pertinent to the research questions posed for this dissertation. There is more information contained in the reports than could be described in this chapter. Therefore, a synopsis of all pertinent information is compiled in Appendix I of this dissertation.

Specific quotes and examples of this information are presented in this chapter. They are outlined by settlement and by the topics of general socio-economic conditions, education, and health. The purpose of this chapter is to describe local conditions in Arctic communities as conveyed by the RCMP. These descriptions are then used to illustrate the development and underdevelopment of Inuit society. This is achieved in Chapters 10 and 11 when generalizations are made about specific topics and research questions as outlined in Chapter 5. All of the information contained in Appendix I is used for analysis in Chapters 10 and 11; the data in Chapter 9 are important examples.

9.2 Examples of Inuit Socio-economic Conditions from the RCMP Archives.

9.2.1 Overview

Before qualitative information about socio-economic conditions in specific communities are outlined, physical structures or agencies representing development are listed in Table 9.2.1.

Table 9.2.1. The year of first appearance of specific structures or agencies in East Arctic Communities.

HBC= Hudson's Bay Company
 USAF= United States Air Force
 Sch.= School
 A M= Anglican Mission
 RC M= Roman Catholic Mission
 RCAF= Royal Canadian Air Force
 Nurse= Nursing Station
 Co-op= Co-operative trading store
 USCG= United States Coast Guard
 Hosp.= Hospital

Community	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Frob. Bay	HBC near			USAF at base	HBC, Sch. A M Hosp.	RC M			RCAF at base					
Lake Har.	HBC	A M RCMP							Sch.				Nurse A M	
Cape Dor.	HBC	A M			Nurse Sch.	Co-op						RCMP		
Pang.		HBC A M Hosp.				Sch.								
Br. Is.						HBC Sch.		A M						
Clyde R.		HBC			RCMP USCG	Sch.								
Pond In.		HBC RCMP	A M RC M		Sch.								Nurse Co-op	
Arc. Bay			HBC						Sch.				Nurse RCMP	
Igloolik			HBC		Sch.					RCMP	Nurse			
Resolute				RCAF	RCMP Sch.	Co-op					A M		Nurse	
Grise F.					RCMP Sch.	Co-op							Nurse	

Sources:

Frobisher Bay: NAC18/55h-55o 1959-1968; MacBain Meldrum 1975.
 Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset: NAC18/55ff-55vv 1959-1968; Higgins 1968.
 Pangnirtung/Broughton Island: NAC18/85/86/048/55j-55y 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Clyde River: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f -TA-500-8-1-3l 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Igloolik/Hall Beach: NAC18/18/85/86/048/55ee-55rr 1959-1969; Anders 1965; Bissett 1868a.
 Resolute: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g -TA-500-8-1-14p 1959-1969; Bissett 1968b.
 Grise Fiord: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5f -TA-500-8-1-5p 1959-1969

The earliest and most common establishment in the East Arctic was the HBC. Except for Resolute and Grise Fiord, which were only created as Inuit settlements in 1953, and Broughton Island, which was established in the 1950s because of DEW-Line Sites, all settlements had an HBC post by the 1940s. Schools were provided in most communities during the 1950s, although they were not built until 1959 in Pond Inlet and Igloolik. Except for Lake Harbour and Arctic Bay, all settlements had a school by the end of 1960. Health care was not provided as frequently, however. Lake Harbour, Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Igloolik, Resolute, and Grise Fiord did not have health care facilities until 1965 or after and these were only nursing stations.

While it is easy to document when establishments and services were provided to Arctic communities, it is more difficult to define how these inputs affected local people and conditions. This is where the RCMP archives provide valuable information. They are described below by community and the topics of general socio-economic conditions, education and health and health care.

9.2.2 Frobisher Bay

Permanent Euro-Canadian settlement began near the area of the future location of Frobisher Bay (now called Iqaluit) in 1914 with the establishment of an HBC trading post. In 1942 the U.S. Air Force (USAF) built a major airport as part of a staging route to the European war theatre. The HBC moved its post to the growing community of Frobisher Bay in 1950. Activity at the airport increased throughout the 1950s as a centre of supply for DEW-Line construction. Although Canadian administered, the U.S. stationed personnel at the Air Base during this time. The USAF maintained a presence there until 1963 when the base was completely turned over to Canada. In 1955 the federal government began construction of schools, a hospital, and residences for the Inuit and Euro-Canadian population. An Anglican Mission was opened in 1957 and a

Roman Catholic Mission in 1960. In 1959 Frobisher Bay became the regional headquarters of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources which permanently established the settlement as the administrative centre for the Baffin region.

General socio-economic conditions:

During the 1940s and 1950s, wage labour was available at the airbase. A few Inuit were employed by the base but until the 1950s, the only regular contact between base troops and Inuit was when Inuit wished to sell souvenirs made of ivory, furs, and fur products (NAC18/55a 1947). Many of the prices paid were deemed 'ridiculously' low by the RCMP and the officers tried to ensure that the Inuit were treated fairly. With Inuit selling products directly to airbase personnel, the HBC was not pleased as they lost out in revenue as middlemen.

This condition was commented on by the RCMP in 1951. The constable stationed at Frobisher Bay in 1951 reported to his commanding officer that the local HBC post manager would most likely be contacting RCMP headquarters with a complaint (NAC18/55b 1951). This was because the RCMP constable had given permission, which was in accordance with the law, allowing Inuit to sell fur directly to Euro-Canadians at the Base. The officer was always present and acted as translator in addition to ensuring that the Inuit received a fair price for their goods. Typically, a white fox fur pelt was sold to a Euro-Canadian for \$10.00 which was \$3.50 more than the HBC would give to the hunter and half what a Euro-Canadian would pay at the HBC post. The HBC post manager was not pleased with these transactions. He informed the Inuit hunters who sold fur at the Base that in future they would receive no credit to outfit them for winter (NAC18/55b 1951). This would produce added hardship as Inuit relied on credit to purchase equipment and supplies to outfit them until they could trap more fur to sell. The RCMP officer stated,

Though business policy and administration are no concern of the writer's, the welfare and just dealing with the natives

are...If the natives learn that the trading post can buy their furs and resell them to white men at a considerable profit, but they (the natives) cannot make a greater profit on their already meagre resources, without repercussions, it will be exceedingly difficult to explain, and their faith in justice will be greatly reduced (NAC18/55b 1951).

During the early 1950s, three distinct groups of Inuit were living in Frobisher Bay. A small number had permanent jobs with the airbase performing manual and janitorial labour. Out of 300 Inuit in 75 families during 1952, 14 people held jobs of this type (NAC18/55e 1953). Most Inuit only worked seasonally at the base during the summer, while during winter they hunted. Summer work included off-loading and pumping oil tankers and other unskilled labour jobs (NAC18/55d 1952). Approximately 50 individuals worked in this manner during 1952 (NAC18/55e 1953). The third group of people lived as hunters all year.

While Inuit with income from seasonal jobs, who lived at least part of the year in Frobisher Bay, had more money than those who hunted all year, an RCMP officer thought this did not compensate for the changes they had to go through. He stated these Inuit were not "good eskimos and by no means white", failing in both worlds (NAC18/55e 1953). They tried to imitate Euro-Canadian ways but fell short. In the officer's opinion, they should be educated to a Euro-Canadian way of life or re-educated back to their old way. He suggested that a school be started.

Employment opportunities during the mid to late 1950s were similar to those of the early 1950s. Fourteen families, permanent employees of the airbase, lived in frame houses constructed by the government (NAC18/55f 1957). An additional 24 families lived in what were called shacks which were of wood frame construction composed of salvaged materials from the airbase (NAC18/55f 1957).

During the mid 1950s, the income amongst permanent Frobisher Bay inhabitants was reported as satisfactory (NAC18/55f 1957). Direct welfare relief in 1956 only amounted to \$189.15. With all the wage

labour, trapping played a relatively unimportant role. As income was good, spending habits followed suit. Accordions, soft drinks, candy, and other luxury items were priorities for the Inuit and purchased at the HBC. Clothing, in the main, consisted of southern manufactured goods bought at the HBC or through mail order. Although caribou parkas and mitts were common in the winter, seal-skin boots (kamiks) were the only consistently used traditional clothing. The corporal even reported that in December 1956 he saw a local Inuk woman dressed in a low-cut evening gown and slippers (NAC18/55f 1957).

Although income was not a problem for the Inuit, several other concerns were raised by the RCMP by the end of the decade. One problem of great concern was the increasing incidence of theft and crimes against property (NAC18/55g 1958). Another problem which the RCMP faced was the continuing sexual relations which Euro-Canadian men had with Inuit women. While laws were not broken when both parties mutually consented and were over 18, the DNA and RCMP actively discouraged these activities as they (a) led to the lowering of moral standards of Inuit females, (b) led to social problems involving the whole Inuit village, (c) increased already prevalent sexually transmitted diseases, including gonorrhoea, and (d) left young Inuit females with fatherless children, heartaches, frustration, and no husbands (NAC18/55h 1959). The issue was raised because the RCMP sergeant accidentally walked in on three Euro-Canadian males with three Inuit females at the Imperial Oil single men's barracks. The actual sexual encounters were not the major issue in this case. Rather, the RCMP officer reported the incident because it illustrated the change in societal attitudes which Inuit women and girls were experiencing as a result of contact with Euro-Canadians.

By 1960, Frobisher Bay was firmly established as the hub of eastern Arctic administration and commercial activities. Approximately 150 male Inuit were gainfully employed during 1961 (NAC18/55i 1962). Depending on the season, DNA hired 80-100, the Department of Transport

(DOT) employed 30, and 20 working at sundry jobs with private enterprises. Female Inuit employment consisted primarily of domestic jobs at private homes or at the DNA building. The RCMP officer commented that the employment resources were inadequate in relation to the total population. A few Inuit were supporting the majority (NAC18/55i 1962).

The social effects of development processes were summarized clearly by the RCMP officer in his report. He stated,

Practically all the Eskimos in Frobisher Bay have a great sense of frustration. In compiling information for this report the writer was impressed by the uniformity of opinion in this respect. The Eskimos are insecure, confused and demoralized. Basically the liquor situation in this settlement stems from this fact. The Eskimos have all but lost their customs, environment, social structure and prestige symbols, and little of value has replaced them at this stage. In this transitional period they are resorting to liquor and promiscuity as an escape. After having received some benefits of civilization, they cannot return to their original element, but the restricted working and living conditions in a white influenced community is entirely alien to the hunting type of civilization...The Eskimos have a feeling of inferiority in a white dominated settlement. They believe that they have little control over their lives as the White man has replaced their leaders and parental control (NAC18/55i 1962).

Conditions remained similar through the early 1960s (NAC18/55j,k 1963,1964). The only public drinking establishment was closed in 1964 although drinking continued in private homes but did not consume as much time or money from the Inuit as it would have in the pub (NAC18/55l 1965).

By 1966, many Inuit were living in new low-rent houses supplied by the government (NAC18/55n 1967). Also by the end of 1966, no families remained in hunting camps in the area. In 1967, only about 5% of the total Frobisher Bay population made a living directly from hunting and trapping (NAC18/55o 1968). Welfare provided income for 25%, part-time work and carving for 10%, and wage employment for 60%. The biggest problem in 1967 was the over-consumption of alcohol with children appearing to be suffering most, through neglect (NAC18/55o 1968).

Education:

The RCMP recommended several times in the early 1950s that a school should be built in Frobisher Bay (NAC18/55d,e, 1952,1953). It was not until 1955 that a school was built. No further mention was made by the RCMP about education in their reports until 1963 when concern was expressed by the officer about the alienation and psychological distance forming between Inuit children and their parents brought about by schooling, employment, and knowledge of English (NAC18/55j 1963).

After one decade of schooling, in 1965, the RCMP indicated that education had not achieved its intended purpose-to enable young Inuit to obtain jobs and integrate into Euro-Canadian sectors of society (NAC18/55m 1966). The adults who maintained aspects of traditional Inuit culture such as hunting, according to the RCMP officer, appeared to be better adjusted to life in the community than young Inuit who had progressed through the school system. "The younger generations appear to be the ones that are having the most difficulty in adjusting to education, schools, the demands for our type of civilization and social standards. There has as yet been no middle ground reached, where other than a very few Eskimo and Whites can meet on an equal basis" (NAC18/55m 1966). The majority of students were reported as being apathetic towards school and showed little interest in their classes. Many could not see any future for themselves other than along a menial line of work. While a southern style curriculum and lack of jobs for educated young Inuit no doubt led to these problems, the sergeant in this report still advocated education as a partial solution. The caveat being that Inuit should be educated and provided jobs in professions such as doctors, managers, and foremen so they could become leaders of the community (NAC18/55m 1966).

Health and Health Care:

Until 1956, health care was administered by the RCMP or medical

personnel at the airbase. As with schools, the RCMP periodically recommended, during the early 1950s, that health care facilities be built (NAC18/55d,e 1952,1953).

In 1956 a nursing station finally became operative in Frobisher Bay. The RCMP officer and nurse were concerned throughout 1956 about Inuit not buying proper and good food at the HBC. In addition, they worried about the prevalence of poor sanitation and cleanliness in the preparation of food (NAC18/55f 1957). Only those without full time employment relied heavily on seal, caribou, and fish for food. While good, nutritious food was available to buy at the HBC, the Inuit had to be encouraged by nursing staff to buy it. The cleanliness of floors, tables, and water containers was also a problem. It was reported that food and water were often prepared or stored under unsanitary conditions. Indeed, the officer's observations indicated that most sickness was due to:

1. Their habits in the care and handling of food, use of common utensils, etc.
2. Poor Diet
3. Contact with personnel who arrive daily from the south (NAC18/55f 1957).

By 1961 an 18 bed hospital was serving Frobisher Bay (NAC18/55i 1962). Major concerns were raised over the high infant mortality rate and with the prevalence of diseases such as tuberculosis, respiratory infection, hepatitis, measles, and venereal disease (NAC18/55i,j,k,l 1962,1963,1964,1965). Drinking also led to health problems with an officer linking drinking and increased sexual contacts between teenage Inuit girls and single Euro-Canadian men with the high incidence of venereal disease (NAC18/55m 1966). These problems were mentioned through to 1968, when health care and facilities were described as being adequate but the actual health of the Inuit being far from good (NAC18/55o 1968).

9.2.3 Lake Harbour/ Cape Dorset

Both Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset are located on the southern coast of Baffin Island. Inuit along this coast have had contacts with Euro-Canadians extending back to American whalers who were active in the area from 1860 to 1910. The HBC established posts at the present day sites of the communities in 1911 in Lake Harbour and 1913 in Cape Dorset. Anglican missionaries have been active in the region throughout the 20th century with the Roman Catholics active until 1960 in Cape Dorset. The RCMP established a post in Lake Harbour in 1924 but it was not until 1965 that a post was built in Cape Dorset. Thus, RCMP reports covered both settlements and surrounding camps until 1965 from the Lake Harbour detachment. Both settlements have received a variety of services since the early 1950s.

General socio-economic conditions:

Inuit in the Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset areas depended on hunting and trapping for most of their livelihood and income until the mid to late 1950s. Their ties to hunting were illustrated in RCMP reports from 1950 which describe a seal shortage in Cape Dorset. In February of 1950, RCMP headquarters in Ottawa received a radiogram from the Lake Harbour detachment stating that all Cape Dorset Inuit were in critical condition because of the shortage (NAC18/55s 1950). Many people were eating fox carcasses. Although store food for humans was plentiful at the HBC, dog food was very scarce.

The primary cause which was attributed to the lack of meat was simply that the seals were not in their usual habitat. Equally important was that fox trapping had been extremely poor from 1946-1950 and thus many Inuit could not afford gasoline to power boats to walrus hunt. As cached walrus meat provided dog food over winter, without it, dog food became scarce. The Inuit then had to eat meat usually reserved for dogs in 1950 when seals were scarce (NAC18/55t 1950).

By the mid 1950s, the economy of Cape Dorset had expanded due to the formation of a Handicraft Guild which was a marketing and retailing organization for Inuit carvings and handicrafts (NAC18/55v 1951). Started by the HBC, this organization helped develop management skills for local Inuit and encouraged them to obtain income from handicraft production. Indeed, both Inuit and Euro-Canadians at Cape Dorset agreed that handicrafts would likely become the main source of income for residents in the area (NAC18/55w 1952).

Problems were encountered in Lake Harbour over the buying and selling of carvings by the HBC, however (NAC18/55y 1954). One Inuk protested to the RCMP in Lake Harbour about common business practices of the HBC. The HBC imported ivory walrus tusks for carving. This ivory was given to carvers and when returned as a carved product, the carver was paid for the item as a whole. Then the price of the raw ivory, by weight, was deducted from the price paid. The RCMP officer investigated and reported, as an example, that an Inuk who had carved a cribbage board for which he received \$7.00. Then \$4.00 was deducted from this price so the carver received \$3.00. This cribbage board then sold in Frobisher Bay for \$20.00 or more. The officer had to inform the Inuk of the reality of the situation: the carver need not sell his goods to the HBC and it was the HBC's right by law to offer any price for produce or work, which the producers need not accept. Of course, in most Arctic communities, there was no other place to sell handicrafts but at the HBC. The only solution the RCMP officer could offer was to have government control and subsidize Inuit products (NAC18/55y 1954).

Although the above example dealt with handicraft production at Lake Harbour, Inuit there relied more on trapping for income. They also depended more on seal for food than those at Cape Dorset. During 1954, Lake Harbour experienced a shortage of seals and relatively good fox trapping. The RCMP officer suggested to Inuit living there that they move to better seal areas (NAC18/55z 1955). They did not move, however,

because the HBC did not want camps to move out of good trapping areas. Without foxes to trade, Inuit would not be able to acquire necessities such as tea, sugar, and tobacco, nor luxuries which may be desired.

So, some of the Natives in this district continue to live in poor sealing areas, but good trapping areas, and they come into the detachment periodically and lament the lack of seals at their camps and when they are advised to move to a better area, they agree and say it would be an excellent idea, but they never do because Foxes [sic] mean wealth and wealth is apparently more important than a full stomach to some Eskimos (NAC18/55z 1955).

During the late 1950s, Cape Dorset saw more economic development programmes initiated than at Lake Harbour. The DNA built a handicraft centre at Cape Dorset managed by a permanently stationed Northern Service Officer (NSO). A NSO house and powerhouse were also built and provided construction work for local Inuit (NAC18/55bb 1956). This income was in addition to that received from the handicraft centre.

Although hunting and trapping continued to be important to the Inuit around Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour, economic development continued to be introduced. The RCMP were concerned, however, about what sort of development policy the Canadian government had towards the Inuit.

The Government policy as to the manner in which they wish to set about molding [sic] the Eskimo into becoming a responsible citizen is none too clear to the writer. What is their actual goal? Perhaps we as Peace Officers should not concern ourselves with such matters but for those of us whose work largely consists of welfare work amongst the Eskimos should be made to learn more about the Government's policy, presuming of course a definite policy exists, in regard to Eskimos. If the policy were better known we then could be all striving to the same end and the Eskimo would not be further confused (NAC18/55cc 1957).

The Director of Arctic Affairs at DNA responded to this comment by writing, "It is regrettable, and the fault is our own, that members of the Force who carry out administrative duties on behalf of this department are not kept better informed of our philosophy and our activities. These officers should be throughly [sic] briefed on departmental policy, and I repeat, it is our fault that they are not" (NAC18/55dd 1958). Sivertz directed his office to send the Constable at

Lake Harbour some of the DNA's publications outlining their aims.

One of the most important events in the areas during 1959 was the creation of a Co-operative at Cape Dorset (NAC18/55ff 1959). A large number of Cape Dorset Inuit women sewed parkas, mitts, socks, and skin boots and marketed them through the Co-operative. This endeavour proved quite successful. The RCMP officer recommended that a similar Co-operative be set up in Lake Harbour (NAC18/55gg 1960). During the fiscal year April 1959-April 1960, the co-op had a gross income of \$20,000 (NAC18/55hh 1960).

Also during 1960 the NSO in Cape Dorset actively encouraged Inuit living in outlying hunting camps to take up permanent residence in the settlement (NAC18/55hh 1960). He thought that jobs could be found and that hunting was good in the immediate area. It was also stated that permanent settlement living provided the only way that families and children could hope to receive the benefits of education and health services (NAC18/55hh 1960).

Seals were scarce in Lake Harbour during 1960 (NAC18/55ii 1960). The nine Inuit living in hunting camps in the area were supplied with relief rations of canned meat, flour, lard, and other staples. Another eight families were employed in Lake Harbour and did not require relief. These Inuit had above average income during 1960 (NAC18/55jj 1961). Purchases of clothing were reflected by this. Most purchases were made by mail order to T. Eaton, Co., or Simpsons-Sears. The RCMP officer pointed out that Euro-Canadian people living in Lake Harbour wore native made clothing to a greater extent than the Inuit (NAC18/55jj 1961). Most Inuit lived in wooden frame houses covered with canvas and blocked with snow. A few still lived in snow igloos.

Throughout the early 1960s, prefabricated housing and other buildings were constructed in both Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset. A Community Hall was completed in Cape Dorset where a movie was held weekly and dances were frequent. Teenagers were restless, though, and

loitering was common. Crime was also increasing, primarily theft (NAC18/55nn 1963).

Even with more modern facilities and conveniences than at Lake Harbour, the RCMP reported more problems in Cape Dorset during 1963 (NAC18/55pp 1964). Teenagers did not have enough to do to occupy their time and were not interested in living off the land. There did not seem to be any control of the teenagers by older people. Vandalism and theft were on the increase. The Community Hall was slowly being wrecked. Regardless of the settlement situation, more and more camp Inuit moved into the settlement because of the more modern living and entertainment. As construction jobs were no longer necessary, only one third of settlement people were steadily employed. Economic conditions, though, were extremely good as high prices were paid for sealskins. Social conditions were problems and the RCMP officer thought the change in lifestyles brought about by transition to a more modern system was moving at a pace too fast for Inuit to fully understand.

They have reached the stage where they would rather accept what is being done for them than try to do anything for themselves. Although some of the older Eskimo still realize that it is their responsibility to make a living, many of the younger ones feel that it is the responsibility of DNA and other Departments to provide them with a way to make a living in the settlement. This is probably caused by the wide recognition they have received from their carvings and other forms of crafts, and the good income made by these means. This will undoubtedly change in the future and the Eskimo will again find that he will have to rely more on the land and its natural resources to make a living (NAC18/55pp 1964).

As opposed to those in Cape Dorset, Lake Harbour Inuit were reported as being very happy with high morale during 1964 (NAC18/55qq 1965). Many continued to live in hunting camps within 10 km of the settlement. The RCMP officer commented that, "They are always happy and never appear to get annoyed with any other person. This I think can be attributed to the active participation they take in church and community affairs" (NAC18/55qq 1965). By the end of 1965, most Lake Harbour area Inuit families had permanently moved into the settlement, mainly so that their children could attend school (NAC18/55ss 1966).

Conditions were similar to those of the previous years in both communities during the years leading to 1968. While Cape Dorset had higher incomes and more modern conveniences, their morale was described as being lower than of Inuit at Lake Harbour (NAC18/56b,c 1967,1968). Concern was made in 1967 by older Inuit and the RCMP officer over the discontent shown by young Inuit (NAC18/56c 1968). By the end of 1968, though, teenagers showed more ambition and the RCMP thought that overall conditions in the area had improved over previous years (NAC18/56d 1969).

Education:

While a permanent day school was established in Cape Dorset in 1956 (NAC18/55bb 1956) and well-attended, Lake Harbour only had a part-time school, run in the summer, until 1963 (NAC18/55rr 1965). Before 1963, the RCMP officer repeatedly recommended that a school be built at Lake Harbour (NAC18/55bb,gg,kk 1959,1960,1962). In the annual report for 1961, the officer wrote, "It is realized that the population is small and the number of children of school age might not warrant the expenditure, but in a country such as ours this is no excuse for depriving children of a [sic] least a formal education" (NAC18/55kk 1962).

While comments do not reflect upon local schools, the consequences of outside vocational education are illustrated by the RCMP officer about Cape Dorset in 1964 (NAC18/55rr 1965). He noted that several young Cape Dorset Inuit were sent south for educational training. When they returned to Cape Dorset, however, there were no jobs for their particular skills. He gave three specific examples. An Inuk male was sent south for a complete course on the operation and maintenance of diesel engines. When he came back he worked for the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op as a handyman. An Inuk female received extended courses in sewing and a one year university course in pottery in the United States but

back in Cape Dorset was employed as a housekeeper. The final example was an Inuk male who received a course in Nova Scotia on the repair and maintenance of boats and outboard motors. When he returned to Cape Dorset he was unable to acquire needed tools, a place to work, and did not have the knowledge or contacts to obtain parts for such a business. As the RCMP officer wrote, "Items such as these do not help to build up the morale of the Eskimos in Cape Dorset" (NAC18/55rr 1965).

In 1965, the RCMP officer reported that school was well attended in Lake Harbour, and people were moving into the settlement specifically so that children could attend. He worried, though, that children were not learning how to live off the land but also not learning enough in school to fully integrate into Euro-Canadian society and jobs. He foresaw this as a major problem in future but that there was no apparent solution (NAC18/55ss 1966). Regardless of the outcomes of education, school during the mid and late 1960s in both communities were well-attended (NAC18/55ss,vv 1966,1968; NAC18/56c,d 1968,1969).

Health and Health Care:

General health in both Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour areas was reported as good during the late 1940s and early 1950s (NAC18/55ww,xx,y 1947,1953, 1954). Throughout the 1950s, the annual x-rays for tuberculosis were conducted. Although the annual report for 1953 does not indicate if anyone contracted the disease, mention was made that being sent to hospitals in the south or Frobisher Bay was one of the Inuit's greatest dreads (NAC18/55z 1955). One of the reasons for this fear was that communication between the hospital and family in the home community was little if non-existent. As reported for 1954, eight to ten Inuit were evacuated for TB each year. Concerning the lack of communication with patients, the RCMP officer wrote,

The only continual complaint that the writer has come up against is the fact, that Natives who are taken 'Outside' for hospitalization are usually gone for a long time, with little or no word on their condition, and more often than not never return

[death]. It is felt that a tendency is developing in this district, to avoid being X-rayed at 'Ship-time', thus decreasing the possibility of being evacuated to the "Land of no return" (NAC18/55z 1955).

Communications between Inuit in the area and those in southern hospitals improved after 1955 although TB continued to be prevalent and evacuations necessary (NAC18/55aa,bh,cc 1956,1957,1958). Other than TB, overall general health was good in the late 1950s except for high infant mortality (NAC18/55ee 1958). The RCMP officer thought that Inuit mothers should be taught more about the care and management of babies.

During the early 1960s, general health was described as being good in Lake Harbour (NAC18/55mm,nn,pp 1963,1963,1964). This was despite the fact that a nurse was not stationed at Lake Harbour until 1963 and she only stayed until May 1964 (NAC18/55pp,qq 1964,1965). Health in Cape Dorset during this time, however, was described as poor (NAC18/55rr 1965). Almost all Inuit there suffered from respiratory diseases. It was believed this was due to poor living conditions and the lack of proper nutrition. Health conditions were similar to those of previous years in both communities during the years leading to 1968 (NAC18/55tt,uu,vv 1967,1968,1969; NAC18/56b,c,d 1967,1968,1969). Influenza, pneumonia, chicken pox, mumps, and TB were all reported as being contracted during this time. Overall, though, general health was described as being reasonably good.

9.2.4 Pangnirtung/ Broughton Island

The Pangnirtung/Broughton Island region on the east coast of Baffin Island had contact with whalers since the early 1800s. Economic activity centred on hunting through to the 1960s. An HBC post was established in Pangnirtung in 1921 with the RCMP following in 1923. The Anglican Church opened a hospital there in 1928 but it was not until 1960 that a permanent school was built, run by the federal government. The Broughton Island area became important in the mid-1950s with the

construction of several DEW Line sites. Workers were hired from the area or elsewhere from Baffin Island and a settlement evolved on Broughton Island about 16 km from a DEW-Line site. In 1960, an HBC post and federal day school were built. An Anglican Mission was established in 1962. The RCMP post at Pangnirtung oversaw Broughton Island during the entire period covered in the archives analyzed for this research.

Socio-economic conditions:

Annual RCMP reports for the Pangnirtung district during the 1950s are very general and cover an area consisting of many scattered hunting camps. The principle economic activity of Inuit was seal hunting. Foxes were trapped but the region was not noted for having large populations of the animal. Beluga whale hunting was important and the HBC had organized several whale drives prior to 1952. Most camps had at least one boat although not all had larger whale boats. Gas engines were common but gasoline was always in short supply. Even though life centred on the hunt, Inuit wore mostly store bought clothing in summer but wore sealskin boots and caribou or sealskin parkas in the winter. Attempts were made by the RCMP to coax them into wearing sealskin clothes as store-bought duffle-cloth parkas were often worn-out and filthy. The RCMP officer thought that as long as clothing could be bought on Family Allowance, it would be difficult to persuade them to revert to more traditional clothing (NAC18/85/86/048/55a 1953).

Conditions remained very similar in the area during the early to mid 1950s (NAC18/85/86/048/55b,c 1954,1955). Most descriptions of Inuit indicated a strong reliance on more traditional aspects of culture. The RCMP was concerned, though, that sealskin pelts were being traded for tobacco and other commodities rather than being used to make clothing. Sealskin tents were used in both summer and winter and provided adequate shelter. Morale was at a usual high standard and game conditions were good (NAC18/85/86/048/55c 1955).

Two hunting camps were moved during 1954 for different reasons. One camp was asked to move by the RCMP because it was in very poor game country. The RCMP evacuated them in the summer to a new location which was chosen by the residents. Another camp was forced to break up by the RCMP because it had become a gathering point for "all the bums and scroungers in the district, all of which require relief assistance sometime during the year" (NAC18/85/86/048/55c 1955). They were informed that unless they moved they would no longer receive Family Allowance or relief payments. They all agreed to move back to their old, established camps and were moved in RCMP boats.

The year 1955 was significant as the RCMP officer on patrols gathered information on the newly established DEW-Line sites. Kivitoo and Padloping Island were locations for four of the bases, all within the jurisdiction of the Pangnirtung RCMP detachment. Concern was made about the loitering occurring at two DEW Line sites at Padloping Island and Kivitoo. Inuit, in hopes of being hired at the sites, were neglecting their hunting and loitering around the sites. The officer advised them to keep off the bases and resume hunting (NAC18/85/86/048/55d 1955). The few people employed at DEW-Line sites purchased many new rifles and outboard motors with their wages (NAC18/85/86/048/55e 1956).

Although most Inuit in the area continued to rely on hunting seal and whale for their incomes in the late 1950s, most wore only store-bought clothing, except for some garments in winter (NAC18/85/86/048/55f 1957). Overall socio-economic conditions were reported as being very good for Inuit around Cumberland Sound. Most all Inuit lived in hunting camps and, except for wearing store-bought clothing, led relatively traditional lives (NAC18/85/86/048/55i1,k 1958,1959).

There was still great concern, however, over Inuit living near DEW-Line Sites. The problem of loitering was no longer an isolated event. At three sites near Kivitoo and Padloping Island, many Inuit

were reported as loitering and neglecting their hunting. Only one or two Inuit were employed at each site and others there were relying on hand-outs or scrounging for discarded items. Several had erected shacks from scrap lumber. All except those employed were told to return to their original camps and pursue hunting. It was recommended that in the summer they be ordered to return to their original camps (NAC18/85/86/048/55g 1957).

In response to the problem of loitering at DEW Line sites, the Chief of the Arctic Division at DNA wrote a memorandum to the Pangnirtung NSO outlining the government's policy towards the situation. He first pointed out that as the DEW Lines were operated by and for the U.S., a Canada-U.S. agreement had been negotiated previously which stipulated that the DEW Line operators should prevent improper relationships between themselves and local residents. This included prevention of the creation of dependence on hand-outs. It was the government's responsibility to:

...take some positive action, not merely to move the Eskimos away from the sites, but to find a viable life away from the sites in order to reduce the temptations to drift back...All local advice must be sought on hunting possibilities, fishing and other sources of income. Should these reports be pessimistic, and should we conclude that other activities are insufficient to support the Eskimo population, it might be better to move these groups to new locations far distant from the DEW Line... (NAC18/85/86/048/55h 1957).

A report circulated throughout the DNA reiterated this problem, specifically listing conditions at the DEW Line site on Broughton Island. During the construction of the base, 61 Inuit settled at the site with 15 hired for labour. In 1957, however, only three Inuit were directly employed (NAC18/85/86/048/55i 1957). Most of them were relying on hand-outs and scrounging. Hunting was neglected or poor. Many people were sick and children were starving (NAC18/85/86/048/55i 1957). Similar conditions continued throughout 1958 and 1959 (NAC18/85/86/048/55j 1959). Although it was not stated why, conditions at camps near DEW-Line Sites improved markedly in 1960 (NAC18/85/86/048/55m 1960).

During the early 1960s, overall conditions throughout the area were generally described as good (NAC18/85/86/048/55n,o 1961,1962). Inuit around DEW Line sites salvaged material for their homes such as wood, oil drums for stoves, and discarded fuel. Although all Inuit in the region heavily relied on hunting, Cumberland Sound Inuit lived more of the traditional lifestyle in scattered camps with tent dwellings. A major building project was undertaken by DNA in Pangnirtung which attracted many people to the settlement and led to employment of 30-35 Inuit. This placed \$20000 into the local economy and the money was largely used on food and clothing (NAC18/85/86/048/55o 1962). Stoves and outboard motors were also purchased and sales of candy and cigarettes increased greatly.

The year 1962 saw drastic changes, although not as yet permanent, to settlement patterns of the Pangnirtung region. Late in 1961 a distemper epidemic amongst dogs broke out on the south shore of Cumberland Sound. By late January, the disease had spread and the problem reached serious proportions. Around 500 dogs had died and Inuit faced shortages of food and the means to earn a living. A survey was taken of the 13 camps and those with the greatest chance of facing starvation and destitution were evacuated by plane or RCMP dog team to Pangnirtung. Approximately 200 people were taken to Pangnirtung by the second week of March. Some people refused to move although the RCMP tried to persuade them (NAC18/85/86/048/55p 1962).

Once in Pangnirtung the evacuated Inuit were accommodated in houses occupied by Inuit employed at the settlement. Houses were soon built for the newcomers, however, with snow walls and canvas roofs. Tents were used when warmer weather arrived. An arts and crafts programme was initiated to allow people to earn enough income to survive. Adequate income was determined to be \$20.00 per week. Surplus canned pork was flown in from Frobisher Bay and sold to the Inuit for a subsidized price of \$5.00 a case. Oil for heating fuel was provided

free by the DNA as there was no way hunters could obtain seal oil without their dogs. Casual labour jobs were created by the DNA and wages determined whereby everyone could earn \$20.00 a week (NAC85/1952a 1962).

By the beginning of May the dog disease had run its course. Approximately 600 dogs had died bringing the total number of live dogs to slightly over 200. Most Inuit in the remaining camps had voluntarily moved to Pangnirtung leaving only three camps inhabited by 83 people. Thus, within 6 months the population of Pangnirtung had increased from 138 to 464 (NAC85/1952b 1962). This influx of people, according to the RCMP report, did not raise many serious problems (NAC18/85/86/048/55g 1962).

Socio-economic conditions in 1963 were more typical to those prior to 1962 regardless of the dog epidemic. The DNA supplied puppies and dogs to Pangnirtung hunters throughout the later months of 1962. This contributed to a 50% increase in the dog population over 1962. By winter 1962-1963 most Inuit had returned to their hunting camps. Eleven camps were located in the Pangnirtung area as opposed to 13 before the epidemic. Only 26 families lived in Pangnirtung settlement. As only 15 Inuit were steadily employed throughout the year in both Pangnirtung and Broughton Island, most people earned a living by hunting (NAC18/85/86/048/55s 1964).

Overall conditions in both the Pangnirtung and Broughton Island areas were reported as good during the mid-1960s (NAC18/85/86/048/55t,u 1965,1965). The processes of centralization were clearly evident during 1965. A definite, continuous movement was evident from camp to permanent settlement (NAC18/85/86/048/55v 1966). Luxury items such as houses attracted many but a number of Inuit, especially young males, seemed to move to settlements because of the availability of relief assistance. This meant they did not have to hunt for a living. In the main, however, settlement inhabitants continued to hunt. In Pangnirtung,

though, the influx of more hunters led to depletion of seal stock near the settlement. Many hunters had to travel 120-160 kilometres by ski-doo to find enough seal for their needs. East Baffin Island in general continued to have enough game resources for the hunters. All hunting near Broughton Island was done by ski-doo. Hunting still was the primary economic activity as only 24 Inuit were steadily employed in entire area (NAC18/85/86/048/55v 1966).

By the end of 1967 only 44 out of 573 Inuit in the Pangnirtung area lived in camps. The RCMP officer predicted that by 1968 all would live in the settlement (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968). Steady employment was available for 19 Inuit in Pangnirtung and 11 in Broughton Island. Hunting was diminishing as a source of income. While seals were abundant, except in close proximity to Pangnirtung settlement, low prices for sealskins made hunting uneconomical. The major portion of Inuit income was derived from handicrafts and carvings, casual labour, and government pensions, Family Allowances, and welfare. Indeed, there was great concern that welfare was too easy to obtain and led to an inordinate dependence on government.

In January 1967, 416 people in Pangnirtung were in receipt of welfare payments (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968). Although an RCMP officer did not prevent Inuit from obtaining welfare, he stated,

I feel too that it is time for the government to take a long look at the welfare system. I am informed that if a person asks for welfare then it must be given to him. This being the case, I can foresee the time when the Arctic will be a total welfare state, no one wanting to work if they can get everything for nothing. I am aware that there is no means test to obtain the benefits of welfare, but I am equally aware that the Eskimo was not always dependent upon the government to stay alive. He was once a reasonably active and ambitious race of people, willing to work if by doing so he could maintain some pride in himself. By having everything given to him, he has had his pride taken away from him, without realizing it. Part of what now appears to be resentment towards the white race in the North I feel is that the Eskimo has realized that he is no longer self sufficient, but must depend upon the white man to stay alive (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968).

Pangnirtung had a total population of 571 at the end of 1968 with 25 people living in camps along Cumberland Sound (NAC18/85/86/0148/55y 1969). Broughton Island consisted of 317 people. Residents of both settlements all lived in two or three bedroom houses. Subsidized rent covered water, fuel, sewage disposal, electricity, and oil stoves for cooking and heating. There were not enough dwellings, however, and many homes were overcrowded. While morale seemed good, with the RCMP officer reporting that the Inuit were usually happy, their dependence on welfare payments continued to be a concern. More people had steady employment, however, with 22 men employed at Pangnirtung and 15 at Broughton Island. A co-operative had been started by DIAND as an outlet for carvings and handicrafts. This provided the first source of income for Inuit women. The RCMP officer seemed quite optimistic that carving would supply significant income for men and women in future (NAC18/85/86/0148/55y 1969).

A problem which was absent in previous years but was gaining a foothold in Inuit life in 1968 was alcohol abuse. Liquor was being brought in by Inuit who had been away to other settlements for employment or school. The officer's main concern was to educate people in the use and dangers of alcohol. He also continued to actively encourage Inuit self-sufficiency (NAC18/85/86/0148/55y 1969).

Education:

It is unclear why, but very little information was given by RCMP officers in the Pangnirtung detachment concerning education. The first reference to education is a brief comment for the year 1960 that a new school was located near the HBC post on Broughton Island (NAC18/85/86/048/55n 1961). The only other mention of education is from the RCMP report about 1968 in which the officer commented that young male Inuit returned to Pangnirtung from trade school outside the region with no employment possibilities in the settlement (NAC/18/85/86/048/55y 1969).

Health and Health Care:

Inuit of the region had the benefits of having a hospital in Pangnirtung settlement. In 1952, health amongst the Inuit was reported as being fairly good. Many cases of TB were treated at the hospital in Pangnirtung with more severe cases evacuated to the south. Complaints were made about the lack of communication between the Arctic and family members hospitalized in the south (NAC18/85/86/048/55a 1953). During 1953, the hospital had an average of 16 to 18 patients continually (NAC18/85/86/048/55b 1954). While conditions were very similar in 1954, three people died from pneumonia. Overall, however, all camps visited by the RCMP during the year reported good health (NAC18/85/86/048/55c 1955).

In 1955, a medical doctor of the Medical Survey Team aboard the ship surveying all east Arctic communities reported that health in the Pangnirtung area was better than in other districts. The exceptions were those on Padloping Island who had more cases of TB and serious tooth decay than those along Cumberland Sound. Except for this, all camp residents were in good health with colds as the only common illness (NAC18/85/86/048/55e 1956).

Beginning in 1957, reports indicate increasing health problems amongst Inuit living near DEW Line sites. Although health was listed as fair in three camps, colds and skin diseases were common. Sanitation was reported as being disgusting or poor in two out of three sites (NAC18/85/86/048/55g 1957). A DNA official, in a separate report, stated that in one DEW Line site nursing children were on the edge of starvation because their mothers were in such poor health that they were not producing enough milk. Substitute food was unavailable (NAC18/85/86/048/55i 1957).

General health in the late 1950s, except around DEW-Line Sites, was reported as good. A considerable amount of TB was found, however, that apparently had gone unnoticed in previous years (NAC18/85/

86/048/55i1 1958). Conditions at camps near DEW Line sites improved by 1960 (NAC18/ 85/86/048/55m 1960).

During 1961, a severe influenza epidemic struck the region, resulting in seven deaths. Except for the epidemic, overall general health was good (NAC18/85/86/048/55o 1962). General health was reported as being good throughout the early 1960s (NAC18/85/86/043/55r,s 1963,1964). General health was not as good in the mid-1960s with tuberculosis still affecting people during 1965 (NAC18/85/86/55v 1966). Also of concern was that infectious hepatitis plagued Pangnirtung during 1965 with 38 people being infected. The prevalence of this disease was attributed to the low level of cleanliness and sanitation plus a poor source of water. The RCMP officer pointed out that often body wastes were dumped in close proximity to dwellings. Conditions improved during the year as the RCMP officer repeatedly told the Inuit about the importance of proper sanitation (NAC18/85/86/55v 1966).

Conditions improved somewhat in 1967 with moderately good health reported amongst all Inuit in the region (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968). One type of illness which appeared during the year, and concerned the RCMP, was venereal disease. It was believed to have been brought to Pangnirtung by people returning from Frobisher Bay. Infectious hepatitis was no longer a problem, though, as sanitation had vastly improved (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968). Venereal disease continued to be the major health concern in 1968. While those suffering from VD were treated, they were reluctant to name their contacts and the disease was spreading to all age groups within the community. Other than this, people enjoyed good health (NAC18/85/86/048/55y 1969).

9.2.5 Clyde River

Prior to 1954, the Pond Inlet RCMP detachment had jurisdiction over Clyde River. In 1954, an RCMP post was established at Cape Christian, just east of the Clyde River HBC post. The HBC was

established at Clyde River in 1923. A federal day school was constructed in 1960. In addition to Canadian establishments, the U.S. Coast Guard had a base at Cape Christian throughout the 1950s and most of the 1960s. American servicemen were stationed there during this time.

Socio-economic conditions:

There were 147 Inuit in the Clyde River area in 1953. Hunting and trapping provided support for most of the families in the area. Hunting was difficult, however, as the Inuit lacked sufficient transport to move to good hunting grounds during the year. Seal stocks were depleted in some areas as concentrations of people remained too long at one spot. Hunters also had very little hunting equipment. It was clear to the RCMP that their lives would improve if they could obtain better equipment and more transport (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3a 1953).

An RCMP constable who arrived in September 1953 noticed that Inuit of the area were poorer than those in other parts of Baffin Island. Many camped near the settlement and relied on Family Allowances and handouts, neglecting their hunting and trapping. The RCMP officer attributed this to the presence of a large number of U.S. military personnel stationed at Cape Christian. According to the RCMP officer, in their misguided generosity, the Americans provided the Inuit with free clothing, food, fuel oil, and other commodities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3b 1954).

The economy of the area improved somewhat over previous years in 1955 as there was an increase in prices paid for bearskins, foxes, and sealskins. One major problem conveyed by the RCMP, though, was that hunters did not skin all the seals they killed. Out of approximately 4000 killed, only 200 were traded at the HBC, potentially depriving them of an additional \$6000. Inuit stated to the RCMP officer that the amount of work involved in skinning, cleaning, washing, and stretching

skins was not sufficiently compensated for monetarily. The RCMP officer thought that the real reason for not skinning seals was laziness of the hunters (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3c 1956).

The economy of the Inuit during 1957 markedly declined. Foxes were scarce and quotas set on shooting polar bears. The RCMP officer presented data indicating that polar bears had not declined over the years and stressed that should more stringent quotas be made, the local economy would greatly suffer. There was a considerable market for souvenirs and handicrafts amongst Euro-Canadians in the area. Inuit were hampered, however, because there were very few materials to carve in the area (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957).

Five families had a member steadily employed at the DOT weather station or HBC post in 1958. They all lived at Clyde River settlement. One man worked for the RCMP at Cape Christian with his family also residing there. The economy improved during the year with trapping conditions more favourable and handicraft material more readily available. The RCMP officer estimated that 25% of the Inuit total yearly income was spent on ammunition. He suggested that hunters be provided with an ammunition hand-reloading press so they could make their own bullets. The officer also suggested that Inuit be provided with the necessary tools and materials to further develop a handicraft industry which, he thought, was at far below its potential (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3e 1958).

The economy improved over the year with the HBC and Euro-Canadian personnel paying three times the amount over 1957-1958 for handicrafts. Income from furs almost tripled. A survey of hunters who had used reloaded ammunition reported that it was as good or better than factory loaded ammunition. The RCMP thought, however, that if a reloading press was given to hunters, they would become even more dependent on and used to government assistance. If the DNA approved of providing the reloading press, the RCMP would co-operate. It was thought, however,

that if hunters wanted it, they should purchase it themselves (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f 1959).

In the report for 1959, the RCMP officer made a point about how Inuit were in an economic stalemate because their incomes depended almost entirely on the fur market which fluctuated widely (NAC18/1952a 1959). The concern was that Inuit had no knowledge of what their furs and handicrafts were used for, how their value was estimated, or the reasons for fluctuations of fur prices. This meant that the Inuit did not have a clear idea of the importance of proper handling of skins or why quality was important in carving soapstone. Many Inuit complained that they were not getting a fair price for fur but had no other choice but to trade at the local HBC, although some fur was sold directly to DOT or U.S. Coast Guard personnel. Indeed, the local HBC trader had informed the Inuit that anyone found selling furs to anyone except the HBC would be refused credit. The RCMP officer thought that Inuit complaints were well-founded. He also stated,

During the last few years, the Canadian Eskimo has increasingly become the center of attraction to many departments concerned with the development [sic] of Canada's Northland. This situation had caused a certain amount of bewilderment [sic] to the natives, and they now find themselves torn between two environments, the old way and the new. The Eskimos now find themselves with new restrictions and codes of conduct, which are presented to them with little or no explanation. The lack of education is a serious handicap to equipping the Eskimo with the proper attitude toward civilization, and his forthcoming place in it (NAC18/1952a 1959).

Low-cost houses were being ordered for Clyde River by 1961. Other housing throughout the area consisted of scrap wood, canvas, and sod. The inside of these dwellings was lined with newspapers and magazines. Most were still heated with seal oil. While the overall economy was fairly high, prices for fox and seal dropped sharply. A handicraft project run by the RCMP was successful and additional income for the Inuit was generated from this endeavour. No serious problems were encountered and it was noted that most Inuit had a full time job merely providing the necessities to sustain their families (NAC18/1952c 1962).

Although 10 welfare or low-cost houses were built or available to be built in 1962, the typical Inuit dwelling consisted of scrap lumber and canvas. The general economy improved somewhat during the year. The RCMP estimated only 25% of sealskins taken were actually traded, with the remainder used for making footwear or for dog food. Euro-Canadian personnel at the settlement were endeavouring to teach the hunters not to waste their seals as it was thought more sealskins could be traded. Concerning the Euro-Canadian people in the community, the officer concluded his report by stating, "There was co-operation amongst all personnel throughout 1962. Everyone worked together trying to express to the Eskimos that the white mans [sic] interest in them is not exploitative, but to try and introduce them to a new way of life" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3g 1963).

By 1966, 20 out of 44 families were residing in Clyde settlement in 1966. Six men from these families were permanently employed. Total income increased because of more employment. Handicrafts also became more important as an income source (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3j 1967). Special note was made in the RCMP report for 1967 about the continual movement of people from camp into Clyde settlement (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968). A majority of Inuit in the detachment area resided in the community. Total Inuit population of the settlement was 160 and for outlying camps, 93. Only six head of families were permanently employed at Clyde settlement with most people relying on a combination of hunting, handicrafts, and part-time employment for income. Although a few people relied on welfare, most Inuit led a more traditional life. The RCMP officer thought that camp Inuit still had their traditional pride, led a close-knit tribal life, and almost appeared to have a contempt for a Euro-Canadian way of life (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

Conditions of housing for the majority of Inuit were not considered good by the RCMP officer. Dwellings continued to be made of scrap lumber, paper, canvas, and sod. Although the majority were kept

fairly clean, all had only one room with the toilet situated in full view in one of the corners. Usually, there was only one big bunk on which the entire family slept. The remains of any animals killed for food were left inside the houses, adjacent to the stove, and kept there until all the meat on it was consumed. It was then disposed of by dumping it outside the entrance door (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

Ski-doo's were continually replacing dog teams as a mode of transportation. This radically altered hunting behaviour. Hunters with ski-doo's obtained more game in less time over a greater area. There were disadvantages, though. Those who still hunted by dogteam had very little debt with the HBC and when they did, it was paid off on a regular basis. Ski-doo owners, however, were constantly in need of parts, gasoline, and oil for the machines (in addition to the original purchase price) and usually were heavily in debt (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

By the end of 1968, 210 out of 266 area Inuit were living at Clyde River settlement. Eight men were permanently employed. Carvings played a greater role in the local economy and an organization was formed to market the handicrafts. This, along with casual labour, hunting, and trapping, resulted in a good economic situation for the year. No serious problems were reported for the community during 1968 (NAC18/TA-500- 8-1-31 1969).

Education:

The DNA did not open a school at Clyde River until 1960. All Inuit children were eager to attend. The teacher was interested in the community and willing to work after hours (NAC18/1952b 1961). No further mention was made about education in annual RCMP reports until those for the year 1964. In that year, the RCMP officer noted the remarkable job the husband and wife team of teachers were doing to promote education. Classes for adults were held during the evenings although day school for children was hampered by the lack of a hostel

(NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3h 1965). No other comments about education were made in annual reports.

Health and Health Care:

General health of the Inuit was reported as being good in the early 1950s. The RCMP officer was concerned, though, in 1953, about the lack of a building to quarantine and treat sick Inuit. He was not impressed with the facilities at Clyde River and the lack of communication between medical survey teams and local Inuit. All sicknesses were treated by him and, while not concerned about government policy, he was responsible for the health and well being of the inhabitants of his detachment (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3b 1954). General health was considered very good to the mid-1950s, though (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3c 1956).

Medical facilities were still inadequate, however. A severe viral infection swept through the region in fall, 1956, killing five young children and an elderly couple (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957). Treatment was conducted with the supervision, by radio, of a doctor in Pangnirtung. Ample supplies of medicine were provided, but Clyde River was still in dire need of a building to treat patients. The RCMP officer had to care for the sick in cold and damp tents. Concerning the deaths of people in the area, the RCMP officer commented, "most of these deaths could have been prevented; specially those affected by the recent epidemic had some adequate heated quarters been available to treat those patients. In view of this pathetic situation, it seems [sic] that the elementary welfare of our eskimos is seriously jeopardized by the present lack of facilities for their sick and injured" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957).

Although TB was prevalent, general health conditions were good in the late 1950s and early 1960s (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3e 1958; NAC18/1952 a,b,c 1959,1961). The RCMP officer offered several comments about why

he thought Inuit were very susceptible to common illnesses and also expressed a sincere concern for their welfare. He thought that superstitions and ignorance of simple but essential sanitary practices contributed to their vulnerability to infections. As an example, one sick Inuk with a high fever decided to cool his body by going outside in -18 degree C. weather, eating ice, and leaving the entrance to his igloo open. He died a few days later, most likely from pneumonia. The communal use of unwashed household utensils and food was also thought by the officer to contribute to the spreading of disease. Efforts were constantly made by the RCMP to correct these situations. The officer also thought booklets on preventive medicine written in syllabics would greatly promote better health (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3e 1958).

Although overall health was good in the mid-1960s, three infants died of pneumonia in 1964. There were no epidemics or outbreaks of contagious diseases during the year, though (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3h 1965). As in previous years, other than several cases of TB, overall general health was good in 1966 (NAC18/TA- 500-8-1-3j 1967).

During 1967 a total of 16 births were recorded. The RCMP officer commented about birth control in his report, the only mention of the topic in any RCMP annual report reviewed. He wrote,

...the birth rate has gone up steadily in the last several years. The Eskimos themselves are concerned with this and several of them have mentioned to me that they have heard of birth control from their friends in Frobisher Bay or those hospitalized in the South. They say they are having "too many babies-too quick-no good". Contraceptives are not available locally, however, as this appears to be a problem throughout the Arctic, it could perhaps be brought to the attention of the proper authorities. This situation does require attention because the families continue to grow larger annually. The land simply does not produce enough for the head of the household to be able to support his family. Consequently they are forced into deeper poverty. A solution could possibly be reached to this problem through the mutual co-operation of the medical and welfare authorities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

At the end of 1968, the majority of Inuit were suffering from chest colds. It was also mentioned that many Inuit had poor health. Only eight births were recorded during the year (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3l 1969).

9.2.6 Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Igloolik

The Pond Inlet RCMP detachment, established in 1922, had jurisdiction over a large region of northern Baffin Island until RCMP posts were built in other communities. A detachment opened in Igloolik in 1964 but Arctic Bay was administered from Pond Inlet until 1968. The HBC has been in the region as long as the RCMP. A post was built in 1921 at Pond Inlet, 1936 in Arctic Bay, and 1939 at Igloolik. Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries have been an influence since the 1920s with permanent missions built in the early 1930s. Federal day schools have been in operation since 1959 in Pond Inlet and Igloolik, and 1963 at Arctic Bay. Reports by RCMP treat conditions in the region as a whole unless specified to a particular community. Discussion of the reports are also general to the region unless otherwise noted. Reports are available from 1952 onwards.

Socio-economic conditions:

Inuit in these areas were typical of those in other parts of the Baffin region in that while continuing to rely on hunting and trapping for income, they also depended on imported goods and services. Except for Inuit in Igloolik, most were turning more and more to store-bought southern clothing. Two reasons were offered by the RCMP officer concerning why Inuit preferred Euro-Canadian society's clothing over traditional wear. One was the increasing prices paid for sealskins by the HBC and Churches. If people could receive income from seals they no longer used all of them for clothing. Also, children's clothing could be purchased on Family Allowance, which made buying even more attractive. Many Inuit told the officer that Euro-Canadian clothing was superior and that they were ashamed of native clothing. The officer noted that in reality, store-bought clothing was highly unsuitable to the Arctic climate (NAC18/85/86/048/55aa 1953).

The general economy of the district in the mid-1950s was good

(NAC18/85/86/048/55bb 1955). Fox catches were good and prices paid for pelts adequate. Coal mining added to the income for a few people. Family Allowances, however, contributed the largest single source of income for people in the immediate Pond Inlet area at 37% of total income. Income would have been greater if the skins of seals which had been killed had been sold to the HBC. Apparently most hunters, in the opinion of the RCMP officer, because of laziness, did not properly skin common ringed seals. Only 200 skins were traded out of an estimated 7500 killed, 4950 skins of which would be surplus beyond what would be personally used by the hunter. One reason may have been that the HBC only paid \$1.00 per skin during the year. Regardless, sealskin was not used in clothing except for boots. Almost all Inuit wore Euro-Canadian clothing exclusively. The RCMP officer encouraged them to wear sealskin clothes but to no avail (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb 1955). Morale was noted as being very high, "As long as they have a little tobacco and sufficient food to get along from day to day, they are happy" (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb 1955).

The economy in the late 1950s was better than earlier in the decade (NAC18/85/86/048/55cc,dd,ee 1957,1958,1959). Igloolik did not fare as well in 1957-1958, though, because of poor fox catches in the area. Members from four families were employed full time at Pond Inlet, two at Arctic Bay, and four at Igloolik. More caribou were killed during the year and, especially in Igloolik, hunters were wearing caribou clothing while travelling in cold weather. Dwellings were gradually becoming more modernized. Many people used Coleman gasoline lanterns in their homes. In Igloolik settlement and around DEW Line sites, most of the houses were heated with old fuel drums converted into stoves. Scrap wood and anything that burned were used as fuel. In some homes, plexiglass scavenged from dumps was used for windows. The RCMP officer also saw evidence of discarded food from Dew Line sites, such as potatoes, carrots, and cabbage, being used as food. It was noted that a

system was to be in place within a year whereby garbage was to be burned except for scrap wood and metal which could be used for shelter (NAC18/85/86/048/55ee 1959).

During the early 1960s, general socio-economic conditions were relatively good and little change was recorded between years (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff, hh, ii, jj, kk, ll 1961, 1963, 1963, 1963, 1964, 1965). Most people wore store-bought clothing and lived in make-shift houses of scrap wood and canvas with moss as insulation. The most noticeable change in 1965 at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay was that Inuit dwellings had improved considerably (NAC18/85/86/048/55/mm 1966). During 1965, 14 prefabricated homes were brought into the area with more being ordered. In general, these houses proved to be quite practical and popular with the only complaint voiced being that, because they were considerably bigger than camp homes, they were harder to heat. The economy remained stable although prices for sealskins dropped considerably. Carving in Arctic Bay was good enough that many items were directly exported to the south. Although income from carvings was a small percentage of total income, it provided enough money that the carver would not have to go on welfare. A concern was raised by the RCMP officer about what the future would hold for the Inuit. In reality, it was quite prophetic.

The only foreseen problem in the immediate future in the population of the people, will be the mass migration from the camps to the settlements. This has been quite noticeable this year in Pond Inlet. Last year the settlement had a population of 103, while this year there are 155, which is a considerable increase. This is brought about mainly by the parents wishing to be close to their children, when they leave the camps to attend school in the settlement. Because of the close knit Eskimo family, this will continue to be a problem, and in the future, I would imagine a very great one (NAC18/85/86/048/55/mm 1966).

The officer continued to ponder that once young men grew up they may not wish to travel far from the settlement to pursue hunting and trapping as a livelihood.

The new RCMP detachment in Igloolik covered the area around Foxe Basin, including the settlement of Hall Beach. Hall Beach was

established around a DEW Line site which was run by the Federal Electric Corporation (FEC). Igloolik settlement consisted of eight one-room houses constructed by DNA for welfare recipients. These were often overcrowded, with up to 18 people living in the one room. Economically, the Igloolik area was similar to others, with income derived from furs and skins, carvings, wage employment, and relief payments. One problem encountered in Hall Beach was the increasing use of alcohol. It was feared that drinking would spread to Igloolik (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

Another problem which would affect Inuit in future, was the tremendous migration from camp to settlement. The estimated population of Igloolik settlement more than doubled from 118 to 239 during fall of 1964 to the end of 1965. The factor influencing these moves seemed to be the attraction of new housing being constructed by DNA. The RCMP officer strongly recommended that camp people should not be encouraged to move into the settlements. He wrote, "If the long range plan is to provide every Eskimo family with a house, then they should be built in the camps..." (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

Conditions in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay appeared prosperous during 1967. Seven new houses were erected in Arctic Bay and five in Pond Inlet. The RCMP officer reported that the new homes were kept clean and in a good state of repair. Morale was reported as being high in both communities. More Inuit were drinking liquor, though. Most of the Inuit made a living by hunting and trapping. In both communities, 11 were permanently employed by DIAND, four by the HBC, and one by the RCMP. Thirty to forty men were seasonally employed during construction and sealift months. Although sealskin prices drastically plunged, the general economy was good. Handicraft and carving co-operatives started in both settlements and did well. Ski-dogs were rapidly replacing dog teams and, as in all Baffin Island regions, people continually were moving from camps to settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/5500 1968).

By the end of 1967, housing in Igloolik consisted of 32 three-bedroom types, 23 smaller homes with partitioned rooms, and nine one-room dwellings. Hall Beach had 16 three bedroom homes and 11 partitioned houses. While general morale was high, several serious problems emerged. Liquor continued to be increasingly used. Also, the ease of obtaining welfare contributed to people not trying to make any other sort of living. A big problem concerned young men loitering about the community. They did not have an interest in hunting. The Igloolik Community Council continued to be active and conducted a meeting in December concerning liquor consumption in the community. They resolved to educate people about responsible use of liquor and stated that no person should drink to excess (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968).

Hunting continued to be a primary activity for the area. As more people lived in the settlement, herds of caribou increased in outlying areas but people had farther to travel to hunt them. The local cooperative was doing very well and the general economy was good. As indicated by the RCMP officer, the period of transition from the traditional to modern was almost complete.

The trend of abandoning the camp to move into Igloolik continued during the year. This movement will spell the end of the traditional Eskimo way of life eventually, however it appears that this will be the price exacted in the name of progress. I believe the big attraction is the housing being provided by D.I.A.N.D. (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968).

Only 34 out of 616 people remained in hunting camps in the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay areas by the end of 1968 (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969). There were 46 Inuit houses in Pond Inlet, but with a high influx of camp residents during the year, many were overcrowded with two or three families sharing one house. The majority of Inuit remained hunters and trappers, although it was unclear how much income was derived from these pursuits. The HBC expanded in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay and sold many luxury items such as frozen meat, vegetables, T.V. dinners, candy, tape recorders, record players, and radios (NAC18/ 85/86/048/55rr 1969).

Only 38 out of 733 people living in the Igloolik detachment area remained in camps. Older Inuit continued to make a living from hunting and trapping but increasingly the younger Inuit relied on welfare for their livelihood. According to the RCMP officer, the future held no promise for the younger generation. Liquor was no longer a problem in Igloolik, though. This was attributed to pressure from the Igloolik community council to drink responsibly. There continued to be problems with drinking in Hall Beach, however. Overall, general conditions among older Inuit were favourable with many saying they had never had such a good life (NAC18/85/86/048/56d 1969).

Education:

As schools were not present in the Pond Inlet region during the 1950s, if children were to be educated, they had to go elsewhere. This indeed occurred, as in 1956, 10 children from Igloolik and three from Pond Inlet were sent to the Roman Catholic Mission residential school at Chesterfield Inlet in the Keewatin (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb1 1956). By the middle of 1957, 20 children from Igloolik and three from Pond Inlet were at Chesterfield Inlet (NAC18/85/86/048/55cc 1957). The consequences of education in outside residential schools were addressed by the RCMP officer in Igloolik for the year 1965. He wrote,

Some of the older fathers are not in favour of sending their children outside to school. As one hunter stated, his children are sent out to school and then they are given back to him. The boys don't know how to hunt and sometimes they don't even speak the [Eskimo] language properly. Most of them, both boys and girls, don't even desire to live like an Eskimo after they return. They are content to hang around the larger settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

The officer stated later in the report that most Inuit agreed that education was a necessity but unless educated young people got a job with Euro-Canadian organizations they were not able to support themselves. As the officer wrote about the concerns of one Inuk father, "he was worried because when he died, who would look after his son?" (NAC18/85/86/ 048/56a 1966).

Regardless of the outcome of education, more and more children were attending school throughout the region. During 1966 there was a 40% increase in the number of children attending school in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (NAC18/85/86/048/55nn 1967). In Igloolik, the RCMP officer continued to be concerned about young people who had returned from residential schools outside the region. He wrote,

The separation of children from their parents for the purpose of education is another demoralizing factor, both for the parent and the child. The child no longer comes under the required guidance of the parents. A comparison of the young people who were sent "outside" with the young people going to school locally can be made resulting in a poor opinion of most of these "returnees". There is not one returned student employed locally, they are content to loiter in the settlement. A more appropriate description of some of these healthy young men would be "educated bums" (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967).

Concerns with education were similar throughout 1967 and 1968 with the RCMP officer in Pond Inlet mentioning increasing enrolment and well attended classes at the schools. In 1968, there were five teachers at Pond Inlet and two at Arctic Bay. School children at Pond Inlet numbered 122 with average attendance of 96% (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969). The RCMP officer in Igloolik during 1968 was again concerned about the lack of opportunities for young Inuit returned from residential schools. Inuit adults were also concerned about proposals to construct a high school in Frobisher Bay. They were firmly opposed to sending children to Frobisher Bay because of its reputation of leading youth into drinking and delinquency (NAC18/85/86/048/56d 1969).

Health and health care:

Throughout the 1950s, health care was handled by the RCMP or personnel at the HBC posts where there were no RCMP. Radio consultation with the doctor at Pangnirtung was required for serious cases. Pneumonia plagued the area with 13 young babies or old people dying from the illness in 1955. The RCMP officer thought fewer would have died had a building been available for treatment and quarantine (NAC18/85/

86/048/55bb 1955). While pleas for a medical centre continued in 1956, there were no serious epidemics during the year. Fatalities did result from flu and pneumonia nevertheless (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb1 1956).

General health was good throughout the region in 1958. Incidences of TB were decreasing. The major concerns were the high frequencies of skin diseases and the disproportionately high rates of infant mortality (NAC18/85/86/048/55dd 1958). These same problems were mentioned as major concerns again in 1959 with even more skin problems. No serious epidemics occurred, however, although several deaths at Arctic Bay and Igloolik were thought to have been caused by polio (NAC18/85/86/048/55ee 1959).

By the end of 1959 there still were no nursing stations at Arctic Bay or Pond Inlet. Health matters were similar to previous years during 1960 (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff 1961). Although health care facilities were still inadequate at Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet at the end of 1962, overall general health of the Inuit was good (NAC18/85/86/048/55hh 1963). Contrary to other parts of the region, those in Igloolik were reported as having very poor health during 1962. An epidemic of measles struck there in spring and summer, killing 10 people. The weakened state of health from the measles epidemic was believed to have led to increases in TB, colds, and pneumonia (NAC18/85/86/048/55jj 1963).

While nursing stations were still not established in Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay in 1963, general health of the Inuit was reasonably good. The RCMP handled health care in Pond Inlet and the HBC manager administered it in Arctic Bay. Health in Igloolik was very poor with epidemics of measles and chicken pox (NAC18/85/86/048/55kk 1964).

While health was reasonably good in other areas, it seemed to be worse around Pond Inlet in 1964. The RCMP officer reiterated several times in the report about the need for a nursing station. He stated, "I feel the need for a Nursing Station at Pond Inlet can not be stressed too much", pointing out that the RCMP treated approximately 500 cases

for the year (NAC18/85/86/048/5511 1965). A nursing station was promised in 1965, to be built in 1966. While overall health was good during 1965, the RCMP officer still stressed the importance that the nursing station should indeed be constructed (NAC18/85/86/048/55mm 1966).

A small health centre was opened in Igloolik during 1965. Pneumonia caused the majority of deaths in the area, but overall health was good (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966). Health at Pond Inlet in 1966, however, was not good. Total number of cases treated increased from 500 in 1965 to 1091 in 1966. Tuberculosis continued to be a problem. A nursing station was opened in September and included an x-ray unit. Comments were made that the Inuit's fondness for gum and candy would most likely lead to a decline in dental health (NAC18/85/86/048/55nn 1967).

Nursing facilities were greatly expanded in Igloolik in 1966 with three registered nurses stationed there. General health was good and rates of infant mortality declined substantially, which the RCMP officer attributed to the improved nursing facilities (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967). The first full year for the nursing station at Pond Inlet was 1967. Epidemics of measles, influenza, and colds struck most, if not all, Inuit there. Overall health in Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet was fairly good, though. It was observed that the teeth of Inuit were good except those of families of full time employees. These people could afford candy, gum, and pop (NAC18/85/86/048/55oo 1968).

According to the RCMP officer in Igloolik, Inuit health improved due to the conscientious and competent work of the three nurses there. Overall health was good (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968). By the end of 1968 a registered nurse was posted to Arctic Bay and two at Pond Inlet. General health was good and attributed to better medical attention. Tuberculosis was present, however (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969).

9.2.7 Resolute

The first structure in the modern era to be erected at Resolute on Cornwallis Island was a weather station in 1947. By 1949, an airfield had been built which was operated and staffed by the RCAF until 1964, when DOT took over its management. A contemporary permanent Inuit presence at Resolute did not commence until 1953 when, as with Grise Fiord, families were moved there from Port Harrison, Québec and Pond Inlet, Baffin Island. Renewable resources were becoming scarce near Port Harrison and the government thought people would obtain more animals on Cornwallis Island. While beyond the scope of this dissertation, there is still debate about the true reasons behind these moves. There is no doubt that the government considered the move an experiment to determine whether Inuit could live off the land and sea in the High Arctic. Indeed, in a memorandum to the Deputy Minister of National Defence, an official from DNA stated, "the transfer of a few families of Eskimos to Cornwallis and Ellesmere Islands was made as an experiment to determine how well Eskimos from southern areas could adapt themselves to conditions in the high Arctic and make a living for themselves by hunting and trapping" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14a 1954). The Inuit were promised that life would be better in these more northern places.

Thus, once Inuit were moved, the intention was to encourage them to live as traditional a life as possible. Resolute, as opposed to Grise Fiord, offered more contact with Euro-Canadian influences as a RCAF base was there. The RCMP annual reports from Resolute, then, document the effects of these contacts.

Socio-economic conditions:

On 7 September 1953, four families of 23 Inuit from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet disembarked at Resolute to begin their new lives in the High Arctic. Sufficient country food was obtained upon their arrival

and there did not seem to be any concern about the availability of food for the winter. Residents lived in tents with snow igloos being built for the winter. The Inuit camp was about 7 km from the airbase. A community centre approximately 9m by 5m was constructed out of discarded packing boxes from the base. During the winter it was used as a workshop and church. The RCMP officer also used it as a classroom to instruct children. The officer ordered ivory and soapstone so the Inuit could carve during the dark period of winter. Camp morale was high and everyone said they were happy in their new home (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14b 1953).

Since arrival at Resolute the only Inuit allowed on the airbase were those employed there. Contact with Euro-Canadians was kept to a minimum so that Inuit would practice more traditional hunting and trapping activities. The RCMP officer decided not to encourage carving as he did not want the Inuit to depend on this for their livelihoods. Comments were made by the officer concerning whether more people should be moved to Resolute. He thought that the game resources could support more people. If Ottawa decided to bring in more Inuit, however, the RCMP officer encouraged DNA to allow more time and thought to be put into planning the project (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14c 1954).

Life seemed to be progressing smoothly for the Inuit in Resolute during 1955. All stated they were content and wished to remain for a longer period of time (NAC18/ TA-500-8-1-14d 1955). They were, however, very interested in having other Inuit from their homelands join them. The RCMP officer was in favour of such a move as he thought the area could support at least four more families. The officer suggested that if more Inuit were moved, they be flown to Resolute to avoid the lengthy trip by ship (NAC18/ TA-500-8-1-14d 1955).

Three large DNA buildings were brought to the Inuit camp during 1956, but because of cold weather, were not ready for use by winter. The RCMP officer suggested the buildings be used for a school/recreation

centre, a retail store, and a warehouse. Inuit expressed a desire to collectively purchase and operate two large power boats for hunting. They had enough money to purchase these outright. The RCMP officer, however, thought that only one power boat be bought. This was because one boat would be easier to maintain but, more importantly, with one boat the RCMP officer could more easily supervise hunting and make sure animal conservation was practised (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14e 1956).

Overall, the economy during 1956 appeared very good. One example demonstrating this was that an Inuk hunter, when living in Port Harrison, had poor equipment and lived entirely on Family Allowance and welfare relief. This same man at Resolute owned his own winter home and had several dozen traps, a good sled, rifle and shotgun, and a team of 10 good dogs. While he and other Inuit seemed satisfied with Resolute, all experienced a desire to return to their homeland for perhaps one year to visit friends and relatives (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14e 1956).

[Promises allegedly given to the Inuit who desired to return to their homeland eventually produced great misunderstanding between the Inuit and the government. Inuit who were moved to Resolute and Grise Fiord claim the government promised them that they could be returned to their homelands, if they so desired (Edmonton Journal 1990). The RCMP report from 1956 also indicates this promise as the officer wrote, "The writer believes they were promised by the Department they could return at the end of a given time" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14e 1956). Two reports by independent consultants also confirm this promise (Hammond 1984; Hickling Corp. 1990). The Hickling report states that the government did not intend to keep this understanding in force beyond one, two, or three years.

Regardless of the situation, it was apparent in 1956 that some Resolute Inuit desired to return to Port Harrison, even if it was temporary (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14e 1956). There was no evidence that they did so. Further analysis of this promise and the overall issue of the

relocation of Inuit to Resolute and Grise Fiord is beyond the scope of this study. It is mentioned here to demonstrate that, at the least, there was a lack of communication and misunderstanding between the Inuit and those in Ottawa who had power to influence policy towards the Inuit.]

By summer 1957, the Inuit village consisted of 11 wooden houses used as winter quarters only. They were made entirely from scrap materials discarded from the airbase. All houses had one light fixture with power supplied by DOT (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14f 1957). Most Inuit clothing was store-bought with a good portion of it sewn from bulk material purchased at the local trading store. While hunting and trapping were the primary sources of income, during the spring and summer some of the Inuit men were employed part-time by various government departments and the RCAF. Other than for employment, the only time Inuit were allowed to visit the airbase was when they wished to see the RCMP office there. Similarly, the Inuit village was out of bounds to all Euro-Canadian people unless permission was obtained from the RCMP (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g 1959).

Regardless of the desire expressed in 1956 to return at least temporarily to their homelands, in 1958 all Inuit advised the RCMP that they were very happy at Resolute and under no circumstances would they consider returning to their original homes. They further stated that since moving, they have never been hungry, had good homes, and most had considerable savings (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g 1959).

Overall, economic and social conditions at Resolute seemed very good throughout 1959 (NAC18/TA-5008-1-14h 1960). Inuit purchased many luxury goods such as radios, tape recorders, phonographs, irons, and electric sewing machines. Morale was reported as being very good except that there was hostility between Port Harrison and Pond Inlet Inuit. Openly they got along well but in private conversations with the RCMP officer they clearly expressed a dislike towards each other (NAC18/TA-

5008-1-14h 1960).

The economy continued to be sufficient for Inuit needs during 1960 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961). Four men were permanently employed, one as a caretaker for the school, one by the RCAF base as a cleaner, and two by the RCAF Survival School. Hunting, trapping, carving, and casual labour provided income for the others. In November, the Resolute Eskimo Co-op was formed and it was hoped interest and activity for this endeavour would grow. The RCMP officer actively participated in the formation of the Co-op and taught management skills to those interested. The only stated problem was that Inuit men occasionally got drunk at the RCAF canteen and sometimes caused disturbances. Only men who worked for the base, permanently or temporarily, had the privilege of going to the bar (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961).

Conditions were similar in 1961 except that the RCAF Commanding Officer revoked any drinking privileges of the Inuit. There had been too many domestic squabbles after men returned home from a night of drinking (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14j 1962). Again, in 1962, general conditions seemed good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963). Inuit continued to be banned from purchasing alcohol. Although some Inuit men disagreed with this rule, the RCMP reported their home life and work had improved and all the women in the settlement were happy to have the ban enforced (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963).

Permanent jobs were lost in 1964 when the RCAF no longer ran the airbase. Temporary jobs increased, however, and overall employment remained about the same as in previous years. Four new houses were added to the settlement with material purchased from the local Co-op. Many items of hunting equipment were bought including 11 ski-doos. General morale was high except amongst those who were laid off. Several people expressed a desire to visit friends in Port Harrison or Pond Inlet although, overall, residents were content with life at Resolute (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14l 1965).

Employment conditions improved during 1965 with 12 Inuit permanently employed. All the rest of the men in the settlement were able to gain temporary employment by the various government and private agencies operating in the area. The RCMP officer thought the Inuit had been using their money wisely. Most of the Inuit owned ski-doo's and hunting and trapping was still an important component of the economy. It was thought that restrictions on purchasing alcohol at the base canteen contributed to the relatively good quality of life enjoyed at Resolute. Equally important was that Euro-Canadian people stationed at Resolute were still forbidden to visit the Inuit settlement unless they had permission from the RCMP (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966).

Throughout the 1960s, clothing in Resolute consisted primarily of store-bought material with boots made of seal and cold-weather parkas of caribou. During 1966, however, even these were being replaced by southern material. Sealskin footwear was being replaced by flight boots and caribou wind pants by nylon fabric. Housing was still considered good with prefabricated homes supplied by DIAND being promised for 1967. Permanent employment remained steady with 12 Inuit still hired. The RCMP officer mentioned that employment seemed to be a primary desire of the adult male population. They had come to realize the benefits and security employment provided compared to the hardships encountered in their old way of life (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967).

Comments were made in 1967 about situations which could lead to problems in future. It was noted that the 12 permanently hired Inuit at the airbase had been granted membership in the base social club. This allowed them full bar privileges, which resulted in alcohol abuse. Another comment indicated that there were concerns over work performance by the Inuit employed at Euro-Canadian establishments in the area.

The Eskimos at Resolute Bay, as in other parts of the Arctic, realize that they are able to skip a day's work, present a feeble excuse, and get away with it, however, as the cry seems to be equal pay to their White counterparts, it appears that the employer concerned should expect equal performance and reliability. To this end, it could very well mean that employers

will find it necessary to take sterner measures in hiring and firing Eskimo labour in the future. As well as being educated to preserve that which is given to him, the Eskimo should be educated to the extent that he fully realizes that wage rates depend on capability, performance and reliability (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967).

If RCMP reports during the early to mid-1960s generally portrayed overall conditions in Resolute as being good, the report from 1968 presented more negative problems in the high Arctic community. The most positive comment made was that the Inuit were in good spirits most of the time. Regardless of their morale, however, the RCMP officer presented data indicating a variety of problems present in the settlement.

One problem concerned the debt which Inuit accumulated since 1966. Many families were in debt of \$500 to \$1500 to the Co-op. In addition, all people owed the Co-op between \$19,000 and \$33,000 combined for fuel oil over a two or three year period. Apparently individuals helped themselves to oil with no supervision or proper accounting of what they took. The Co-op also ran out of food early in December 1968. In looking at the bookkeeping of the Co-op, the RCMP officer and an official from DIAND discovered that not enough food had been ordered. The manager had ordered an excess of chewing gum, candy, and other non-essential items rather than staple food. This was exacerbated by the fact that Inuit were relying more on store bought food than country food. By the last of December, people had been without meat for anywhere from one to two months and were living primarily off tea and bannock. This was pointed out to the DIAND Area Administration who then ordered food from the Project Manager on the airbase. The project manager then supplied meat and salt for the Co-op to sell. The RCMP officer strongly recommended that a responsible, energetic, and patient [Euro-Canadian] person be brought in to manage the Co-op (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

Although all Inuit who wanted to work found full or part-time employment, their work habits were not up to the expectations of the

employers. The RCMP officer kept track of earnings and/or work days missed over periods at the end of 1968 and beginning of 1969. From 2 November 1968 to 16 November 1968, the 10 Inuit permanently employed at the base could have earned \$2123. Instead, they took many days off and earned only \$1376. From 9 December 1968 to 4 January 1969, nine Inuit could have worked 198 work days but missed 52 (26%) of the total possible. From 4 January 1969 to 14 January 1969, seven employees missed 30, (54%) out of 56 days that could have been worked. In addition, these workers were provided with three full meals a day. This led to neglect of the men's families, as the men did not obtain food for their families. It was proposed that employees only receive one meal a day, lunch. The men were then credited for breakfast and supper at the Co-op and thus would have to purchase food for their families as well as eat with them.

A social problem which the RCMP had to deal with was the increasing problem of drinking too much liquor. Indeed, the social club in the Inuit settlement, where people went to watch movies and other entertainment, was disbanded as people preferred to go to the airbase, where they watched movies and then went to the bar. (Granted, one other reason for disbanding the club was that admission was charged to watch movies borrowed free from the base.) Base employees could sign friends into the bar and once they arrived and drank, it was difficult for Euro-Canadian personnel to get some Inuit to go home. Often Inuit would be found wandering through the buildings at 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning. One fatality occurred when an Inuk drove his ski-doo while drunk, got lost, and froze to death (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

Euro-Canadian personnel, who were males, were also part of the problem as they bought copious quantities of liquor for Inuit men and then proceeded to fondle and kiss their wives. One Euro-Canadian man was also caught selling a bottle of Scotch whisky to an Inuk. One criminal incident of mischief and one of breaking and entering with

assault involved two Inuit on separate occasions in late 1968 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

Responses to these incidences resulted in base personnel being warned against selling Inuit too much liquor. They were quite co-operative in working to alleviate the drinking problem at the base. Also, showtimes for movies were altered so that they finished near bar-closing time and the Inuit did not have enough time to get drunk before going home. Again, the RCMP officer recommended that someone be stationed at Resolute to oversee social and welfare activities of the Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

Education:

Pupils were attending school at Resolute in 1959. Children showed great interest in their education and the RCMP officer thought they were progressing further than other communities which had had school for several years (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14h 1960). Education courses were expanded in 1960 to include adults. The classes were well attended (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961). Regular courses for children and night classes for adults continued throughout the 1960s (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963).

Classes at the school in the settlement during 1965 continued as usual. English and child care classes were conducted for adults by the school teacher and his wife (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966). Although unknown whether education in Resolute proceeded without any problems throughout the 1960s, or if the RCMP officers did not consider mention of education necessary in their reports, no further discussion of the topic was included from 1966 to 1968.

Health and Health Care:

During the few months after their arrival at Resolute in 1953, there was no sickness amongst the Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14bb 1953).

No major health problems were reported during the 1950s, except TB. In 1958, four Inuit were evacuated and a total of 12 Inuit from Resolute were in the south undergoing treatment for the illness. The only other health problem during 1958 was a mild epidemic of influenza which led to the death of a one year old baby (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g 1959).

The RCMP officer thought that one reason for good health was that the Inuit were extremely clean, especially in comparison to those the officer worked with on southern Baffin Island. Health care was administered by the RCMP although the RCAF medic at the airbase could be consulted if a health problem occurred beyond the officer's knowledge (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14h 1960).

The main health problem during 1960 was a large increase in respiratory illnesses contracted by the Inuit after an influx of Euro-Canadians during the summer. By September, measures were taken to restrict contact between Euro-Canadians and Inuit and there was a discernable decrease in the illness. The RCMP officer continued to be responsible for medical treatment with frequent assistance from the RCAF Medic (NAC18/TA- 500-8-1-14i 1961).

Health remained good throughout 1961. The RCMP officer and RCAF Medic arranged weekly Saturday medical visits to all Inuit homes, thus enabling them to treat illness in the early stages (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14j 1962). Weekly medical checks continued in 1962. Overall health was generally good and most illnesses were diagnosed and treated in their early stages. Serious medical cases were evacuated to Edmonton or Thule (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963). General health continued to be good in 1964 although nine people were evacuated, mainly to Charles Camshell Hospital in Edmonton. Seven of them had TB, one was an accident victim with a crushed foot, and one had an apparent brain haemorrhage (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14k 1964).

Patients with TB must have made recoveries during 1965 as only two Resolute Inuit were in hospital with the disease at the end of the year.

Overall health was good and no outbreaks of illness reported (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966). Health was also reported as being good in 1966 although an influenza epidemic struck in April resulting in the death of a 33 year old woman (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967).

A nursing station was established in the community in June 1967 and health care in Resolute became the responsibility of a registered nurse. There were 31 people who had TB residing in the settlement but all were on medication (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

9.2.8 Grise Fiord

Regardless of which reason was paramount to the government- the assertion of sovereignty or to provide a better living for the migrants- the movement of Inuit from Québec and Baffin Island to Ellesmere and Cornwallis Islands was regarded as an experiment. If the outcome of the experiment is determined solely by the present and continued existence of Grise Fiord and Resolute, it was a success.

Inuit from Port Harrison, Québec were brought to Grise Fiord as renewable resources were depleted in their homeland. It was thought that Ellesmere Island would provide abundant wildlife to support the new inhabitants. People from Pond Inlet were also moved to Grise Fiord as it was hoped that they would teach the Québec Inuit how to adapt to the more northern environment and different resource base. The RCMP detachment for the area was located at Craig Harbour and existed as a post to assert sovereignty over Canada's most northerly island. The post was moved to Grise Fiord in 1956. The history of permanent contemporary Inuit habitation of Ellesmere Island began in 1953.

Socio-economic conditions:

The officer writing the first RCMP annual report on conditions of Inuit at Grise Fiord began by stating they were transferred by the government under a new rehabilitation programme under experimentation.

Four families arrived at Craig Harbour from Port Harrison, Québec and two from Pond Inlet on two different ships on 29 August and 4 September. All families were gradually transferred by police boat to an area on Lindstrom Peninsula near the mouth of Grise Fiord approximately 60 km west of Craig Harbour. The RCMP officer chose this location because he did not want the Inuit too near the RCMP post, which could lead to loitering and dependence on handouts. Also, the site was far enough away from the main feeding grounds of caribou and musk-ox that overhunting would not occur. It was thought, however, that the Inuit would move farther west within a year to a location which afforded a better harbour (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5a 1953).

The RCMP supervised caribou and seal hunts in order to assure that the newcomers had enough food for the coming winter. Food and clothing rations were also given as the Inuit were starting their new lives essentially without funds. Both Pond Inlet and Port Harrison families were put together as one group and a headman from Port Harrison appointed to be their leader. This man was also designated trader at Craig Harbour. There was little friction between the groups and they appeared to co-operate well. The chief difference was that the Port Harrison group was more used to Euro-Canadian society's clothing and food. They seemed to adapt to more traditional ways, however, with the aid of those from Pond Inlet. Overall, it was thought that the Inuit were happy and content in their new residences and there were no indications that any wanted to return to their homeland (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5a 1953).

Reports continued to present an optimistic picture of life during the 1950s (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5ab,c, 1953,1954,1955). The economy was good and there were no major problems in the area. Freeman (1968) reported, though, that until 1956 when the RCMP moved their post to Grise Fiord, the Inuit and the RCMP existed more or less independently of each other as far as day to day matters were concerned. The RCMP may

thus have not been as attuned to Inuit socio-economic conditions as those officers in other communities who lived more closely to the Inuit. Freeman (1968) and other reports (Hammond 1984; Edmonton Journal 1990; Hickling Corp. 1990) suggest that there were problems and hostilities between the RCMP and Inuit and between Inuit groups from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet. Furthermore, promises of being able to return to their homelands were made similarly to those made to Resolute Inuit ((Hammond 1984; Edmonton Journal 1990; Hickling Corp. 1990). Again, it is beyond the scope of this study to investigate these problems. What is important here is that there again appears to have been a lack of communication and some misunderstanding between all parties involved with the settlement.

The RCMP did indicate in 1955 that several Inuit were expected to request a return to their home communities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c 1956). Many wanted relatives to move to Grise Fiord. The officer also reported that, "the two groups of natives comprising the camp appear to be getting along quite well together and helping each other out when necessary. The writer has not heard of any serious disputes and has not had to act as mediator to date. If they are having any disputes same [sic] are being taken care of by themselves" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c 1956). Thus, the RCMP officer did not say there were no problems, just that he had not heard of any.

The RCMP post was moved to Grise Fiord from Craig Harbour during 1956. Income during 1956 continued to be derived from fur sales, carvings, Family Allowances, and casual labour. Overall conditions were good and the RCMP officer did not state that any major problems existed (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5d 1957). Conditions were similarly reported throughout the late 1950s (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5e,f 1957,1959).

Mention was made in the RCMP report for 1959 that the Inuit camp to the west of Grise Fiord was divided into two separate groups. One camp of 16 persons consisted of people from Pond Inlet and the other

camp, five kilometres further west, was inhabited by 24 people from Port Harrison. Two families of 18 people resided in Grise Fiord settlement. People still seemed pleased to be living in the area although one man said he would like to move his family to Resolute so that he could be with his brother. The RCMP officer discouraged this move as he thought others may want to follow. Other than that, no major problems were encountered (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5g 1960).

Camps continued to be divided in 1960 with families from Port Harrison living to the west of the camp from Pond Inlet. Four families lived in Grise Fiord settlement, all but one coming from outside the area. Although trading in fox pelts decreased substantially from 1959, total income remained approximately the same as revenues from carving, sealskins, Family Allowances, and wage employment increased. In addition to carvings, Inuit continued to manufacture old-style articles such as kayaks and harpoons for sale through the DNA in Ottawa. Clothing and food were adequate for Inuit needs. Two new low-cost housing units were built with more on order. Overall, the RCMP officer concluded that morale was high, that the Grise Fiord area had very good Inuit camps, and that the Inuit were generally healthy and happy (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5h 1961).

Only two families lived at Grise Fiord settlement in 1961. The heads of these families were Special Constables with the RCMP. Hunting and trapping remained the primary activity of the other Inuit. Seal was the staple diet and very little outside food was purchased except flour and sugar. On 22 December 1960 a co-operative was formed which took over all matters of trading and retail goods. It was very successful throughout 1961. Morale remained high partly due to the entertainment offered for the Inuit. This consisted of periodic films from the National Film Board, regular radio programmes over CBC Northern Service, and broadcasts from Greenland (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5i 1962).

As a school was to be built in 1962, the RCMP officer had to

decide and justify where the building would be constructed. It was decided that the best location was near the RCMP building at Grise Fiord settlement. Most of the reasoning for choosing this site turned on weather conditions, access to drinking water and harbour, and available land for the community to expand. It was fully realized that all Inuit would relocate near the school once it was built so that families could remain together (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5i 1962).

Just as predicted, in May and June, 1962, all Inuit moved from their camps and rebuilt their homes in Grise Fiord settlement which was 13 km to the east. They divided the community with Pond Inlet families to the west of the RCMP post and Port Harrison families to the east. While people appeared very happy and lived comfortably in their homes, the majority had to have welfare relief from the government as the prices paid for fox pelts declined drastically. The Co-operative continued to function well and overall conditions remained good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962).

Morale in Grise Fiord during 1963 was thought by the RCMP officer to be at an all time high (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k 1963). Construction projects, such as the building of a single men's residence and office quarters for the RCMP, employed Inuit labour. Along with earnings from furs and carvings, income for the year was good. Perhaps the biggest morale boosters, however, were the social activities which residents enjoyed. The CBC Northern Service radio programmes were extremely popular and the Inuit showed a keen interest in news reports. The RCMP officer was involved in many discussions with the Inuit after the assassination of U.S. President Kennedy. People desired to know more about the structure of the United States Government and the effect Kennedy's death would have on Canada and other nations. The only major problem was the concern the RCMP officer had for the future economy of the region. He thought that income levels were bound to drop after the community was built up and new construction ceased (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k

1963).

Socio-economic conditions were similar in 1964 to those of previous years (NAC28/TA-500-8-1-5l 1965). Although overall conditions were not appreciably different from past years, several indicators of Inuit attitudinal change from more traditional to more modern were reported by the RCMP officer for 1965 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m 1966). Very few men pursued carving for supplemental income and expressed an increasing desire to work as casual labourers rather than making a living from hunting alone. This was attributed by the RCMP officer as being caused by Inuit having permanent homes, children attending schools, and fluctuations in fur prices. Construction in the settlement was extensive enough to provide income to each of the families living there. One result, however, was the increasing tendency to purchase items which were not beneficial or economically practical. This was brought about by mail-order catalogues and the ease in which a variety of items could be obtained. None of the families were financially sound except the two Special Constables. The RCMP actively encouraged more fiscal responsibility (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m 1966).

Other than housing construction, there were very few wage labour jobs in the settlement. Hunting and trapping still were the main sources of income. Overall financial conditions were fair but often Inuit still purchased articles which they did not need. While morale was quite high, there was a definite tendency for people to segregate themselves socially into groups based on being from Pond Inlet or Port Harrison. Three families expressed a desire to return to their homeland because of dissatisfaction of overall community feelings towards each other (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5n 1967).

Although overall socio-economic conditions were adequate during 1967, the RCMP officer wrote,

The greatest obstacle locally to morale is the noticeable division between the Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Eskimo. No form of leadership is evident with this division and no one Eskimo is willing to make decisions affecting the community. Having a

representative from each group results in no communication between representatives and again no decision being made. This greatly hampers any community projects wherein the Eskimo is encouraged to organize, decide and produce results using his own initiative (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968).

The social division between natives of Pond Inlet and Port Harrison continued as strong as ever in 1968. This still did not seem to adversely affect overall socio-economic conditions, however. Hunting was the major income source with a few more men and younger boys making soapstone carvings to supplement their income. Most men were employed casually for construction, unloading ships, and hauling supplies, ice and garbage (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

Education:

Materials for a school did not arrive in Grise Fiord until 1961 with the structure being erected for use in 1962. The building served as a community centre in addition to classrooms. With the full co-operation of the teacher, the school also served as a workshop for Inuit pursuing carpentry work, stone carving, and other activities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962). Very few comments concerning education were made by RCMP officers in the early 1960s. This may indicate that classes were running smoothly and that there were few problems associated with education. It was noted that during 1963, evening sewing and cooking classes were conducted at the school for women and these proved beneficial to their lives (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k 1963).

In 1967, four older children from the settlement attended school in Fort Churchill, Manitoba. The RCMP officer stated that the boys did not like it there as they were unhappy with the strict discipline and wanted to return to the settlement and resume hunting activities. The girls, on the other hand, when returned for holidays, found Grise Fiord dull and dead and anxiously awaited their return to Fort Churchill. The officer was concerned as the girls showed no interest in the settlement activities or normal chores. He wondered what this bode for the future

of these young women (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968).

A second classroom was added to the school in 1968 and one additional teacher brought in. Both teachers appeared very capable and most of the children showed a keen interest in school. Three older pupils were still in Fort Churchill with a fourth in a tuberculosis hospital. One Inuk man had received training in Co-operative management in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Upon returning to Grise Fiord, he was further trained by the RCMP officer so that he could become the manager and Secretary-Treasurer of the Co-operative. The RCMP officer thought the Inuk was quite capable, showing a keen interest in his work (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

Health and Health Care:

Upon arrival, and until the end of 1953, all Inuit enjoyed good health (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5a 1953). Medical care was given by the RCMP with periodic visits during ship time from outside doctors. No cases of severe sickness were reported throughout 1954 and the one death for the year resulted from a heart attack (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5b 1954). Throughout the 1950s, overall general health was good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c,d,e,f 1956,1957,1957,1959). The medical team which arrived by ship in 1956 to examine the Inuit commented that they were the healthiest Inuit they had encountered (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5d 1957). There was a comment in 1957 about the steady increase in tooth decay most likely because of the increasing amounts of sugar and candy being consumed (NAC18/TA- 500-8-1-5e 1957).

Health continued to be good in the early 1960s (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5g,h,i,j 1960,1961,1962,1962). After the arrival of the supply ship in the summer of 1960, though, everyone contracted severe chest colds. Then in November, a severe outbreak of whooping cough and thrush broke out. One child died and several became seriously ill. By the end of the year all Inuit were well (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5h 1961).

The only common problem during 1962 was that numerous infected teeth had to be extracted by RCMP members. The medical officer aboard the annual supply ship reported that on a per capita basis, Grise Fiord Inuit were the healthiest group of people in the eastern Arctic (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962). Although RCMP members treated 383 cases of sickness and injury during 1963, most consisted of common colds, aches, sprains, and other minor ailments. In addition, two dozen teeth had to be extracted. No serious diseases were contracted although one elderly man had a chronic heart problem and an elderly woman had arthritis and incontinence (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k 1963). Health conditions remained basically unchanged through 1964 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5l 1965).

During 1965 and 1966, overall health continued to be very good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m,n 1966,1967). Health continued to be good in 1967 with no emergency evacuations (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968). Five children, though, had to be taken to Frobisher Bay for massive extractions of decayed primary teeth. In addition, the RCMP officer provided insight into how Inuit were treated by the medical survey team on the annual supply ship. This was the officer's first year in the community.

In August of 1967, the "C.D. Howe" visited the settlement and carried out an X-ray survey and medical examination of the people. This was my first experience with the medical ship and it left me with little impression. Prior to its arrival, the ship's helicopter landed in the settlement and immediately started shuttling the Eskimos out to the approaching ship. When the ship dropped anchor in the harbour, at 2.00 P.M., the helicopter had almost all of the people on board. They were herded below decks, an identifying number was stamped on their wrists in printing ink, and they were X-Rayed and examined. The lay dispenser [the RCMP] was never consulted with regards to any immediate problems or certain individuals who should be given special attention. At 8.00 P.M. the survey was over, the people were returned to the shore by barge and at 9.00 P.M. the ship was underway. On his last trip to shore, the helicopter pilot left an envelope containing a copy of the results of individual examinations, the contents of which are understandable only to a medical student (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968).

An outbreak of whooping cough occurred in 1968 but other than that, general health was good. There was one case of TB few other

serious health problems. In December, medical duties were taken over by the wife of one of the school teachers. She was a registered nurse and well qualified for the job (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

10. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EAST ARCTIC AREAS, 1950-1968

10.1 Introduction.

In Chapter 9, relevant information contained in the RCMP archives was presented. A more complete compilation of data contained in the archives is in Appendix 1. All of this information is used for analysis in Chapter 10. The problem is that there are 1653 pages of RCMP reports with at least one comment pertinent to this study. It is very difficult to reference them when analyzing overall conditions. Therefore, when comments are made about specific topics in Chapter 10, only the most important examples of RCMP documents are referenced.

Chapter 10 is divided into two sections. The first, section 10.2, presents generalizations of socio-economic conditions characteristic of the entire Baffin region. They include elements which illustrate problems associated with the development of the Arctic. Section 10.3 then summarizes the development indicators of income, morale, general health, and population. This summarization demonstrates some differences between communities in the Baffin region. Analysis presented in Chapter 10 and all chapters in this dissertation are then discussed in Chapter 11.

10.2 Generalizations of Socio-economic Conditions.

Many socio-economic conditions were similar in all areas of the east Arctic. These warrant further discussion as they directly affected life and illustrate the consequences of development processes on a peripheral region. Important events or observations mentioned enough to consider them characteristic of the entire Baffin region include:

1. The exploitation of Inuit by the HBC.
2. The numerous incidences of TB and other 'imported' diseases.
3. The effects of alcohol on the community.
4. The concerns about lack of jobs for educated young Inuit.
5. The attraction of modern conveniences, especially luxury items.

10.2.1 The exploitation of Inuit by the HBC

In no report did RCMP officers generalize that the actual Hudson's Bay Company overtly and purposely exploited the Inuit. There were direct statements, however, of individual HBC personnel taking advantage of Inuit ignorance in matters of business (NAC18/55a,b,c,e,y,z 1947 1951 1951 1953 1954 1955; NAC18/1952a 1959}. These centred on cases when the HBC paid Inuit very low prices for furs, skins, or handicrafts and when they threatened the Inuit if products were sold directly to the customer. One of the most explicit examples occurred in Clyde River during 1959 (NAC18/1952a 1959). It was clear to the RCMP officer that the Inuit had no knowledge of what their furs and handicrafts were used for, how their value was estimated, nor the reasons for price fluctuations. Their product was bought at low prices and then sold for much more in stores. Furthermore, the post manager informed the Inuit that they would be refused credit at the HBC store if they sold furs to anyone but the HBC.

While most likely uncommon, there is no reason to assume cases like this did not happen in other settlements. (Granted, there was no mention in the RCMP reports of HBC exploitation after the 1950s.) This does not negate the fact that exploitation did occur and at the time- the 1950s- when the Inuit were in the midst of rapid transition to new socio-economic systems and most likely at a peak of vulnerability to exploitation. This means that they were getting conflicting signals. They were firmly tied to a market economy and at the mercy of market conditions. It must have been frustrating, however, to realize that the product for which they were paid was sold at a much higher price while concomitantly they could only buy high priced imports at the same place which bought their product to begin with. Yet, there was no regulation, let alone law, to minimize this exploitation. Events such as these illustrate the underdevelopment of a people and domination in a periphery by a much more powerful core.

10.2.2 The numerous incidences of TB and other 'imported' diseases

A common consequence of European exploration and colonization throughout the world was that their diseases accompanied them on their quests. Most indigenous people had no immunity to these illnesses and often succumbed to disease. This was certainly the case amongst the Inuit in Arctic Canada. Inuit were especially susceptible to TB when their living quarters were overcrowded and sanitation poor. Individual RCMP officers, and other Euro-Canadians, did all they could to teach people proper sanitation and hygiene but their efforts were doomed as long as a co-ordinated effort by Ottawa was lacking to prevent diseases from spreading.

RCMP officers in Pond Inlet were very clear in expressing their dissatisfaction with facilities there to treat and quarantine patients (NAC18/85/86/048/55aa,bb,11,mm 1953 1955 1965 1966). The officer in Clyde River during 1956 explicitly wondered why facilities were not built which offered preventive health care (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957). Indeed, it was not until the late 1960s when several settlements actually received nursing stations. The RCMP, HBC, or teachers had to look after health care until then. Though health care was provided yearly when the medical ship arrived, most Inuit did not have access to physicians on a regular basis. When they did receive attention on the medical ships, the Inuit were sometimes treated poorly from a psychological standpoint (NAC18/55z 1955; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968).

10.2.3 The effects of alcohol on the community

In every east Arctic area, alcohol was mentioned at least once in the RCMP reports. If alcohol abuse was not discussed as being a problem in the community, it was remarked that there were fewer problems because alcohol was not available (NAC18/55qq 1965). The most blatant examples of the adverse effects of alcohol occurred in Frobisher Bay (NAC18/55i, 1,m,o 1962 1965 1966 1968). Increased health problems and social

deviance such as child abuse were clearly attributed to alcohol abuse. Significantly, when alcohol was forbidden in Resolute, morale was higher and fewer problems were encountered by the RCMP (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14j,jj 1962 1963). Even more important was that in Igloolik, the Inuit town council tackled the problem directly. What resulted was a pronounced decrease in alcohol abuse (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc,d 1968 1969). Indeed, contemporary Igloolik continues to prohibit alcohol use in the settlement by anyone- resident or visitor. The town council's action concerning this problem in the 1960s is a clear illustration of the success which is possible when solutions to problems are addressed by indigenous peoples themselves, rather than by non-indigenous officials in positions of power.

The question remains, though, whether a prohibition of alcohol throughout the Arctic would have been a wise development strategy at the time. The judgement that Inuit would have been better off without alcohol is, in itself, based on a paternalistic, colonialistic attitude. For a development agent or government to decide that a legally available beverage for citizens elsewhere in the country is forbidden to one society of that country demonstrates domination and superiority. Yet, there is ample evidence that RCMP considered alcohol to be a prime contributor to problems in Inuit communities (NAC16/55i,l,m,o 1962 1965 1966 1968; NAC18/85/86/048/55oo,y 1968 1969; NAC18/85/86/048/56cc,d 1968 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i,p 1961 1969). This illustrates a major dilemma facing development agents throughout the world.

By definition, those educated and experienced in development often indeed know what is best for others. But how does one determine what rights have to be repressed in order to benefit the society as a whole? And who speaks the truth when it comes to imposing one's will on a less-powerful people? While the topic is far too complex to deal with in this dissertation the basic premise of this argument is appropriate: some modern ideas and goods were a detriment to Inuit society but Inuit

as Canadian citizens were entitled to the same technologies and goods as all Canadians. The most viable solution to the alcohol problem in the Arctic is what occurred at Igloolik- the Inuit themselves decided to solve it.

10.2.4 The concerns about lack of jobs for educated young Inuit

Many RCMP officers (who were not even trained to be development agents) clearly recognized that education did not guarantee employment for young Inuit. No officer stated that education was wrong, but many expressed insightful analyses of the consequences of education on young Inuit living in communities lacking the economic base to provide them with jobs (NAC18/55j,m,n,o 1963 1966 1967 1968; NAC18/55rr,ss 1965 1966; NAC18/56c 1968; NAC18/85/86/048 55y 1969; NAC18/85/86/048/56a,b,d 1966 1967 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968). These officers recognized and poignantly expressed similar conclusions to what academics and government officials have spent years discovering- that youth were becoming alienated because they could not fit or live in either their parent's traditional culture nor in modern, Euro-Canadian socio-economic sectors.

Some officers advocated practical education such as basic health care, proper hygiene, teaching about the benefits of traditional food and clothing, and utilizing traditional skills and material to make a living (NAC18/55h,hh,ss 1959 1960 1966; NAC18/85/85/048/55mm 1966; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5g,k 1960 1963). Courses in these topics were conducted by RCMP officers and school teachers but it was insinuated in the reports that courses were implemented by the individual instructor based on local conditions. This meant that these courses were not necessarily part of an overall development scheme. As in developing countries throughout the world, educational development centred on the quantitative expansion of schools in which knowledge was imparted necessary for a modern, industrial society. Without job opportunities,

however, educated indigenous individuals did not necessarily benefit from the development of their society into those more like the modern world.

10.2.5 The attractiveness of modern conveniences, especially luxury items

There are two components in this observation and they were mentioned in reports of every east Arctic area. One consists of modern conveniences including health care, housing, schools, and employment opportunities. The presence of these components clearly attracted people to settlements (NAC18/55ss 1966; NAC18/56b 1967; NAC18/85/86/048/55d,vv 1955 1966; NAC18/85/86/048/55mm 1966; NAC18/85/86/048/56a,cc 1966 1968; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5i 1962). The other component is more difficult to observe but a very important contributor to Inuit desires to live in permanent settlements. These were luxury goods such as candy, pop, radios, televisions, etc. which were frequently mentioned by the RCMP as being highly in demand (NAC18/55c,e,f 1951 1953 1957; NAC18/55y,z,jj 1954 1955 1961; NAC18/85/86/048/55l,o,x 1959 1962 1968; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968; NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5l 1965). Certainly, the mere mention that they were luxuries indicates that they were relatively expensive and not necessarily essential and/or appropriate to Inuit diets and lifestyle. This observation reinforces the conclusion made in Chapter 6- consumer goods were the seeds which attracted Inuit to settlements and provided the motivation to obtain income to purchase these items.

The observations made about the 1920s, which were discussed in Chapter 6, continued throughout the 20th century. Tea, flour, and especially tobacco became necessities to the Inuit (Weissling 1991). Furthermore, the money used to buy them went into the coffers of the HBC, not the community. Also, in the 1950s, store-bought clothing became the norm for Inuit to the neglect of the more practical and cheaper homemade garments made of animal skins (NAC18/55f 1957;

NAC18/55jj 1961; NAC18/85/86/048/55a 1953; NAC18/85/86/048/55aa,bb 1953 1955; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967). It was ironic but poignant that the RCMP officer in Lake Harbour mentioned that the Euro-Canadians in the settlement wore traditional clothing more than the Inuit (NAC18/55jj 1961).

By the late 1960s the HBC expanded their buildings and inventories. What would be considered luxuries by southern society, or at least goods which should be bought after money was set aside for necessities, became highly desired by the Inuit. The problem was that often these luxuries were preferred over goods which were more beneficial to Inuit health and lifestyle. (Again, a value judgement is inherent in statements like this. Who are we to prevent fellow Canadians from purchasing whatever they want?) But in purchasing desired luxury goods, traditional and healthier goods such as country food were often neglected (Royal Commission 1986). The RCMP officers recognized this situation but any solution to the problem would have required overhauling the basic structures of a market economy. These changes would have been completely out of the hands of the RCMP.

What is most important to garner from this discussion is that in the 1950s and 1960s, consumer goods were a prime attraction causing people to move to settlements and a motivator for people to obtain income. This was especially true for major purchases which were used for hunting. These included rifles, imported boats, outboard motors, and snowmobiles. It is my opinion that the created demand for consumer goods brought about by the HBC and other forces of Euro-Canadian, market-oriented society was the *most* influential component of development processes leading to change in Inuit society. Indeed, this type of scenario was commented on theoretically by Brown (1981), which was discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

10.3 Summary of Development Indicators.

10.3.1 Overview

As reiterated throughout this thesis, historical information about the east Arctic is difficult to quantify because much of the needed data are non-existent. By interpreting information from the RCMP archives and other sources, though, quantitative values may be produced based on qualitative information. It is recognized that doing this is purely subjective but there are very few other options.

Tata and Schultz (1988) identified four major issues when creating an index of development: (1) selection of variable, (2) weighting of variables, (3) method of creating a composite index, and (4) utility of the index. Tata and Schultz (1988) also included a literature review and comments about other studies which created development indices. Many of the early attempts to indicate development centred on determining economic growth by measuring indices such as GNP (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4). Because meeting basic human needs should also be a goal of development, however, development indicators should reflect more than values such as GNP. Measures of individual human welfare also need to be included. These can involve purely subjective measures such as determining whether people are happier than before development occurred in their region (Morris 1979). Often these are derived by attitudinal surveys of the people affected by development. More objectively based measures reflecting quality of life can also be employed. For example, literacy rates or infant mortality rates.

Oppong and Ironside (1987) used both subjective and objective criteria to measure the quality of life in Northern Alberta. They stated,

...whereas the objective indicator is able to measure a predefined variable succinctly, it is unable to reveal anything about the numerous other variables that interact with that one variable to determine satisfaction and, therefore, human behaviour. While a subjective indicator may not be able to measure as effectively as the objective, its scope, and therefore the volume of information embodied in it, is much greater. The two sets of indicators need to be considered together (Oppong and Ironside 1987:81).

The above authors also emphasize, however, that subjective indicators are difficult to interpret and that researchers can never be too cautious in the interpretation of subjective evaluation data.

Analysis in this section of dissertation analyzes both objective and subjective indicators of development as occurred in the Baffin region of the eastern Canadian Arctic. Because the RCMP archives are the primary data source for this analysis, indicators are selected from variables which were all discussed in the RCMP reports. In the final analysis, four indicators were chosen, including two objective and two subjective factors. As demonstrated in Chapter 8, objective data were derived from the RCMP reports. These include income source and population statistics. As described in Chapter 9 and Appendix I, the RCMP reports are also full of subjective data. These include comments on the morale and general health of the Inuit. Thus, income source and population are objective and morale and health are subjective variables selected to indicate development in this section.

15.3.2 Variables used for development indicators

Selection of variables:

Income source is an obvious measure of economic development. A high proportion of an individual's income derived from wage employment indicates that modern, market economic forces are working in the society. Conversely, a high proportion of income obtained from traditional pursuits indicates less of an integration with modern socio-economic employment sectors. Neither source identifies the degree of development of an indigenous society *per se* but rather the extent of its integration with modern conditions. Development as defined in this dissertation (see Chapter 2) means that the indigenous society relies on modern sectors for employment and income. Therefore, the higher the proportion of income earned from wages, the higher the extent of development.

As discussed in Chapters 3, 5, and 8, government aid also played a significant role in providing income to the Inuit. While income derived directly from government aid is not earned from employment sectors, it nonetheless reflects an interaction and integration with modern socio-economic sectors. A high proportion of income from government aid reflects a dependence on external sources of influence. These external sources are indicative of development in that income from these sources is controlled by, derived from, and intricately tied to the national system of social services based on complex forces of a large market economy.

Thus, income derived from wages and government aid reflects the integration of indigenous society into modern sectors. Because a definition of development used in this dissertation focuses on the integration of indigenous society into societies of Western economic systems, income derived from wages and government aid can be considered a measure of development in this section. This does not mean that government aid *per se* is a sign of development. Rather, as a *source* of income, it indicates a greater involvement with developed economic systems.

Morale, whether asked directly of individuals being investigated or determined by an agent working closely in a society, is a very subjective indicator of personal welfare and happiness. In this analysis, morale of the Inuit is based on the opinions of RCMP officers. One of the jobs for the RCMP was to oversee the welfare of the Inuit and report on their general happiness (Morrison 1985; Duffy 1988). Many of their reports list morale under a separate heading and almost all officers made general statements about Inuit morale. Unfortunately, definitions of morale may have varied with the individual officer. As with analysis throughout this dissertation, however, RCMP officers' opinions are accepted as first-hand information derived from actually living in areas of Inuit habitation. It is interesting to note,

however, that an RCMP officer admitted that determining the morale of people was difficult unless he lived in the same area as the Inuit throughout the year. He wrote in 1962,

The morale of the Arctic Bay Eskimoes [sic] was found to be good at the time this Detachment's patrol visited that area. However this does not give a true picture of the situation at Arctic Bay. Eskimoes [sic], in general, want to give visitors the impression that they are happy and prosperous and therefore it is only through continual contact with the people throughout the year that an accurate account of the conditions can be made (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff1 1962).

It must be noted, then, that until RCMP posts were established in some settlements, descriptions were made based on periodic visits to the settlement.

Regardless, morale is used as an indicator of general human welfare. If morale was high, it is assumed that individuals' overall basic needs were being satisfied. It does not indicate the degree of interaction with modern sectors, however. But, based on the definitions of development used for this dissertation, as an indigenous society became integrated into modern socio-economic sectors, it received increased access to the benefits of the modern, developed world. These benefits theoretically should assist in more easily satisfying basic human needs and, by extension, lead to higher morale amongst the people using these benefits. In the Arctic, it is assumed that over time, modern goods and services became more integrated into indigenous society, leading to overall economic and social development. Therefore, high morale indicates high levels of development as people receive more and more benefits of modern conveniences.

Comments about the general health of the Inuit as derived from the archives are also subjective and based on the opinions of the RCMP. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, and described in Chapter 9 and Appendix I, the RCMP had close contact with health concerns of the Inuit and indeed were the primary and only dispensers of health care in many communities. They, therefore, were able to make judgments concerning

the overall general health of the Inuit.

As discussed in Chapter 5, adequate health care is a basic right of all people and a goal of development efforts. Good health indicates a high level of human welfare. If it is assumed that development includes the introduction of modern health care, then as Inuit society became more integrated with this element of modern society, the Inuit themselves should have received correspondingly more health care benefits. Thus, over time, as the Arctic developed, modern health care should have become more accessible to the Inuit and their general health should have improved. Good health, then, would indicate greater integration with modern sectors and therefore development.

While the population of individual Baffin region settlements can be objectively determined, using it as an indicator of development is more subjective. A large population may or may not lead to better human welfare and meeting of basic needs. From an economic development perspective, however, modern goods and services are accessible to more individuals when situated in larger communities. Therefore, in a larger community, a greater number of people should be able to receive the benefits of development. Furthermore, in a market economy, a larger population means a greater supply and demand for commodities and greater opportunities of employment in a diversified economic system. For this analysis, then, the size of settlement population is seen as being directly related to the degree of development in that community.

Weighting of variables:

All 1653 pages with at least one comment about topics pertinent to this study were reviewed in order to determine income source, morale, health, and population of the Inuit in the east Canadian Arctic from 1959-1968. (Earlier data were not included as the archives did not provide enough specific information about the four topics for all settlements in all years prior to 1959). In addition, Area Economic

Surveys were used for some objective information concerned with income source and population. A listing of sources employed in this analysis is given below.

Frobisher Bay: NAC18/55h-55o 1959-1968; MacBain Meldrum 1975.
 Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset: NAC18/55ff-55vv 1959-1968; Higgins 1968.
 Pangnirtung/Broughton Island: NAC18/85/86/048/55j-55y 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Clyde River: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f -TA-500-8-1-3l 1959-1969; Anders 1967.
 Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay/Igloolik/Hall Beach: NAC18/18/85/86/048/55ee-55rr 1959-1969; Anders 1965; Bissett 1868a.
 Resolute: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g -TA-500-8-1-14p 1959-1969; Bissett 1968b.
 Grise Fiord: NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5f -TA-500-8-1-5p 1959-1969

The weighting for income source was derived from information as outlined in Section 8.2.3 of Chapter 8 in this dissertation. Three levels of classification were used: income which was less than one-third derived from wages and government aid was weighted as (1), income which was greater than one-third and less than two-thirds derived from wages and government aid was weighted as (2), and income which was greater than two-thirds derived from wages and government aid was weighted as (3). Thus, a weight of three indicates a greater degree of integration with modern socio-economic sectors and, therefore, development.

The weighting for morale is derived directly from RCMP annual reports for each settlement. All reports gave either a statement directly indicating morale such as "morale was high during the year" or "the Eskimos are demoralized", or made statements such as "conditions were the same as last year" or "morale was better than last year". For Frobisher Bay during 1959, 1960, and 1968 estimates had to be made based on general statements made about other conditions in the reports. Out of 10 annual reports for 10 settlements (100 possible responses), direct statements about morale were mentioned 79 times. If morale was listed as poor or terms such as demoralized were used, morale was weighted as (1), if morale was listed as average or fair it was weighted as (2), and if morale was listed as excellent, high, or good it was weighted a (3). Thus, the higher the score, the greater the level of human welfare in terms of morale.

Officers in virtually all annual RCMP reports commented about general health conditions of the Inuit. Many specified details concerning types of illness and how many people were sick during the year but the RCMP officer always mentioned statements concerning general health or overall health conditions in the region of his jurisdiction. Statements such as "health was good" or "people's health was poor during the year" were used to weight overall health in the region. If health was reported as poor, it was weighted a (1), if health was reported as average or fair, it was weighted as (2), and if health was reported as good or excellent it was rated a (3). Thus, the higher the score, the better the health of Inuit in the area.

The size of population in individual communities was quantified based on the analysis for Chapter 8 of this dissertation. If the settlement had a population of less than 200 people, it was weighted a (1), if it had a population of 200-500 people it was weighted a (2), and if it had a population greater than 500, it was weighted a (3). Communities with a larger population were thus weighted higher on overall development scores.

Method of creating composite index:

Composite scores were compiled by simple arithmetic. The larger the score, the greater level of development was indicated. For column totals, the highest possible score was 30. Thus, for example, a settlement with a score of 30 in the morale column was described by the RCMP officer as having excellent, high, or good morale each year over the ten year period. The highest possible grand total score over all variables and all years is 120. A settlement with this score had high or good morale and health, over two-thirds income derived from wages or government aid, and had a population of over 500 in each of the ten years reviewed.

Utility of index:

As related to the overall purpose of this section of dissertation, the higher the composite score, the greater the level of development and integration with modern socio-economic sectors. A discussion follows the presentation of the composite index, which is shown on Table 10.3.1 and Figures 10.3.1 - 10.3.7. No other composite index of development indicators about Arctic Canada has been read in any literature reviewed for this dissertation. The information conveyed here, as far as is known, is thus new and provides a point of reference for further study.

It is fully realized that the compilation of these variables is very subjective. Even adding scores together to obtain a grand total score is of questionable statistical value. This is because the variables are of a very different nature. However, the scores presented in this section are meant only as illustrations of some development indicators as conveyed by the RCMP. Scores serve as a base for discussion concerning various aspects of development in east Arctic communities. Furthermore, because they are merely simple measures and categorical, there are very few ways to standardize or manipulate the data to obtain more information.

10.3.3 Discussion

One indication that life was not the best for many Inuit was that, based on information from the RCMP, Frobisher Bay did not fare well from development inputs. Health was consistently poor and morale not much better. Even though achieving the highest possible score for population, Frobisher Bay had almost the lowest grand total score and the lowest scores for morale and health amongst all east Arctic areas. Indeed, it had the lowest possible score for health. This is reflected in the RCMP reports which specify the high incidence of alcohol abuse, diseases, and dissatisfaction with life in general (NAC18/55f,h,i,j,k, l,m,n,o 1957 1958 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968). Although

Table 10.3.1: Summary of Socio-economic conditions in east Arctic areas.

INCOme source:	1= <1/3 wages and government aid			
	2= >1/3 but <2/3 wages and government aid			
	3= >2/3 wages and government aid			
MORale:	1=Low	HEAlth:	1=Poor	
	2=Average		2=Average	
	3=High		3=Good	
POPulation:	1=<200	TOTAL:	Total Score	
	2=200-500	Column Total:	30 possible	
	3=>500	Grand Total:	120 possible	

FROBISHER BAY

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	(3)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(8)
1960	(3)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(8)
1961	3	1	1	3	8
1962	3	1	1	3	8
1963	3	1	1	3	8
1964	3	1	1	3	8
1965	3	2	1	3	9
1966	3	2	1	3	9
1967	3	2	1	3	9
1968	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(9)
Totals	30	14	10	30	84

LAKE HARBOUR

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	3	2	1	7
1960	1	3	2	1	7
1961	1	3	3	1	8
1962	1	3	3	1	8
1963	1	3	3	1	8
1964	1	3	3	1	8
1965	2	3	3	1	9
1966	2	3	3	1	9
1967	2	3	3	1	9
1968	3	3	3	1	10
Totals	15	30	28	10	83

Table 7.3.1 (continued)

CAPE DORSET

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	2	3	2	2	9
1960	2	2	2	2	8
1961	2	2	2	2	8
1962	3	2	1	2	8
1963	2	1	3	2	8
1964	2	2	1	2	7
1965	3	2	3	2	10
1966	3	2	3	2	10
1967	3	2	2	3	10
1968	3	3	2	3	11
Totals	25	21	21	22	89

PANGNIRTUNG/BROUGHTON ISLAND

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	3	3	3	10
1960	1	3	3	3	10
1961	2	3	3	3	11
1962	3	3	3	3	12
1963	2	3	3	3	11
1964	2	3	3	3	11
1965	2	2	2	3	9
1966	2	2	2	3	9
1967	3	2	3	3	11
1968	3	2	3	3	11
Totals	21	26	28	30	105

Table 7.3.1 (continued)

CLYDE RIVER

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	3	2	1	7
1960	1	2	2	1	6
1961	3	2	3	2	10
1962	3	2	3	2	10
1963	3	2	3	2	10
1964	2	2	3	2	9
1965	3	3	3	2	11
1966	3	3	3	2	11
1967	3	3	3	2	11
1968	3	3	1	2	9
Totals	25	25	26	18	94

POND INLET

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	2	1	2	6
1960	2	3	2	2	8
1961	3	2	2	2	9
1962	3	3	2	2	10
1963	3	3	2	2	10
1964	3	3	1	2	9
1965	3	3	2	2	9
1966	3	3	1	2	9
1967	3	3	3	2	11
1968	3	3	3	2	11
Totals	27	28	19	20	94

Table 7.3.1 (continued)

ARCTIC BAY

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	2	1	1	5
1960	1	3	2	1	6
1961	1	2	2	1	6
1962	1	3	2	1	7
1963	1	3	2	1	7
1964	2	3	2	2	9
1965	3	3	3	2	10
1966	3	3	3	2	11
1967	3	3	3	2	11
1968	3	3	3	2	11
Totals	19	28	23	15	85

IGLOOLIK/HALL BEACH

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	2	1	2	6
1960	1	3	2	3	8
1961	1	2	2	3	8
1962	1	3	1	3	8
1963	1	3	1	3	8
1964	2	3	2	3	10
1965	3	2	3	3	11
1966	3	3	3	3	12
1967	3	3	3	3	12
1968	3	3	3	3	12
Totals	19	27	21	29	96

Table 7.3.1 (continued)

RESOLUTE

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	2	3	3	1	9
1960	2	3	3	1	9
1961	2	3	3	1	9
1962	2	3	3	1	9
1963	3	3	3	1	10
1964	3	3	3	1	10
1965	3	2	3	1	9
1966	3	2	3	1	9
1967	3	2	3	1	9
1968	3	2	3	1	9
Totals	26	26	30	10	92

GRISE FIORD

YEAR	INC	MOR	HEA	POP	TOT
1959	1	2	3	1	7
1960	2	3	3	1	9
1961	2	3	3	1	9
1962	2	3	3	1	9
1963	2	3	3	1	9
1964	2	3	3	1	9
1965	2	2	3	1	8
1966	2	3	3	1	9
1967	2	2	3	1	8
1968	2	3	3	1	9
Totals	19	27	30	10	86

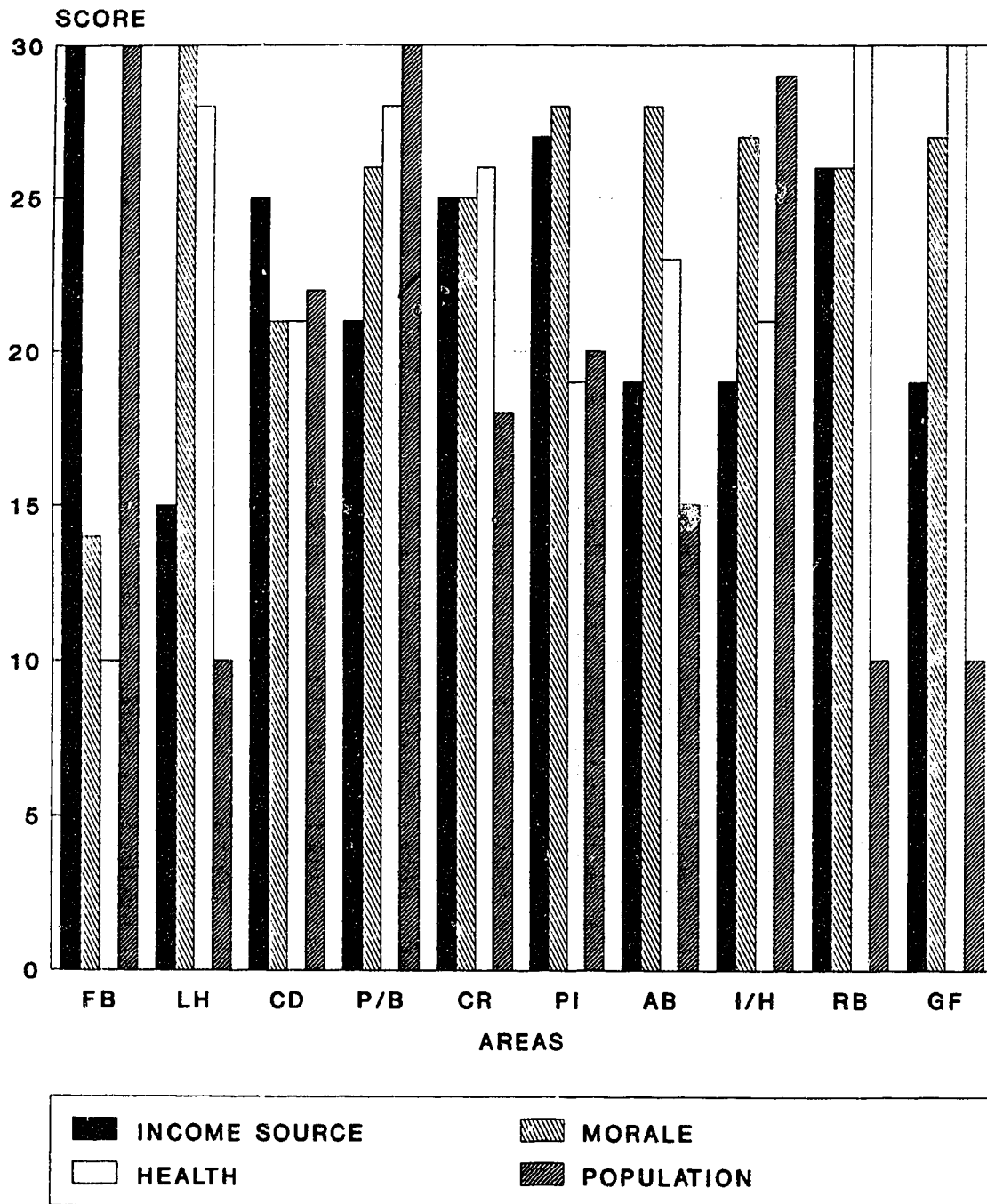


Figure 10.3.1: Total scores of specific development indicators, 1959-1968.

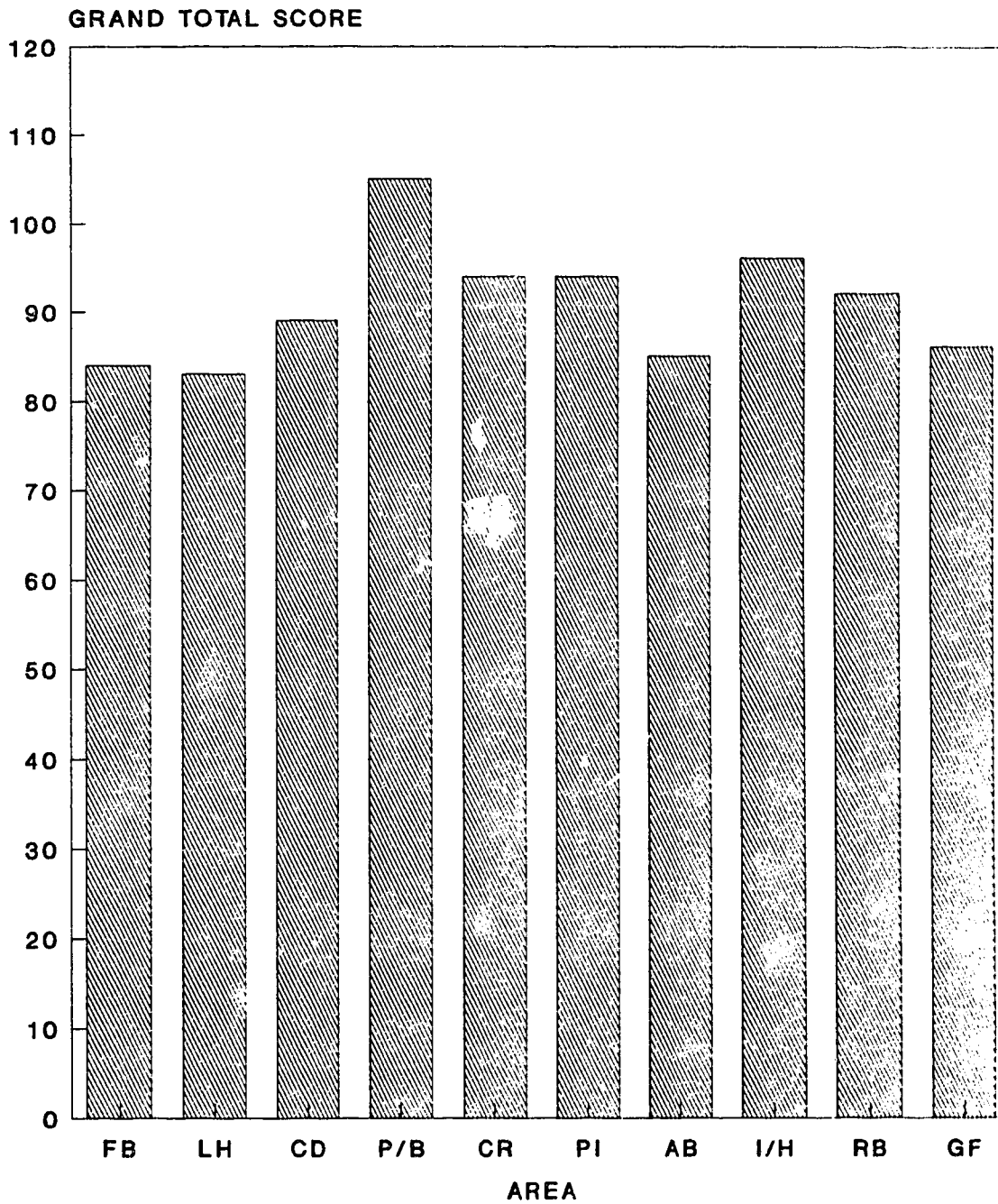


Figure 10.3.2: Grand total scores of all development indicators, 1959-1968.

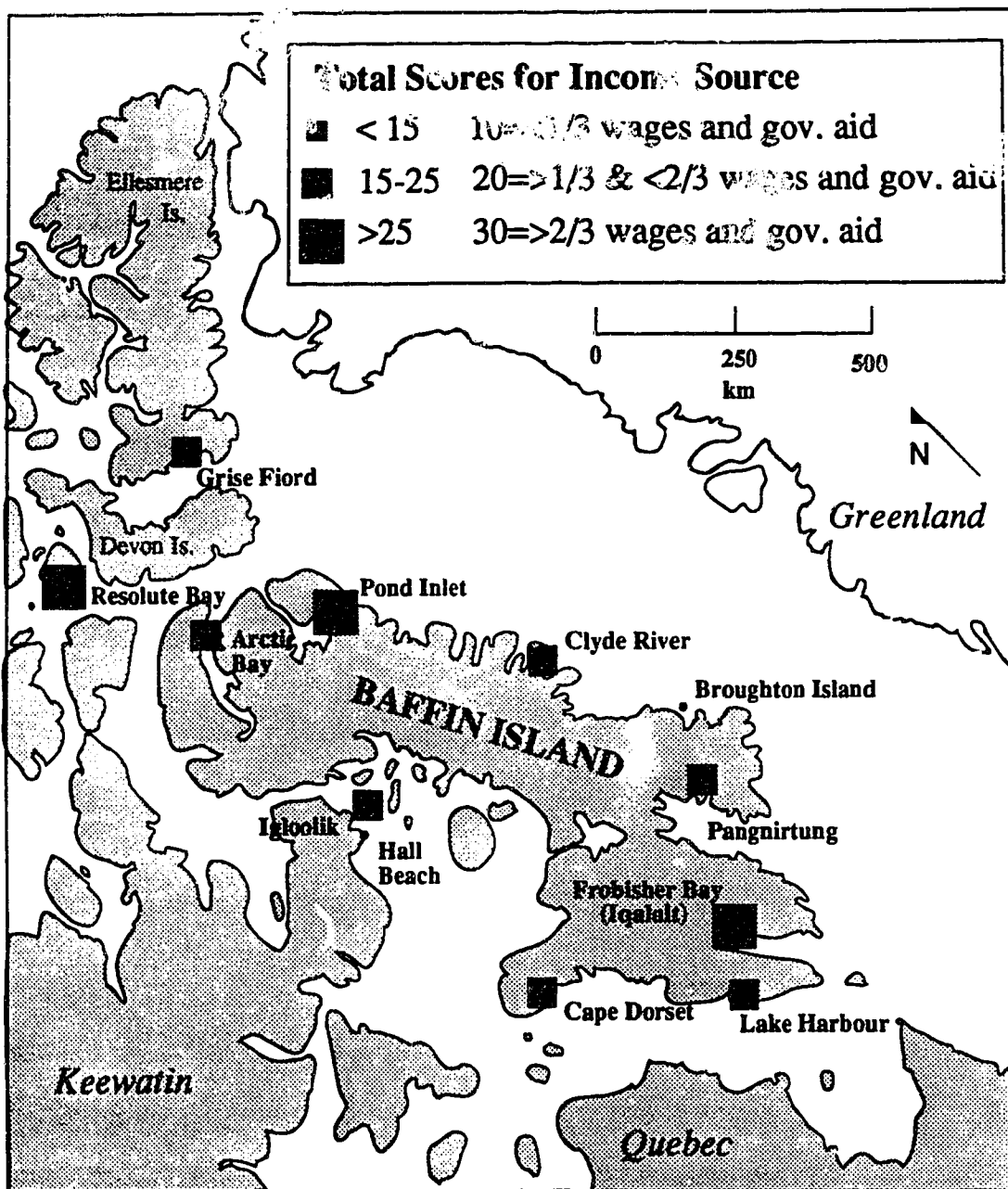


Figure 10.3.3: Income source scores on a regional level, 1959-1968.

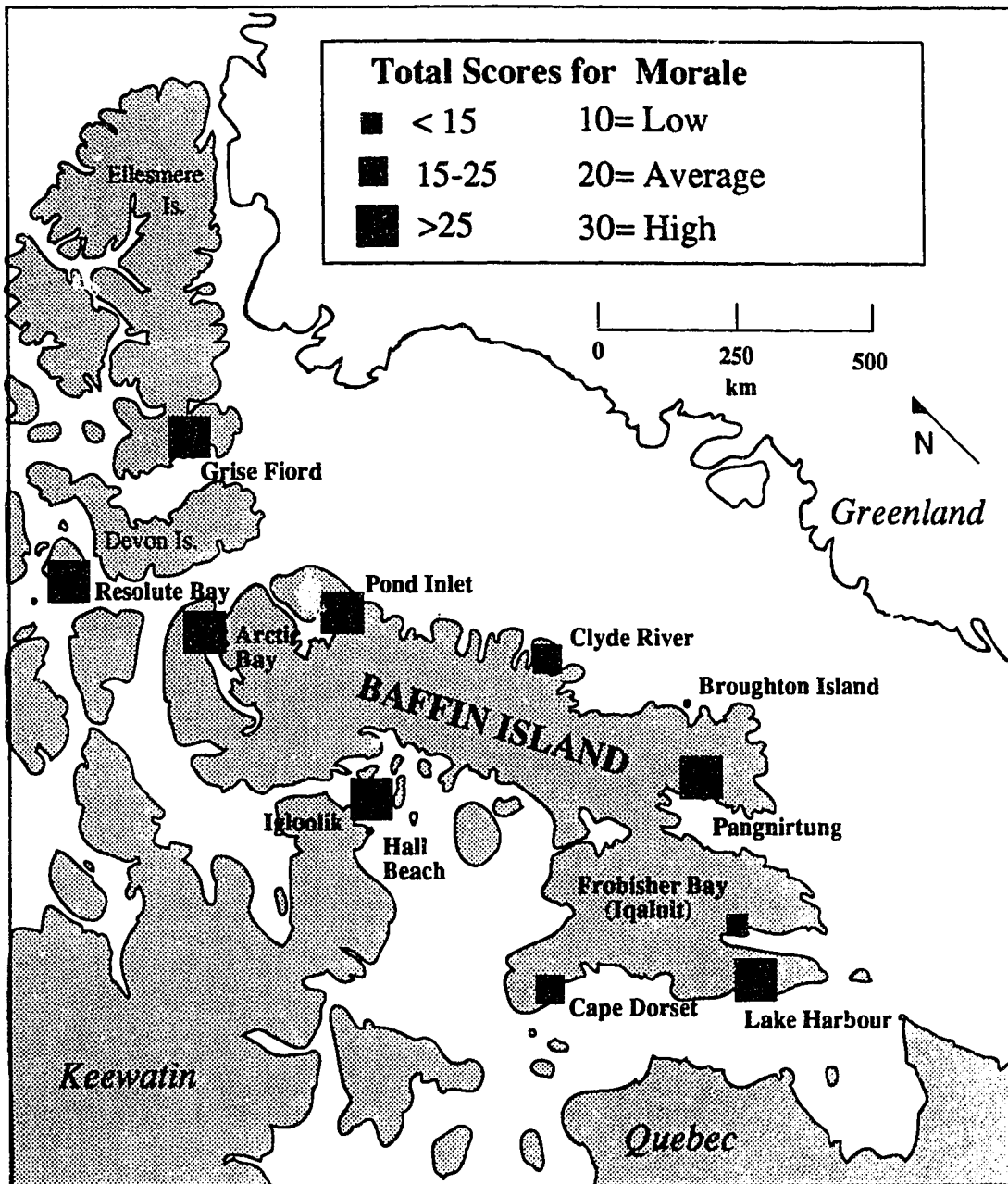


Figure 10.3.4: Morale scores on a regional level, 1959-1968.

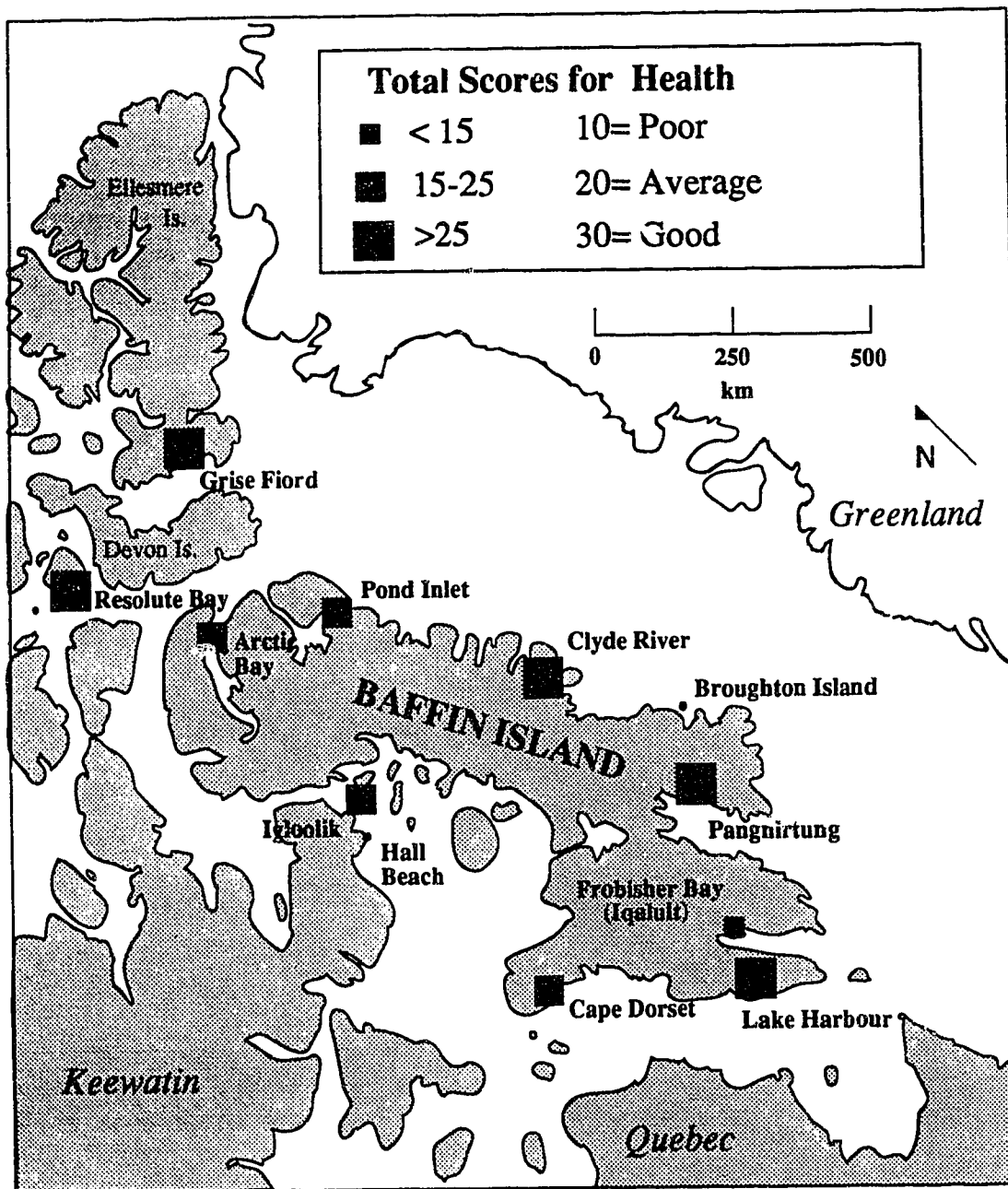


Figure 10.3.5: Health scores on a regional level, 1959-1968.

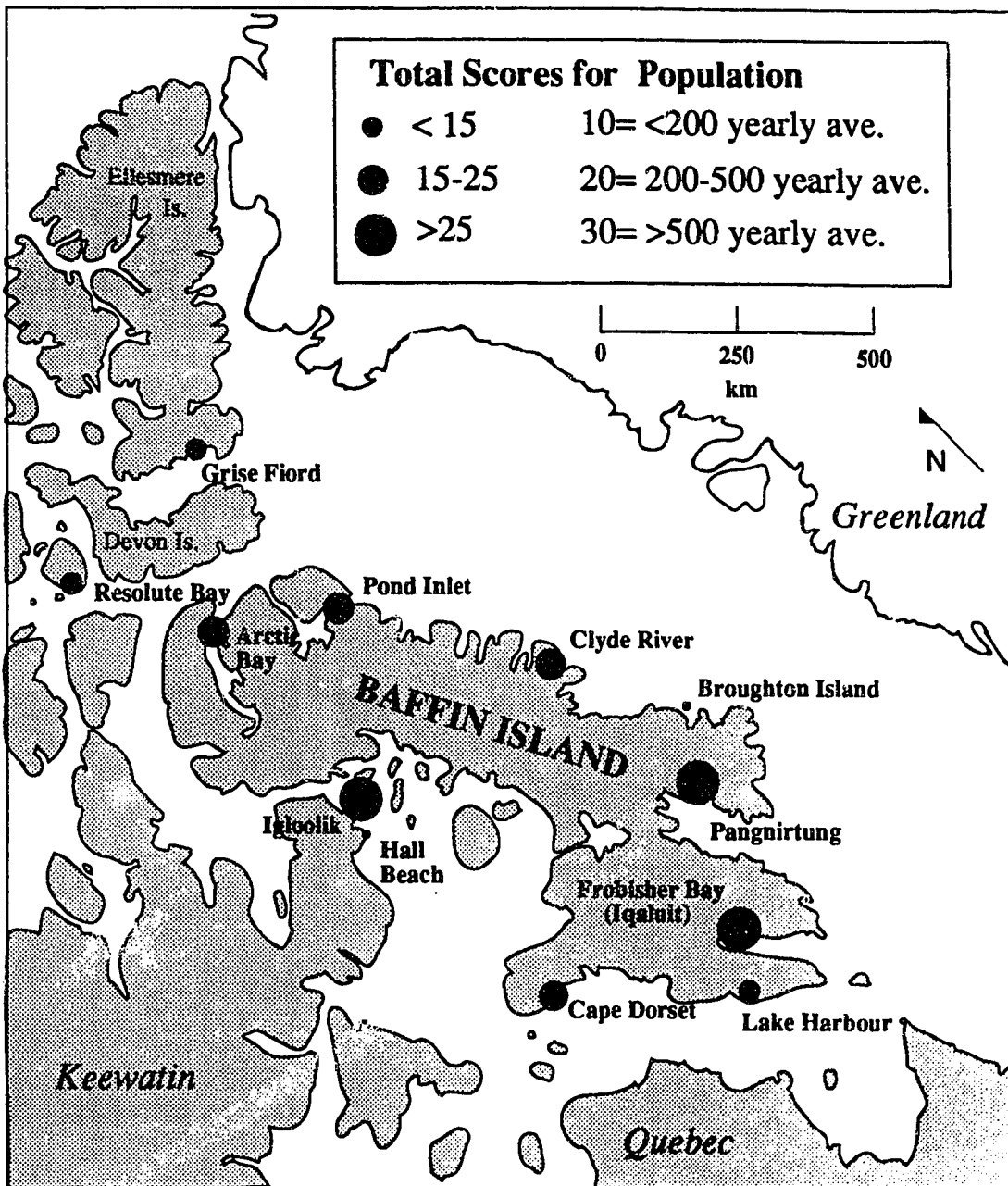


Figure 10.3.6: Population scores on a regional level, 1959-1968.

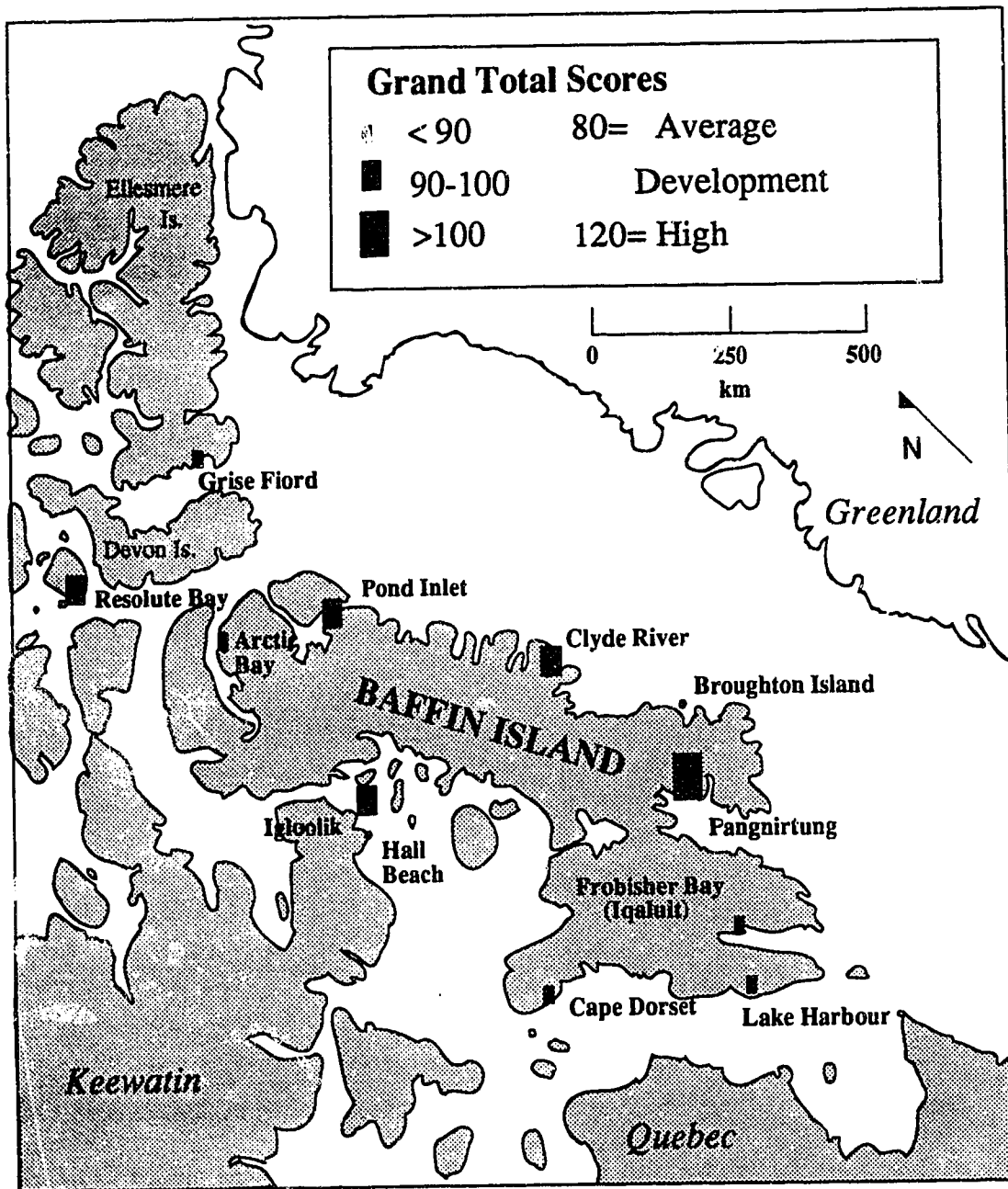


Figure 10.3.7: Grand total scores on a regional level, 1959-1968.

development had been implemented in the settlement throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the rapid changes and concomitant difficulties in adapting to new socio-economic systems must have contributed to the problems.

The other place with a population almost as large as Frobisher Bay was Pangnirtung/Broughton Island. They consistently had higher or equal scores as Frobisher Bay, even achieving a perfect 12 in 1962. Not uncoincidentally, though, 1962 was the year that most residents of Cumberland Sound were moved temporarily to the community because of a distemper epidemic among their dogs. Income was heavily subsidized during their stay. They were well cared for, with a hospital in Pangnirtung, and all seemed to enjoy living in the community (NAC18/85/86/048/55q 1962). Before and briefly after 1962, most Inuit, especially around Cumberland Sound, maintained a more traditional hunting lifestyle. This meant they had less contact with Euro-Canadians. Thus, they were not as exposed as those in Frobisher Bay to imported diseases and potentially harmful products such as alcohol.

What is interesting, though, is even though Pangnirtung/Broughton Island had the highest grand total, they achieved relatively low scores during 1965-1966. These were the years when most camp Inuit moved permanently to the settlements. The low scores, then, may reflect the difficulties in the adaptation processes accompanying camp-settlement migration. This is indicated in the RCMP reports concerning health. During 1965, health was not good, in part because people did not practise proper sanitation after moving to new prefabricated houses in the settlement (NAC18/85/86/55v 1966). Health improved after the RCMP and other Euro-Canadians educated the Inuit in proper hygiene. Once people adapted, and because the settlements were still relatively isolated from the problems of Frobisher Bay-type problems and had major already established development inputs such as the hospital, indicator scores rebounded to high levels in 1967 and 1968.

The lack of a hospital did not always mean that health was poor.

Lake Harbour had only the RCMP officer and sometimes a nurse to look after health care during much of the 1950s and 1960s. Yet, health of the Inuit there was consistently reported as being good and morale high, with morale achieving a perfect score and health almost a perfect score. Indeed, overall socio-economic conditions for Lake Harbour were consistently described as being good in the RCMP reports. With a small population, health care was easier to deliver and a more close-knit social structure was evident (NAC18/55qq,uu 1965 1968). Area Inuit could maintain a more traditional social life whilst enjoying some modern conveniences such as prefabricated houses and an HBC store. In addition, the area's income source was the lowest of all scores meaning there was more of a reliance on traditional pursuits. Significantly, however, this area achieved the highest score in morale of all east Arctic areas. Lake Harbour illustrates that big and modern is not necessarily better and also indicates that traditional pursuits, for example, food sharing from the hunt, are conducive to good health and morale. Indeed, the officer at Lake Harbour wrote, "Wage employment and a much higher standard of living does not necessarily make Eskimo people happier" (NAC18/55gg 1960).

High morale and perfect scores in health were also evident at the small communities of Resolute and Grise Fiord, even though socio-economic problems were encountered in Resolute during 1968 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969). (Alcohol abuse at Resolute during those years may have led to health problems later.) Inuit in both places, until the mid-1960s, lived separately from Euro-Canadian residences although some Inuit in Resolute worked at the airbase. Perhaps more important was that Resolute and Grise Fiord had small populations which meant that illnesses often could be identified and treated before they got serious. Certainly, the weekly medical checks in Resolute helped (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963). As with Lake Harbour, regardless of problems which appeared in the late 1960s, having a small population apparently was a

benefit to people in these areas.

Most settlements fell between the extremes mentioned above. Taking total scores and scores by year into account, several generalizations about the development indicators can be made. One observation is that poor health could be prevalent even if a nursing station or hospital was established in a community. Such was the case at Cape Dorset in 1964. Poor health during that year was attributed to poor living conditions and a lack of proper nutrition (NAC18/55rr 1965). Conversely, people consistently seemed to be in good health at Clyde River from 1961-1967. This may partially be attributed to the U.S. Coast Guard who treated them at the base health facilities. Also, this community was more traditionally based on hunting which meant that they may have had a healthier diet and living conditions. Significantly, in 1968 when the Americans closed their health unit except for emergencies and when most Inuit had moved permanently to the settlement, the health of the Inuit was described as poor (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-31 1969).

Thus, overall, good health throughout the east Arctic did not necessarily depend on the presence of a health centre or any development input common to the entire region. Health conditions were affected more by variables at specific communities and/or the attention given by individual agents.

Most communities had consistent morale scores. When scores varied from their average they could usually be explained. An example of a specific incident affecting morale occurred at Cape Dorset in 1963. Morale was poor there because of the increase in vandalism and vagrancy of teenagers in the community (NAC18/55pp 1964). Other than this example, though, morale seemed good or at least average throughout the region. The exception, of course, being Frobisher Bay.

Although the entire region was peripheral to the rest of the country, Frobisher Bay was the community with the most access to southern Canada. Resolute, because of the airbase, also had more

contacts with southern transport networks and had an airbase which provided wage employment. Significantly, these two communities also had consistently high scores indicating greater than two-thirds of their income as being derived from wages and government aid. Pond Inlet also had high scores, possibly because of the presence of a coal mine which provided employment for the Inuit.

Income source appears to be the only variable which was related to geographical location of the settlement. However, income source was more dependent on the presence of airbases and other relatively large-scale agencies or industries which provided employment, than with the physical location of the settlement. The settlements evolved because their locations provided suitable land on which to build airports or had a non-renewable resource, not that they were physically any more accessible to southern markets than other communities. Therefore, the consequences of development were determined more by what was created and introduced into individual communities rather than by any geographical location of that community.

If, however, settlement economies had been based more on renewable resources, this may have been different. Then, geographical location may have directly influenced development because animal abundance and habitat varied throughout the region (Freeman 1976). Some settlements may have achieved different levels of development based on being near better animal habitat than other communities.

Regardless, on a regional level, one characteristic which all settlements had in common was that by 1968 they primarily relied on wages and government aid for their income. Also, general health improved although it was not outwardly dependent on the presence of a hospital or even nursing station. Morale also did not seem to be affected by any one development input. Thus, the outcomes of development inputs and processes depended on socio-economic conditions in specific settlements and areas rather than general characteristics of

the overall Baffin Region. This means that even if Ottawa had carefully planned development on a regional level, the desired effects may still have not been achieved in every community. What appeared most important were the personal attributes and commitments exhibited by individual people in each area: development agents and the Inuit themselves. Regardless, processes occurred throughout the east Arctic which can be generalized at a regional level. These are discussed in the Chapter 11.

11. DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN CANADIAN ARCTIC, 1922-1968

11.1 Introduction.

Chapters 6-10 of this dissertation presented data and analyses concerning the historical development of the eastern Canadian Arctic from 1922 until 1968. In Chapter 6, the Pond Inlet region of northern Baffin Island served as an illustration of life in the Arctic during the 1920s to 1940s. Overall government policy towards Inuit development was discussed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 presented descriptions and objective data about material goods and demographic features of the Inuit during the 1950s and 1960s. In Chapter 9, a compilation was made of important information contained in the RCMP archives. Chapter 10 discussed general Inuit socio-economic conditions based on this information. In Chapter 11, the knowledge and understanding built from Chapters 6-10 are used to define some realities and reasons of the overall development and underdevelopment of the eastern Canadian Arctic.

Section 11.2 of this chapter discusses the research questions presented in Chapter 5. Answering these questions assists in organizing discussion concerning overall development and underdevelopment of the region. This discussion is presented in Section 11.3. Because population redistribution is a linking process between development and underdevelopment, it is discussed in Section 11.3 rather than Section 11.2.

11.2 Research Questions.

11.2.1 Education and Employment

How did conditions evolve which prevented many schooled young Inuit from obtaining wage employment or from obtaining income from traditional pursuits?

Evidence was presented in the RCMP archives which suggested that many young, formally educated Inuit could not obtain employment in

modern sectors of the economy but also could not pursue traditional means to obtain income (NAC18/55m,n,o 1966 1967 1968; NAC18/55rr,ss 1965 1966; NAC18/85/86/048/56a,b 1966 1967). There was widespread concern throughout the region over all years that educated young Inuit were not obtaining employment and not learning how to live off the land (see Section 10.2.5). RCMP officers did not blame formal education *per se* but that employment opportunities did not exist for the educated. It can be argued that this illustrates that RCMP officers, formally untrained in development issues, were better attuned to local conditions than the decision-makers who did the actual planning for the education of young Inuit.

For example, an officer at Cape Dorset in 1967 indicated that youth welcomed the chance to attend trade schools in the south but that they knew full well that it was an opportunity for free travel rather than to gain skills useful in getting a job (NAC18/56d 1969). The officers at Frobisher Bay made several comments concerning the lack of job opportunities for educated young Inuit and their inability to pursue traditional activities providing income. One officer wrote,

The younger generations appear to be the ones that are having the most difficulty in adjusting to education, schools, the demands for our type of civilization and social standards. There has as yet been no middle ground reached, where other than a very few Eskimo and White can meet on an equal basis (NAC18/55m 1966).

Two comments from Igloolik further illustrate both the lack of jobs for educated young Inuit and behavioural problems of these youth when they could not obtain jobs nor pursue hunting for a livelihood.

Some of the older fathers are not in favour of sending their children outside to school. As one hunter stated, his children are sent out to school and then they are given back to him. The boys don't know how to hunt and sometimes they don't even speak the [Eskimo] language properly. Most of them, both boys and girls, don't even desire to live like an Eskimo after they return. They are content to hang around the larger settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

The separation of children from their parents for the purpose of education is another demoralizing factor, both for the parent and the child. The child no longer comes under the required guidance of the parents. A comparison of the young people who

were sent "outside" with the young people going to school locally can be made resulting in a poor opinion of most of these "returnees". There is not one returned student employed locally, they are content to loiter in the settlement. A more appropriate description of some of these healthy young men would be "educated bums" (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967).

As discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, schools in the Arctic were based on the quantitative expansion of education based on curricula for a developed, industrial society. General outcomes of this type of education were also discussed in Chapter 4. The information described and contained in the RCMP archives confirms that those outcomes did indeed evolve at a local level in individual settlements in the East Arctic.

The answer to how these conditions evolved is simple and straightforward: Arctic communities did not have the economic base to support employment of all their educated inhabitants. Young people were sent away for education or went to school while living in permanent settlements. In both situations, most did not learn skills enabling them to pursue hunting (they may not have even wanted to learn these) nor could they obtain work after leaving or graduating school. Concomitantly, though, they relied on and desired modern goods and services which necessitated income to purchase. Without income they had to depend on support from others or the government. In either case, they were dependant. This is illustrated in a report from Igloolik,

A serious problem in relation to the youth and morale will be arising in the foreseeable future. There are now a number of teenagers loitering about the settlement. They are the so-called "semi-educated bums" who have nothing to occupy their time. They do not have enough education to compete with the "whiteman" nor do they have the ability nor the desire to go back to hunting and trapping (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968).

Concerning overall employment and welfare conditions and the outlook for the future, the RCMP officer in Pangnirtung during 1967 made a poignant statement,

In conclusion I would say that the Eskimos of this area are steadily becoming more dependent upon the government for a living. They are capable of doing good work, but there is a lack of job opportunities in the area. The current slump in the price of seal

skins has been a major downfall to the economy as well, as men who normally were at least partially supported by the proceeds of hunting are idle. Should this current trend continue I feel that within a very short period of time a complete welfare state will exist insofar as the Eskimo is concerned (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968).

Education and (un)employment in the Arctic illustrates both the development and underdevelopment of the region. People became developed in the sense that they learned English, skills needed for employment in a modern, market economy, and that to obtain modern conveniences necessitated integration into that market economy. They became underdeveloped when they could not obtain jobs which would provide income to survive in a market economy and became dependent on external sources for support.

11.2.2 Health Care and Demographic Characteristics

How did contact with outsiders and the introduction of modern health care and facilities, lead to both improved and worsened general health amongst the Inuit?

It is difficult to determine if 'modern' health care led to better health of the Inuit because 'modern' diseases, which Inuit were highly susceptible to contracting, accompanied the influx of outsiders to the region. Certainly modern health care helped improve Inuit health, but it would not have been as necessary had new diseases not been introduced to the region in the first place. The RCMP reports markedly demonstrate the detrimental effects on health caused by TB, pneumonia, measles, hepatitis, unsanitary conditions, and, especially in Frobisher Bay, alcohol and venereal disease (NAC18/55f,i,j,m 1957 1962 1963 1966; NAC18/55nn,rr 1963 1965; NAC18/56d 1969; NAC18/85/86/55v,x 1966 1968; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3e 1958; NAC18/85/86/048/55aa,jj 1953 1963).

Health conditions were also described in the Northern Health Service reports from the 1960s. Pneumonia was the chief cause of Inuit deaths throughout the 1960s (Northern Health Service 1962, 1963, 1966, 1967). In 1962, there was a 20% increase over 1961 of cases of

tuberculosis amongst Inuit (Northern Health Service 1962). Also, the rate of gonorrhoea for all of the NWT was eight times that of Canada as a whole (Northern Health Service 1962). Epidemics of measles struck Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung with 440 people afflicted in Frobisher Bay alone (Northern Health Service 1962). Infectious Hepatitis also hit Frobisher Bay, Pangnirtung, and Cape Dorset (Northern Health Service 1962).

In 1964, new TB cases for the NWT as a whole fell by 50% while the incidence of gonorrhoea doubled (Northern Health Service 1964). By 1966, however, cases of TB amongst Inuit increased 22% over 1964 and 36% over 1965 (Northern Health Service 1966). New, active cases of TB amongst the Inuit increased 43% in 1968 over 1966 although much of that was attributed to more complete testing (Northern Health Service 1968). It should be noted, though, that by 1968 the incidence of identified new active cases of TB as a percent of total population had fallen from 1.9% in 1962 to 1.1% in 1968. However, it was estimated that 20% of the total Inuit population in 1968 had TB at one time of their lives (Northern Health Service 1968). Venereal disease continued to be a problem in 1968 as well as sickness such as influenza, mumps, chicken pox, measles, and meningitis (Northern Health Service 1968).

Although one officer reported in the 1950s that those in hunting camps over one hundred kilometres east of Frobisher Bay settlement were in much better health than those living in the settlement (NAC18/55r 1954), officers nevertheless advocated having permanent health care facilities in settlements as essential to the welfare of the Inuit. A comment by an officer in Clyde River was typical of this. Concerning the deaths of people in the area, the RCMP officer commented,

...most of these deaths could have been prevented; specially those affected by the recent epidemic had some adequate heated quarters been available to treat those patients. In view of this pathetic situation, it seems [sic] that the elementary welfare of our eskimos is seriously jeopardized by the present lack of facilities for their sick and injured (NAC18/TA- 500-8-1-3d 1957).

It cannot be denied that having health care facilities did improve the chances to be cured of diseases, many of which were contracted by contact with Euro-Canadians. If it was inevitable that foreign diseases would filter into the Arctic anyway, the expenditures on health which the government made were appropriate and necessary. Certainly, treatment of injuries and indigenous ailments were greatly helped by the government's willingness to evacuate people to larger hospitals. Few countries would provide air ambulance service into such remote regions of their territory.

Incidence of disease did decrease as specific illnesses were controlled and people were educated in proper hygiene. But these came after the fact. Initial inputs of health care did not prevent situations whereby many Inuit became seriously ill. Similarly, general health may have improved but, again, it was after the fact. Health care did not improve health *per se*. It enabled treatment of people in poor health but their poor health often was a result of overall development inputs and not because Inuit were necessarily unhealthy when Euro-Canadians arrived in their territory.

Thus, Inuit received the benefits of development in that modern health care became available to them. They became underdeveloped, however, in that they often contracted diseases because of contact with Euro-Canadians. This obviously was detrimental to their overall well-being and led to them depending even more on health care facilities. Also, because of development, people had greater access to modern goods which were not necessarily beneficial to their health. For example, modern homes were not designed with local conditions in mind, were often overcrowded and led to unsanitary and unhealthy conditions. Also, modern conveniences such as processed food and alcohol were deleterious to overall health. The development and integration of Arctic settlements with modern systems, therefore, resulted in both improvements and detriments to the health of the Inuit.

Were demographic features of Inuit similar to societies in early stages of demographic and mobility transition typical of Third World countries?

It has already been ascertained in Chapter 4 of this dissertation that birth rates in the Canadian East Arctic during the early 1960s equalled or exceeded those in developing nations in the Third World. Overall demographic and mobility patterns in the Arctic prior to 1968 mirrored populations in the Early Transitional Society phase of demographic and mobility transition theories. As identified by Zelinsky (1971), this phase in demographic transition is characterized, among other aspects, by a relatively rapid rate of natural increase, and thus a major growth in size of population. Further, as components of the Early Transitional Society phase of the mobility transition theory, some characteristics include a small, but significant, in-migration of skilled workers, technicians, and professionals from more advanced parts of the world, and a significant growth in various kinds of circulation, and a massive movement from countryside to cities. Once in cities, many migrants experience high unemployment and a dependence on imported goods and services for food and cash income.

As discussed in Section 8.1 of this dissertation, rural-urban migration also occurred in the Arctic, although cities there were far smaller than those in the Third World. A comment about Igloolik illustrates the consequences of people being attracted to cities.

The trend of abandoning the camp to move into Igloolik continued during the year. This movement will spell the end of the traditional Eskimo way of life eventually, however it appears that this will be the price exacted in the name of progress. I believe the big attraction is the housing being provided by D.I.A.N.D. (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968).

Thus, the whole process of migration to settlements, although related to other variables, illustrates development and underdevelopment. Although there are problems with demographic theories, especially when working with small-scale populations (Clarke 1984), it is still clear that Inuit society during the 1950s and 1960s conformed to societies in Early Transitional phases. This is especially

apparent in Inuit society prior to 1968, as indeed, it was based on a semi-nomadic existence and not part of a more developed economy. The problem, of course, was that by 1968, for all intents and purposes, Inuit society and economy were inexorably tied to southern Canada. Yet, many socio-economic conditions were still similar to those in developing countries. Demographically, the region could not be classified as having made the transition to a Late Transitional Society, let alone an Advanced Society.

11.2.3 Material Goods

What were the consequences of material goods and services becoming integrated in Inuit society?

One consequence of the integration of modern goods and services in Inuit settlements was the almost complete replacement of traditional implements and living habitations. The year 1968 was when, in the main, a semi-nomadic traditional life for the Inuit ceased to exist. Around that year, all communities had high rates of ski-doo use, prefabricated homes were definitely the norm, and by far, most income was derived from wages and/or government aid (see Chapter 8). Before 1968, these characteristics became part of settlements at different rates.

Modern goods and services were present at Frobisher Bay before most other settlements. Permanency of residences and a reliance on a market economy were common at Frobisher Bay as early as the mid-1950s (NAC18/55f 1957). Communities such as Lake Harbour and Clyde River remained more camp-oriented well into the 1960s (NAC18/55qq 1965; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3j 1967). However, once redistribution processes started (as a result of inputs such as housing and ski-doos), Inuit at these settlements progressed rapidly to a more sedentary lifestyle and a market economy. The main point to be made is that it was not specifically when the material goods and services became integrated, but that they indeed were integrated.

Many comments by the RCMP illustrate this integration (see also Section 10.2.5 of Chapter 10).

From Frobisher Bay: "Over 95% of the clothing worn by Eskimos here is imported from the south through the Hudson's Bay Company or mail order catalogues. Most of them manufacture their own parkas from purchased materials. Footgear is mostly bought from the store, being leather, rubber, gum or flight boots" (NAC18/55i 1962).

From Cape Dorset: "Most of the Eskimos have sufficient [hunting] equipment and could be considered in good condition in this regard. Due to the high price of seal skins this past summer many of the Eskimos were able to purchase new boats, motors, guns, camping equipment, and a number of "Skidoos" " NAC18/55pp 1964).

From Pangnirtung: "...I have personally seen Eskimos with welfare shopping and to satisfy my own mind I made it a point of watching what was purchased. In one particular instance a man produced a welfare [sic] order in the amount of \$70.00 and proceeded to shop. He purchased approximately the following items...4 boxes of ammunition, 4 boxes of Pilot biscuits, 5 lbs. of sugar, 1 box tea bags, 10 gallons gasoline, 1 carton of gum, 10 chocolate bars, 10 bags (25 cents) assorted candies, 1 case (24 cans) pop, 3 or 4 cartons of cigarettes. I do not begrudge the Eskimo from obtaining welfare, but I feel that much of what they buy is not required to maintain life" (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968).

From Pond Inlet: "The natives in this area seem to be turning more and more the white mans' clothing, which in most cases is highly unsuitable to this climate...In some cases the natives are of the opinion that white mans' clothing is more superior than his own and when in conversation with the native he seems somewhat ashamed of native made clothes and he prefers the ready-made article which he can purchase from the trading store" (NAC18/85/86/048/55aa 1953).

From Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay: "A larger variety of foodstuffs and luxury items was made available to the people last year with the H.B.C. at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay opening new and larger stores. Such foodstuffs as fresh frozen meat, vegetables and 'T.V. Dinners' are now being purchased. Luxury items, such as tape recorders, record players, radios, commercial clothing and candy continues to be purchased. Instances of individual purchases and orders for water tanks, pressure systems, washing machines, dryers, beds and dressers have been found to be ever increasing" (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969).

Comments such as those above leave no doubt that modern technologies and imported commodities became integral components of Inuit societies. Furthermore, Inuit became dependent on these items. Perhaps there is no more compelling evidence than the type of quotes above for the integration of modern goods and services into an indigenous society. The quotes succinctly illustrate the development of a region based on the introduction of modern technologies and commodities and the underdevelopment which resulted from this introduction.

11.2.4 Resource Use

Did changes to Inuit socio-economic conditions lead to them depending less on hunting for food and income?

There were many examples in the archives demonstrating that those who had moved to settlements hunted less for country food and income and depended more on store-bought food and obtained income from other sources (NAC18/55e,i,m,o 1953 1962 1966 1968; NAC18/56a,b 1966 1967; NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968; NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968; NAC18/86/86/048/55r 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m 1966). Quantified information presented in Chapter 8 clearly indicated that by 1969, skins and furs produced only a small portion of total income. Indeed, this is the argument that animal-rights groups have used for years: hunting animals is so minor a part of income sources that the cessation of the fur trade should not harm the Inuit (Keith and Saunders 1989). But, the RCMP reports also indicate that hunting was still important and practised after people became integrated into a sedentary life and a market economy. For example, even though only one half of the population actually lived in hunting camps near Lake Harbour during 1967, the officer reported, "Hunting, trapping and carving are the main activities of the men in the area as nearly all the people "live off the land" " (NAC18/55uu 1968).

Hunting was described as the main economic activity in many communities after 1965. This would not necessarily mean that it was the main income source, however. While renewable resource use declined throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the fundamental structure of Inuit society still revolved around the hunt. There was no evidence to the contrary in RCMP reports.

What can be interpreted from the RCMP is that the re-orientation away from hunting in order to obtain country food, to hunting in order to obtain income, contributed to changes in their society. For example, during 1954, some areas near Lake Harbour experienced a shortage of

seals and relatively good fox trapping. The RCMP officer suggested to Inuit living in these areas that they move to better seal areas (NAC18/55z 1955). They did not move, however, because the HBC did not want camps to move out of good trapping areas. Without foxes to trade, Inuit would not be able to acquire necessities from the HBC such as tea, sugar, and tobacco, nor luxuries which may be desired.

So, some of the Natives in this district continue to live in poor sealing areas, but good trapping areas, and they come into the detachment periodically and lament the lack of seals at their camps and when they are advised to move to a better area, they agree and say it would be an excellent idea, but they never do because Foxes [sic] mean wealth and wealth is apparently more important than a full stomach to some Eskimos (NAC18/55z 1955).

The importance of renewable resources to overall Inuit society did not diminish with development of the region. Rather, the integration into aspects of modern socio-economic sectors led to a lessening of the ability for Inuit to use traditional pursuits to make a living. This is strongly interrelated with the demand for material goods and services. The Inuit became developed in that they gained access to many modern conveniences but in order to purchase these items, they needed income. When market conditions external to the Arctic led to price collapses for renewable resources, Inuit were left dependent on other sources of income. If they could not obtain income from wage employment, they had to rely on government aid.

11.3 Redistribution, Development, and Underdevelopment.

11.3.1 Overview

As far back as the 1920s, Inuit were drawn to settlements in order to receive benefits of modern Canadian socio-economic sectors (Weissling 1991). But other than guns and ammunition which enabled them to hunt and trade, Inuit desired flour, tea, and especially tobacco: all imported commodities. When wage labour became available in Frobisher Bay and along DEW-Line sites in the 1950s, the desire of Inuit to move to these areas was already well ingrained. They, understandably,

desired employment in order to obtain money to buy consumer goods. When formal development inputs by the government were provided, in the form of shelter, schooling, and health care, the seeds were already sown which attracted people to areas with modern conveniences.

The Inuit took advantage (in a positive connotation) of what they could, while development progressed in a haphazard fashion not based on any overall plan or scheme. Measures were instituted which merely provided specific items, not those which would lead to general structural changes to Inuit socio-economic conditions which could sustain and expand development.

11.3.2 Consequences of development in the Arctic

The sources of changes to Inuit society were basic development inputs introduced on the Inuit from agencies such as the HBC or Church, and by decision-makers in Ottawa. Business officials, religious leaders and government bureaucrats held meetings and, responding to public opinion, media coverage, and field reports, decided what development programmes were best for the Inuit. While sincere in their motives, they failed to realize the impacts these inputs would have on overall Inuit socio-economic conditions. A summary of the consequences of development is discussed in this section using guidelines written for evaluation of Third World development projects.

Casley and Lury (1982:2-3) identified four objectives of development and employed them as guidelines for monitoring and evaluating projects. The objectives are to provide *inputs* necessary to achieve development, to produce *outputs* by the project beneficiaries resulting from the inputs, to generate *effects* amongst the target population because of these outputs, and to have long term *impacts* on the social and economic life of the community.

Ideally, all objectives should be planned and anticipated before the onset of development programmes. Through this analysis, the

objectives identified by Casley and Lury may be applied to what occurred in the Arctic. The inputs of material goods, shelter, health care, and education are analyzed on a general, regional scale. It is realized that only a few inputs are identified but these were some of the most important.

MATERIAL GOODS:

Pre-1920 - present

- Input:** -Guns, ammunition, traps
- Output:** -Increased ease of hunting and number of animals harvested
- Effect:** -Change in economy: increased income and/or bartering power
- Impact:** -Re-orientation of needs and demands
-Desire for material goods bought through market economy

1920s, 1930s - present

- Input:** -Flour, tea, tobacco, candy, other retail commodities
- Output:** -Increased demand and distribution of retail goods
- Effect:** -Increased desire to obtain income to buy goods
- Impact:** -Increased reliance on non-traditional foods and commodities
-Decreased nutrition
-Increased health problems linked to poor diet and tobacco
-Increased number of people visiting stores and desiring to live near them

1960s - present

- Input:** -Ski-doo's
- Output:** -Increased efficiency in harvesting animals
-Increased ability to hunt farther and in less time
- Effect:** -Depletion of game near some communities
-Increased desire and ability to live in settlements but still hunt in outlying areas
-Decreased dependence on dogs
-Increased dependence on having to maintain ski-doo and buy fuel for it
- Impact:** -Alteration of hunting patterns
-Redistribution of hunters from camps to settlements
-Increased need for cash to buy and maintain machines

SHELTER:

1950s - present

- Input:** -Prefabricated one room 'matchbox' homes
-Prefabricated three-bedroom homes
- Output:** -Southern-style shelter available at low-cost
- Effect:** -Increased attraction of settlements
-Overcrowding in some houses as people moved to settlements and not enough housing available
- Impact:** -Increase in health problems from overcrowding and un-sanitary conditions
-Redistribution from camps to settlements
-Increased need for income to buy or maintain homes

HEALTH CARE:

1920s - present

Input: -RCMP first aid, nursing stations, hospitals**Output:** -Increased availability of care for sick and injured
-Better curative care inside and outside of region and methods of transport to facility**Effect:** -Variable levels of health depending on sanitation, facilities, and health care worker
-Increased treatment of diseases foreign to area (i.e. TB, measles, venereal disease)
-Lower infant mortality**Impact:** -Steadily increasing population
-Redistribution of people seeking to live near health care
-Increased dependence on outside sources for health care**EDUCATION:**

1950s - present (pre 1950s for residential schools)

Input: -Southern style schools and curriculum**Output:** -Individuals educated in subjects needed for industrial market economy**Effect:** -Individuals trained for market economic sectors
-Increased desire to use skills and work for market economic sectors**Impact:** -Unemployment as jobs not available
-Population redistribution as people move to settlements to be near schools and to work in modern sector
-Decreased ability and desire to live on the land

While the outputs, effects, and some impacts were different for each input outlined above, all inputs except guns and ammunition shared a common impact, that of population redistribution. But it was not that redistribution was a direct result of the inputs. Rather, the inputs led to an ongoing process of redistribution of the Inuit. The process of population redistribution is a key concept linking changes to Inuit society with identification of some realities and reasons behind the development and underdevelopment of the Arctic.

11.3.3 Redistribution and Underdevelopment

Population redistribution led to an almost complete reliance on the perpetuation of even more inputs which were needed to sustain socio-economic conditions and lifestyles upon which the Inuit had come to depend. For all intents and purposes, inputs seemed to be implemented without consideration of their overall impacts on Inuit society. Their intended outputs may have been planned but the processes which the

inputs produced were not incorporated into any overall development strategy. A vicious circle ensued. When development inputs, coupled with a lack of sound economic foundations, could not lead to enough income to support families in their new lives at centralized, permanent settlements, more inputs had to be introduced just to maintain people's marginal existence.

The conceptual frameworks of the ideal situation which should have taken place in the Arctic and the situation which actually occurred are depicted in Figures 11.2.1-11.2.2. Ideally, development should have progressed and become self-sustaining with outside aid as needed (Figure 11.2.1). The involvement and needs of the target population should have been incorporated into an overall development strategy. A viable economic foundation should have existed or been created which could sustain employment and provide supply and demand to successfully support industry and services.

Once in a sustained development scenario, new inputs would not be necessary as basic structures of the entire socio-economic system would feed off themselves leading to further development. This, obviously, did not happen in the East Canadian Arctic. Many factors combined to produce a system which structurally could not be sustained without massive outside aid and new inputs having to be re-introduced or re-incorporated into the system (Figure 11.2.2). Furthermore, the Inuit in the main were not consulted when plans were made for their development. The archives give several examples.

Housing policies had to be changed and modified after the failure of one room matchboxes or styrofoam experimental homes which were totally inadequate for Arctic conditions. But even the larger three-bedroom dwellings were not adequate and overcrowding and unsanitary conditions often remained (NAC18/85/86/048/55v,y 1966 1969; NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968). As for material goods, Inuit reliance on them sometimes became a detrimental part of development. As an example, in

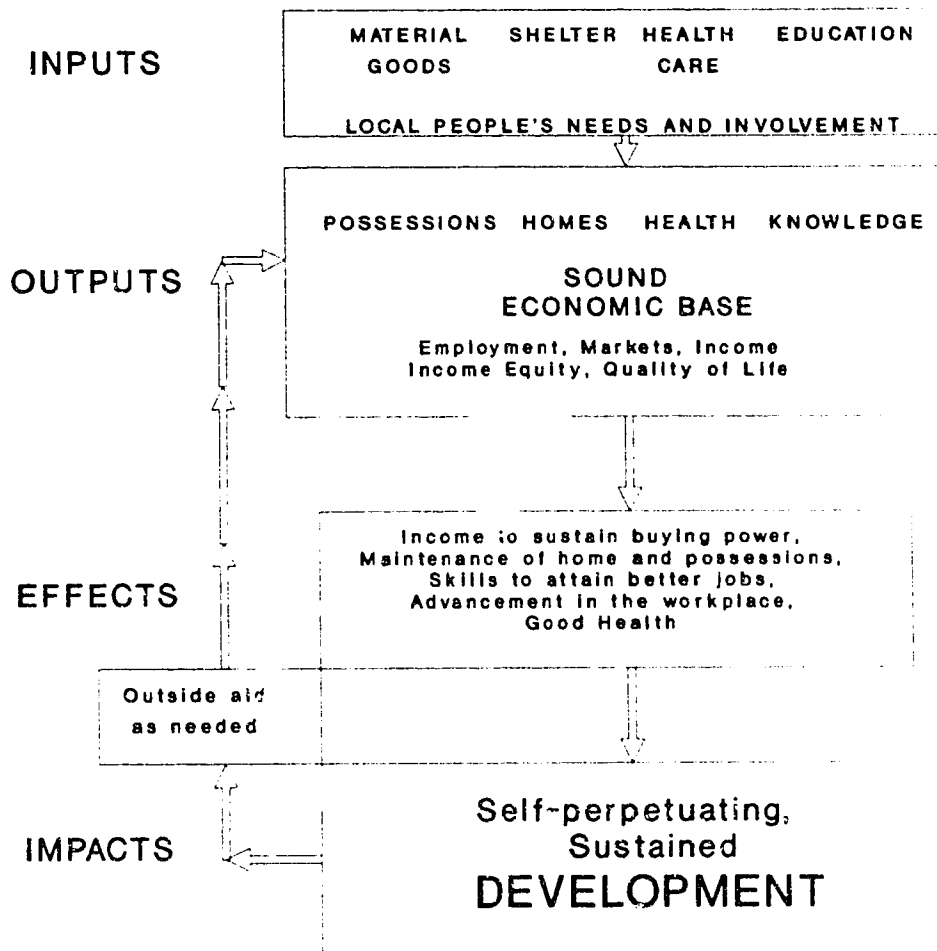


Figure 11.2.1: Development--The Ideal.

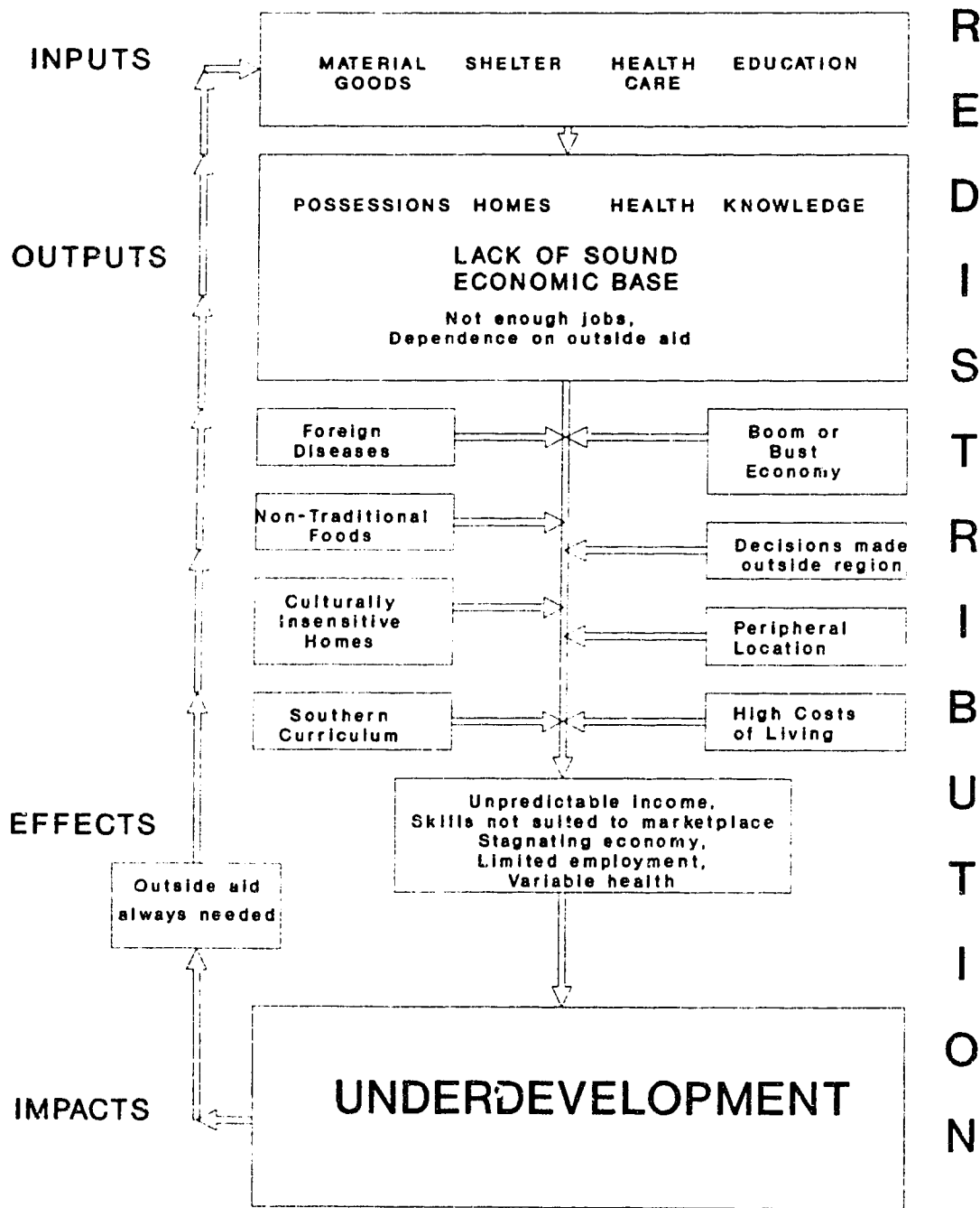


Figure 11.2.2: Development--The Reality in the Arctic.

1950 at Cape Dorset, frozen or canned meat had to be flown in to avert starvation of dogs as people had not cached enough food to feed the dogs over the winter (NAC18/55s,t 1950 1950). Seals were scarce, but, more importantly, fox trapping had been poor and hunters could not afford to buy gasoline to power boats to hunt walrus, a primary source of dog food.

Provision of health care even led to mixed results on overall improvement of people's lives (see Section 11.2.2). Health conditions varied from good to poor in many communities. Health depended, for example, on how sanitary and uncrowded living conditions were or what new (southern) disease happened to be in the area at any given time. The point being that development agents living in the communities had to constantly re-evaluate situations so as to avert health hazards or create effective curative measures. If inputs had been centred on preventive health perhaps there would have been fewer cases of poor health.

Problems associated with education were certainly amply described by the RCMP (see Section 11.2.1). Again, a situation reported from Cape Dorset in 1964 provides illustration. Young people had returned from southern Canada or the United States with marketable skills only to find they could not use their knowledge productively because of a lack of tools and/or markets (NAC18/55rr 1965). This example illustrates the lack of a sound economic base which under ideal circumstances would have supported these people.

If redistribution was a key element interrelated with underdevelopment, a primary reason why the process of redistribution made Inuit socio-economic conditions susceptible to underdevelopment was that the use of renewable resources was relatively ignored as a component of development inputs. By ignoring renewable resources as part of formal development plans, the Inuit became even more integrated into modern sectors. As observed amongst indigenous societies elsewhere

in Canada, "...integration policies have limited success in drawing northerners into Canadian society" (Bone and Green 1987). For example, clothing made from seal and caribou was an effective insulator and had been adequate for hundreds of years. Yet, there were no direct policy interventions to discourage Inuit from wearing bought, southern-style clothing, although some concerned RCMP officers tried. The HBC had free reign to sell whatever the market would bear, even if goods sold were detrimental to the Inuit. (Granted, it would have been difficult for the government to restrict the HBC from selling whatever it wanted.)

Shelter, too, ignored the importance of resource use by not providing areas in prefabricated homes to butcher and store game. This not only proved to be an inconvenience but also a health risk because of the unsanitary conditions created from having carcasses on the floor. Even though country food continued to be consumed, there was no evidence that any development agency formally discouraged less-nutritious processed and southern food from being eaten.

Finally, Arctic education during the 1950s and 1960s clearly was based on curricula geared to preparing youth for participation in a developed, market economy. All these contributed to creating a dependence on external socio-economic sectors and to conditions of underdevelopment in the region.

It cannot be ignored, however, that Inuit did indeed rely on more than outside forces for their income. Hunting was an important contributor to their economy. But it seems that this was only because hunting was simply what Inuit did, not that hunting was incorporated into any development strategy. Development may have progressed better if prices paid for sealskins and fur were subsidized when the market was bad rather than subsidizing overall living by welfare relief.

Those who administered development failed to incorporate the foundation of Inuit society- knowledge and use of the land's resources. Had they done this, the effects of redistribution may not have been so

detrimental. But what are some of these detrimental effects? One answer to this rests in an brief analysis of how coping in a market economy, especially by becoming wage labourers, affected Inuit cultural values.

Employment in a market economy is not based on strong systems of co-operation. Inuit culture, however, is rooted on extended family and strong traditions of co-operation. Family and community support are critical in determining the success of native entrepreneurial ventures (Ironside 1982). In case studies conducted in Iqaluit and Inuvik, it was observed that native people had to cope with an entirely new set of social interactions if they wanted to work as wage labourers (Honigmann 1978). These included accepting schedules of work (one must be on-time), making appointments to talk to otherwise relatively unapproachable people in positions of power, and adapting to economic systems in which savings, credit, and money management were integral parts. In addition, children were encouraged to regularly attend southern-style schools with the consequent loss of opportunities to learn traditional skills. All these aspects of life were contrary to traditional Inuit lifestyles and perceptions.

While mention was not made by Honigmann whether these adaptations lessened community and kinship solidarity, one may infer that from a cultural perspective, they were not strengthened. The assumption being that traditional skills needed to be passed on from generation to generation. Because traditional skills were based on utilization of renewable resources, when renewable resources were not incorporated into overall development strategies, systems of distribution necessary to efficiently provide for kin and community survival collapsed.

When an Inuk relied on wage labour and accompanying Southern developmental inputs, less time was available to pursue and pass on traditional skills and social customs. The building of kinship systems may have been hindered. Freeman (1981b) wrote that Inuit were not

losing their sense of culture but that they were experiencing a weakening of traditional modes of *transmitting* culture. This most likely was a result of alien processes of education and other forces of change. With decreased use of Inuktitut amongst younger, southern-style educated Inuit and less reliance on renewable resources as an organizing principle of Inuit society and development, the ability of elders to teach the young was diminished. Young people may have felt distinctly Inuit but their place in Inuit society often became obscured.

Thus, processes of population redistribution led not only to changes to economic systems in Inuit society but to a diminution of their cultural values and self-esteem. One further question needs to be addressed concerning the comparison of Inuit redistribution with migration of people, in general, in the Third World.

In most Third World rural-urban migrations, some family members usually remain at the rural site and ongoing ties are maintained between urban and rural areas. Rural-rural redistribution may involve the movement of whole families but when at their destinations, people still, in the main, pursue similar economic and social activities as at their origins. These normally centre on agriculture with fields near their small settlements.

When rural development strategies were implemented in rural Third World areas, they were often geared to improving agricultural output. The crops grown, inputs used to improve production, and markets for the harvest may not have been suited to local conditions, but, nonetheless, people were 'developed' based on their traditional skills and lifestyles. Migration, then, did not alter the fundamental structural component of indigenous societies. People physically moved but retained the foundations of their basic socio-economic systems and built upon these foundations as they were developed. This is opposed to becoming redistributed into totally new socio-economic systems as occurred amongst the Inuit in the Arctic.

If the Inuit had moved within their ancestral home areas without losing their social and cultural economic bases instead of being relatively abruptly redistributed into Euro-Canadian society's world, underdevelopment may not have become so insidious. What occurred was that Inuit retained for the most part their cultural values and reliance on hunting but there were no development strategies once they moved which led to expansion and utilization of their traditional pursuits. Furthermore, even though some rural-urban migrations of labour in the Third World were forced, at least the people who had to migrate to urban areas had family and cultural ties to their home areas and usually at least communicated with people still at their traditional homeland.

In addition, after independence, Third World peoples usually were racially similar to those who governed their nation. In the Arctic, Inuit made a total move- family, lifestyles, and economy- and once living in settlements, the only tie to their traditional ways of life was to go on occasional hunts relatively far away from their settlement. Meanwhile, their entire livelihood was geared to becoming more like that of Euro-Canadians. The root of these situations rested in the process of abrupt redistribution as opposed to moving but retaining foundations of economic systems upon which to build and sustain development.

Discussion in Chapter 4 included examples of some societies adapting to their development by moving between the modern and more traditional world. In Lwawu, Zambia this 'happy medium' took the form of some people living close enough to a central place to receive its benefits but far enough away that they could pursue more traditional farming (Weissling 1990). Unfortunately, the almost total dependence on Euro-Canadian provided goods and services precluded the Inuit from attaining a 'happy medium' whereby they could pursue traditional practices while still integrating into modern socio-economic sectors. Whereas some hunters moved to hunting camps periodically during the year, most Inuit only journeyed to outlying areas on short trips. There

was no evidence in the archives of any significant extended migration back to the land after having moved to a settlement. With prices paid for sealskins so volatile, people could not afford to move to permanent hunting camps unless they completely gave up buying or needing goods.

12. CONCLUSION

12.1 Introduction.

A headline on 25 June 1990 in The Globe and Mail proclaimed:

No Jobs Now, No Jobs Likely as Baby Boom Hits Arctic

"...there are not jobs now, nor will there be in the foreseeable future, to accommodate the increasing numbers of people and to meet their rising expectations" (Globe and Mail 1990:A1).

Whether in 1990 or 1960, the problem has been the same. One cannot help but be troubled when contemporary headlines proclaim the same or worse problems that RCMP officers were worried about thirty years ago. Yet, these problems have been identified by researchers, RCMP, the Inuit, and others since they first started. The open and unanswerable question, is, if people have known these problems have existed, then why have concrete and useful solutions for them not worked? This is where this dissertation, it is hoped, has helped.

Understanding the historical development and underdevelopment of Arctic Canada is necessary for those planning contemporary programmes for the region. Perhaps if these people more fully realize the processes which led to conditions of development and underdevelopment, more effective strategies can be instituted.

12.2 Objectives.

Three objectives were outlined for this dissertation in Chapter 1. Objective 1, to interpret and analyze the consequences of the processes of development in Arctic Canada from a global, especially Third World, perspective, was fulfilled directly in Chapter 4 when comparisons were made between development processes in Arctic Canada and the Third World, especially Africa and Zambia. Furthermore, the theoretical foundations and framework for the dissertation, presented in Chapter 2, were based on literature primarily derived from study of the Third World. Direct references to the Third World were also made in Chapter 8 when discussing demographic characteristics of the Inuit.

Indirect fulfillment of Objective 1 was made throughout this research based on the previous experience and knowledge of the dissertation's author. Most empirical research and practical experience of the author have been in the Third World. Thought processes necessary for analysis and discussion in the dissertation were founded on a global perspective of development acquired from observation and understanding of peoples throughout the world. This brought valuable and new insights into analysis of the Arctic and contributed to a broader understanding of the historical development of the region.

Objective 2, to investigate the consequences of the development and redistribution of Inuit during the 20th century, was fulfilled in many chapters of this dissertation. A literature review in Chapter 3 presented overall descriptions of Inuit socio-economic conditions and the consequences of their development. Chapter 4, while comparing Arctic Canada and the Third World, also investigated consequences of one aspect of development, education.

Chapter 6 illustrated life in northern Baffin Island from 1922-1942. Examples were offered of the integration of modern socio-economic sectors into Inuit society. One important consequence of development was the supply of consumer goods at the HBC creating a demand for the commodities by the Inuit. The desire for these products became the seeds which contributed to the integration of Inuit society to a market economy and the migration of Inuit to permanent settlements.

In Chapter 7, government policies directed to developing Inuit socio-economic conditions were outlined as well as government attitudes towards the Inuit. Many development programmes from Ottawa were based on the quantitative growth of provisions for the Inuit such as health care, education, shelter, and material goods. Overall, development strategies were implemented without considering the needs or involving the Inuit in the planning process. A consequence was that often development did not benefit Inuit society.

Demographic and economic characteristics of the Inuit were presented in Chapter 8. By 1968, Inuit population had increased and they had access to many modern conveniences. By quantitatively measuring these aspects, it revealed that the Inuit were achieving economic growth and receiving the benefits of development. This was demonstrated by lower death rates, the high proportion of income derived from non-traditional sources, and the preponderance of consumer goods such as snowmobiles and modern housing in communities.

Qualitative indicators presented in Chapter 10, based on comments by the RCMP which were compiled in Chapter 9 and Appendix I, revealed that development did not necessarily benefit Inuit society as a whole. Several aspects of development which characterized the Baffin Region were discussed: the exploitation of Inuit by the HBC, the numerous incidences of TB and other 'imported' diseases, the effects of alcohol on the community, the concerns about lack of jobs for educated young Inuit, and the attraction of modern conveniences, especially luxury items. Comments by the RCMP associated with these aspects demonstrated that many consequences of development resulted in problems and conditions detrimental to overall Inuit economic and social well-being.

Further analysis in Chapter 10 measured and analyzed the development indicators of income source, morale, health, and population. Scores revealed that in general, the benefits or detriments of development depended more on local conditions in individual settlements and areas rather than general characteristics of the entire Baffin Region. What appeared most important in determining the type of consequences of development were the personal attributes and commitments exhibited by individual people in each area-- development agents and the Inuit themselves.

Analysis in Chapter 11 investigated the consequences of development and underdevelopment based on knowledge garnered from the entire dissertation. The research questions presented in Chapter 5 were

discussed. These concerned the topics of Education and Employment, Health Care and Demographic Characteristics, Material Goods, and Resource Use. Passages and quotes from the RCMP archives were used to illustrate the consequences of development associated with each of these topics. Discussion revealed that aspects of development concerned with each of these topics had both beneficial and detrimental effects on Inuit society.

Aspects concerning conditions of development and underdevelopment in the Arctic were also discussed in Chapter 11. The process of population distribution was used to link these two conditions. It was demonstrated that development inputs led to beneficial and detrimental effects on Inuit society and, more importantly, contributed to the population redistribution of Inuit from semi-nomadic hunting camps to centralized, permanent settlements.

A framework was presented and discussed in Chapter 11 which illustrated conditions of underdevelopment in Inuit society. Two key components identified in this framework which contributed to underdevelopment were that Inuit needs and involvement were not considered in development programmes and that Arctic communities lacked a sound economic base to provide employment and to sustain development.

Objective 3, to incorporate concepts of development in explanations and interpretations of the changes which occurred in Canadian Inuit socio-economic conditions, was fulfilled in a manner similar to that described for Objective 1. There is a difference, though. Much of the literature about the Arctic (see Chapter 3) describe conditions of underdevelopment at the time of their studies. This dissertation added the component of demonstrating the evolution of development and underdevelopment in a historical framework and also incorporated concepts of development based on experience and literature about non-Arctic areas.

Authors writing about the Arctic, which were referenced throughout

this dissertation, have produced a wealth of information. Except for a few (i.e. Berry 1966; Griffiths 1983; Young 1983; Zachariah 1984; Muller-Wille 1987; Pretes 1988), concepts of development and underdevelopment derived from non-Arctic study have not been employed when analyzing conditions in the Arctic. Furthermore, no study, as far as the author of this dissertation has found, has utilized non-Arctic derived concepts of development to discuss development and underdevelopment on a regional level in the Arctic based on the type of data source used for this analysis. This dissertation, then, has incorporated new perspectives and added additional concepts of development in order to explain and interpret the changes which occurred to Inuit society.

12.3 Theoretical Framework.

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation a theoretical framework was outlined which guided analysis for this research. Points defining development and underdevelopment were presented. Overall, development could be said to have occurred by demonstrating that a developing, less-modern society or region had become an integral and permanent part of a modern society. This integration then theoretically leads to sustained economic growth and increased benefits to individuals because of increased access to modern goods and services. Underdevelopment could be said to have occurred when some of these modern ideas and technologies substantially increased dependence on external influences and resulted in a diminution of indigenous control over their social, cultural, and economic systems.

Throughout this dissertation, illustrations of the integration of Inuit society into modern society were presented. Outward signs of this included, but were not limited to, the presence of HBC and RCMP posts in Arctic settlements, the use and demand of consumer goods imported from the south, facilities such as health care centres and schools, and

obtaining income from non-traditional sources. Overall, one of the most concrete indications that Inuit society became developed was the integration and replacement of their traditional economy by a market economic system tied to the developed, industrialized world.

Signs of dependence were also presented throughout this dissertation. These evolved through the same forces of modernization as those which led to development. In these cases, however, modern goods and services did not lead to sustained economic growth or increased benefits. Discussion of these included, but were not limited to, analysis of situations whereby young Inuit had to depend on support from others as they could not find wage employment nor rely on traditional means of livelihood, situations brought about by living in permanent settlements and having to rely on market conditions for meeting basic needs, and situations where the reliance on imported food and commodities led to a lessening of traditional ways to meet basic needs. These situations ultimately led to a diminution of indigenous social, cultural, and economic controls over their lives and to other conditions of underdevelopment.

The realities and reasons behind the development and underdevelopment of the Canadian Arctic were identified throughout this dissertation. Further discussion is necessary, however, to relate the findings of this research to the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. As conveyed in Figure 2.1, development seeks to imitate and replicate Western ideals and characteristics and increases interactions with a market economy. This supposedly leads to sustained economic growth, increased services, and improved standards of living. However, underdevelopment also ensues along with development. If the status quo for development and underdevelopment is maintained, these conditions are perpetuated.

In Chapter 11, information was presented concerning ideal development (Figure 11.2.1). This indicated that had Inuit's needs and

involvement been incorporated into development strategies and if settlements in the region had had a sound economic base, then conditions of underdevelopment may not have occurred. This finding is used to arrive at general conclusions about how this research relates to the overall conceptual framework used in this dissertation.

First, the conceptual framework, as well as analysis conducted for this dissertation, is not meant to suggest that Western ideals and characteristics should be removed from indigenous societies in order to alleviate underdevelopment. There are worthwhile Western technologies and ideas which were appropriate to have integrated into developing regions. For example, few would argue that hunting was made easier for the Inuit because of rifles and snowmobiles. Similarly, teaching Inuit about management skills or ways of conducting business were essential if indigenous enterprises were going to succeed in a competitive market.

Increased interaction with a market economy was also appropriate for Inuit development. The study region for this dissertation is in Canada and thus is a part of a developed, market economy. Government policies during the 20th century would have had to completely isolate the Inuit from any form of modern sector activity to prevent them from being integrated into a market economy. In addition, the HBC would have needed to be prevented from becoming established in the North, a difficult task to achieve in a free country.

The problem was that instead of incorporating indigenous ideals, characteristics, and economies into development plans, they were ignored, replaced, or removed. The example given in Chapter 2, about how development planners have often ignored the influences of the extended family when implementing programmes, illustrates this problem. Another problem was that planners seemed to assume that if the Inuit were developed according to Western standards, the Arctic would naturally evolve into a market economy which would sustain a modern society similar to those of southern Canada. They failed to take into

account the weak economic base of Arctic settlements or the social problems which would be produced when a semi-nomadic hunting society became abruptly redistributed into a market-oriented society in permanent settlements.

Having stated these problems, the question must be asked, what would have happened if indigenous socio-economic characteristics had been incorporated into development plans? First, it must be assumed that given that they lived in Canada, it was inevitable that the Inuit economy would become market-oriented. Furthermore, it is unlikely that they would remain as semi-nomadic hunters unless the Canadian government and public purposely ignored them. Therefore, if their development incorporated indigenous characteristics, it would most likely have been based on expanding and encouraging hunting as the most viable way of obtaining income.

A likely consequence of this would be that game near larger settlements may have become depleted. This would not only be harmful to the environment but would necessitate hunting farther afield and thus increase costs to finance longer trips. According to RCMP reports (NAC18/55k 1964; NAC18/85/86/048/55w 1967), there was concern that seal stocks near Frobisher Bay and Pangnirtung were depleted or in danger of depletion as these settlements grew. If hunting was to have been the primary way to obtain income for all Inuit (males), it was probable that the supply of game resources could not sustain the demand.

The encouragement by the Canadian government to diversify income earning ventures as part of development in the 1950s and 1960s, then, was appropriate given that hunting likely could not solely sustain the Inuit economy. This would have been especially true because of the redistribution of Inuit into relatively large, permanent settlements. Handicrafts, boat building, and general wage labour provided sources of income in addition to selling skins and pelts. The problem was that even though the economy was somewhat diversified, all income earning

opportunities combined still did not provide enough work for all Inuit who needed a job. As the RCMP officer in Pangnirtung feared would happen (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968), without sufficient job opportunities, the Arctic in many ways became a welfare state.

While this section of Chapter 12 has presented ideal situations which may have prevented underdevelopment in the Arctic, it has not offered any concrete solutions. It is doubtful that anything could have been done to prevent what occurred to the Inuit during the 20th century. There simply were not enough economic, resource, or population bases in the Arctic to enable it to succeed in a modern, developed market economy. The only solution would have been to completely isolate the Inuit from the rest of the world. Obviously that would not have been practical, let alone morally acceptable.

This dissertation, then, finishes on a very pessimistic note. One of the only hopeful results is that the information and analysis conveyed in this dissertation should be helpful to those currently trying to develop the Arctic. Personal experience and conversations with those planning development have indicated that, while sincere, many of these people do not have a firm understanding of the historical processes which contributed to contemporary conditions. If they knew more about the region's history, they may be better able to plan sustainable development. If information in this dissertation is ever read by development agents, it then may become beneficial to the Inuit.

From an academic perspective, this dissertation has contributed to the expansion of ideas of development as conveyed by authors such as Leys (1977), Bratton (1982), and Bruton (1985). They espouse the concept that development and underdevelopment should be viewed from a holistic perspective taking many variables into account. Some aspects of development are beneficial for indigenous societies, others are not. Furthermore, it is self-defeating to view underdeveloped societies from the perspective that they are doomed to perpetual exploitation unless

they disassociate themselves from world society.

While it is admitted in this conclusion that the one way to have prevented underdevelopment of the Inuit would have been for them to remain totally isolated from the world, this dissertation never advocated that this was a viable alternative. The most viable solution would be to encourage and assist the emergence of indigenous decision-makers to help plan development firmly rooted in providing for indigenous societal and economic needs.

As was demonstrated in this dissertation, individual development agents, whether Euro-Canadian or Inuit, seemed to have produced more benefits in the day-to-day lives of individual Inuit than development inputs introduced on a regional scale by large agencies. What is needed, then, are dedicated agents, ideally indigenous although Euro-Canadians would most likely also be involved. They must be attuned to Inuit needs and socio-economic conditions in specific communities and, more importantly, plan development from a small-scale perspective based on how it will affect the lives of individual Inuit. If individuals see the benefits of development as it affects them personally and are involved in the process of their development, they should be more motivated to find ways of continuing and sustaining their development. Only then will it be possible to alleviate some of conditions of underdevelopment which characterize the Arctic.

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1. NAC refers to National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
2. Because many archives had the same Record Group (RG) and Volume number, it was difficult to refer to them in the text in a consistent manner. Therefore, some archives are referred to by volume number, others by file number. All are listed by Record Group, though.

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APPENDIX I:

DESCRIPTION OF RCMP PATROL REPORTS FOR SPECIFIC AREAS, 1950-1968

ANALYSIS OF RCMP PATROL REPORTS FOR SPECIFIC AREAS, 1950-1968

Discussion in this appendix centres on presenting aspects of life in the eastern Arctic as described by RCMP officers which illustrate development processes and their effects on the Inuit. One of the most important indicators of development is the evolution and consequences of the redistribution of people from semi-permanent hunting camps to permanent settlements.

Descriptions are conducted regionally beginning with south Baffin Island and progressing northward to Ellesmere Island. The exception is Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit) which is discussed first as it became the largest east Arctic community as well as the administrative headquarters for the region. While the reasons for using RCMP reports have previously been justified it must be remembered that reports were authored by different officers. Thus variables from one settlement may not be described in the same manner as another settlement. Overall, however, all reports provide useful data illustrating life as it was during Inuit transition from camps to settlements.

A1. FROBISHER BAY (IQALUIT)

A1.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

With the building of the airport during WWII, Inuit increasingly became attracted to wage labour offered at the base. While this labour was welcome and cheap, there was no concerted effort by the American or Canadian administrators to encourage Inuit to become permanent, sedentary people. Other than the few Inuit employees, the only other regular contact between base troops and Inuit was when Inuit wished to sell souvenirs made of ivory, furs, and fur products. This created several problems for the RCMP, however, who had to ensure the general welfare of their wards. According to reports of 1947, American soldiers were paying ridiculously low prices for Inuit handicrafts with the Inuit

asking similarly low prices. The constable intervened, with the approval of a commanding officer in Ottawa, to prohibit all dealings between troops and Inuit unless in the presence of the RCMP constable (NAC18/55a 1947). In this way, prices paid for the souvenirs were the same or more than would be obtained by selling them to the HBC. Thus, through no apparent effort on the part of development agents, Inuit were being drawn into cottage industry based on using resources available to them on the land or sea. The most important aspect of this souvenir business, however, did not become apparent until an RCMP report in 1951 which illustrates processes leading to underdevelopment and oppression of the Inuit.

The constable stationed at Frobisher Bay in 1951 reported to his commanding officer that the local HBC post manager would most likely be contacting RCMP headquarters with a complaint. This was because the RCMP constable had given permission, which was in accordance with the law, allowing Inuit to sell fur directly to Whites at the Base. The officer was always present and acted as translator in addition to ensuring that the Inuit received a fair price for their goods. Typically, a white fox fur pelt was sold to a White for \$10.00 which was \$3.50 more than the HBC would give to the hunter and half what a White would pay at the HBC post. The HBC post manager was not pleased with these transactions. He informed the Inuit hunters who sold fur at the Base that in future they would receive no credit to outfit them for winter (NAC18/55b 1951). This would produce added hardship as Inuit relied on credit to purchase equipment and supplies to outfit them until they could trap more fur to sell. The RCMP officer stated,

Though business policy and administration are no concern of the writer's, the welfare and just dealing with the natives are...If the natives learn that the trading post can buy their furs and resell them to white men at a considerable profit, but they (the natives) cannot make a greater profit on their already meagre resources, without repercussions, it will be exceedingly difficult to explain, and their faith in justice will be greatly reduced (NAC18/55b 1951).

The commanding officer's reply to this report stated that there was no reason whatever why native trappers could not sell fur directly to White personnel at the Base. The Inuit should be discretely encouraged, however, to pay off debts with the proceeds (NAC18/55c 1951).

It is seen in this correspondence that the RCMP had the welfare of Inuit as a priority, albeit in a paternalistic relationship. What is rather insidious, though, is how the Inuit seemed manipulated from all sides in their transition to a more modern life. By 1951 they were already dependent on a monetary system to buy or barter imported goods. The selling of handicrafts to foreigners on an Air Base provided one outlet to gain this money. But the goods sold were souvenirs- i.e. goods for decorative purposes which most likely would not serve any essential need to the buyer. Granted, they were made from resources which were attained by living off the land, but were turned into items of little use to the Inuit. It can only be speculated whether this activity infringed on endeavours necessary for survival, such as hunting for food. Regardless, even if an Inuk could gain needed extra money from selling souvenirs directly to the Base, the HBC negated the benefits by withdrawing credit. It is no wonder that the RCMP constable wondered what the Inuit would think of all this.

The development processes demonstrated here are clearly those of a core of outsiders exploiting resources of a periphery in different manners and degrees. This must have sent confusing and contradictory signals to the Inuit and contributed to their dependence on the south.

1951:

As identified by the RCMP, by the end of 1951 Frobisher Bay served three distinct groups of Inuit. One group, consisting of 12 young men and their families, were permanently employed on the Base and lived at the adjacent Inuit settlement all year. The largest group worked at the Base during the summer and returned to a more traditional way of life in

hunting camps during the winter. Summer work included off-loading and pumping oil tankers and other unskilled labour jobs. They were paid \$60.00 per month plus food rations. The constable thought this was far too low considering the type of work done and the high prices at the HBC. The final group, consisting of five families, followed a hunting-trapping lifestyle the year round.

Overall, the RCMP officer thought the Air Base only slightly improved the general economy of the people. It was noted that any gain in income during the summer months was offset by the hard, dirty jobs they had to endure. More importantly, the attitudes of Whites toward unskilled labourers were that Inuit were dull and unintelligent. The constable thought that booklets should be printed for Whites pointing out that Inuit were intelligent and resourceful people and should be respected. A leaflet of this type was prepared but it is unknown if it was distributed (NAC18/55d 1952).

1952:

More complete and detailed accounts of life at Frobisher Bay were given in RCMP reports from 1952 onwards. During 1952 approximately 300 Inuit in 75 families lived at or near Frobisher Bay (NAC18/55e 1953). Again, they were classified into three groups. Fourteen Inuit were employed permanently at the Base and lived all year in the settlement.

They worked in seven different jobs:

1. Mess Hall - Four Inuit men washed dishes, handled crating, and kept the hall clean.
2. Laundry - An married couple handled equipment and clothing.
3. Hauling fuel - One Inuk man handled a truck and pumped oil into tanks.
4. Hauling water - One man handled a truck and pumped water into tanks.
5. Motor Mechanics - One man was a general mechanic.
6. Janitor Work - Three Inuit men cleaned, waxed, polished, and dusted canteens and hallways.

7. Trucking - Two Inuit men hauled general goods.

Their salary averaged \$100 per month, one free meal per day plus a substantial ration. These people were supplied by the Base with wooden frame houses with oil space heaters, cupboards, windows, curtains, beds, and sheets. The houses were located in what was called the 'Eskimo Village' about one kilometre from the Base. Food for their families was provided in the form of rations and Family Allowances and it was reported that country food such as seals were scarce and not desired by these Inuit. Their income, including that from the sale of handicrafts was very high compared to Inuit at other settlements on Baffin Island. In the opinion of the RCMP officer, they, especially the younger ones, were well adapted into White culture and seemed to be leading good, happy, and successful lives.

A different view was described about Inuit who obtained temporary employment. There were approximately 50 individuals and their families who lived in Frobisher Bay during the summer employment season from April to September. They worked hauling fuel, unloading ships, carpentry, operating light machinery, road building, cement work, painting, laying pipe lines, and other jobs needing unskilled labour. Their salary averaged \$75.00 a month, one free meal per worker each day, plus generous food rations. They lived in canvas tents in the Eskimo Village that were described as clean and comfortable with fresh air and enough warmth. Food sources were similar to those obtained by permanent employees except it was noted that more country food was eaten as many young men not working were able to secure plenty of seals. Economically, they had more money than those who stayed on the land all year but the RCMP officer thought this hardly compensated for the changes they had to go through. Indeed, the officer was very harsh in this regard. He stated these Inuit were not "good eskimos and by no means white", failing in both worlds (NAC18/55e 1953). They tried to imitate White ways but fell short. In the officer's opinion, they

should be educated to a White way of life or re-educated back to their old way. He suggested that a school be started.

In addition to those points, the constable commented that many Inuit were existing on Family Allowances and relief. The allowances were intended to provide children with more nourishment but instead were providing a living for the whole family. Many families were using the allowances to buy ammunition. Furthermore, the issue was raised that the HBC was the de facto administrator of the Inuit community. As the officer expressed it,

[HBC policy:] to get as many white fox furs in return for articles which have been far overpriced, to make the eskimo move to locations where trapping is best and hunting worst (the foxes will buy food from the store) keeping the eskimo down to where he has no say but is in the deadly debt grip, hence government by the trading company. No one is fooled, the trading company is out to make money...(NAC18/55e 1953).

One of the problems which faced the Arctic, then, was that there was no clear authority or specific development strategy towards the Inuit. The RCMP maintained law and order and ensured, as much as possible, proper welfare of the Inuit. Direct development, though, was haphazard, with jobs created by need, not by design, and the economy directly influenced and often controlled by the HBC.

Apparently, bureaucrats either listened to the RCMP officers in the field or decided by other sources that development in the Arctic needed to be more closely administered. By the mid 1950s, development projects had been implemented and Northern Service Officers in place throughout the region.

1956:

It is clear in the annual report for the year ending 31 December 1956 that a much more direct development policy had been initiated by government. The corporal reported that 383 Inuit lived in the Frobisher Bay area. There were 77 families, 76 of whom received Family Allowances. The Inuit parts of town were divided into a townsite and

village. Fourteen families lived in the townsite and all were employed by the DNA. They lived in newly built frame houses constructed by the government. In summer they moved into tents. The houses were reported as being very nice and more than adequate for the need of the families living in them. The village consisted of 24 families. All but one family had members working at the Base. They lived in what were called shacks which were of wood frame construction composed of salvaged materials from the Base. Although they looked grimy on the exterior, about half were reported to be good on the interior. Very few houses were still heated by seal-oil lamps and most had Coleman lamps bought from the HBC. Small kerosene lamps were also common. Almost every home had a homemade oil drum stove and about half had a wood burning range. Scrap wood from the Base was collected and burned in these. The USAF permitted those with oil stoves to use surplus fuel oil from the Base.

The income amongst the permanent Frobisher Bay inhabitants was reported as satisfactory. Direct welfare relief in 1956 only amounted to \$189.15. With all the wage labour, trapping played a relatively unimportant role. As income was good, spending habits followed suit. Accordions, soft drinks, candy, and other luxury items were priorities at the HBC. Clothing, in the main, consisted of southern manufactured goods bought at the HBC or through mail order. Although caribou parkas and mitts were common in the winter, seal-skin boots (kamiks) were the only consistently used traditional clothing. The corporal even reported that in December 1956 he saw a local Inuk woman dressed in a low-cut evening gown and slippers.

The remaining 39 families in the Frobisher Bay area in 1956 were scattered in various winter hunting camps along the actual bay. They journeyed to the Air Base during summer to unload ships and perform other casual labour. For the majority of the year they lived off the land and sea. Their homes in the winter camps were permanent and composed of wooden frames and walls, canvas, and sealskin, with tundra

for insulation. They were heated by seal-oil lamps and served the needs of a hunting-trapping livelihood. The Inuit in these camps were reported as being fairly well adjusted and self reliant. The majority of problems for which the RCMP had to deal with were centred at the Inuit village (NAC18/55f 1957).

1958, 1959:

Living and employment conditions continued much the same during the last half of the 1950s. Several chronic problems did develop, however, which illustrate some negative effects of change and transformation into more modern societal structures. One problem of great concern to RCMP throughout the eastern Arctic was the increasing incidence of theft and crimes against property. The RCMP officer offered his superiors an opinion about the reasons for these types of crime. His opinions were based on years of experience living with the Inuit. He stated that in early times Inuit had a great deal of respect for property but, by the 1950s,

...they are ever increasingly showing a disregard for property rights...the reasons for this are to be found in the way which white-people, especially in the last few years, have strewn property about the north with reckless abandon, using it for a period and then either destroying same and [or] giving it away. The Eskimos have come into great quantities of such materials and under conditions which often on the part of the giver amount to theft. Some government agencies and also private ones without due authorization give away quantities of food, gasoline, etc. The U.S.A.F. was especially notorious in this regard. It has been a matter of generosity to a fault. It has become evident to the Eskimos that white-people do not have a high regard for property (NAC18/55g 1958).

Another problem which the RCMP faced was the continuing sexual relations which White men had with Inuit women. While laws were not broken when both parties mutually consented and were over 18, the DNA and RCMP actively discouraged these activities as they (a) led to the lowering of moral standards of Inuit females, (b) led to social problems involving the whole Inuit village, (c) increased already prevalent sexually transmitted diseases, including gonorrhoea, and (d) left young

Inuit females with fatherless children, heartaches, frustration, and no husbands (NAC18/55h 1959). The issue was raised because the RCMP sergeant accidentally walked in on three White males with three Inuit females at the Imperial Oil single men's barracks. The actual sexual encounters were not the major issue in this case. Rather, the RCMP officer reported the incident because it illustrated the change in societal attitudes which Inuit women and girls were experiencing as a result of contact with Whites. When the three women were interviewed as to why they (and others) were so promiscuous with White men they stated that:

- a. They want a White man for a husband because:
 1. He can give them good strong children.
 2. He can give them a good home and luxuries.
 3. He can give them nice clothes.
 4. He can give them love.
- b. They will not go out with young Inuit men because:
 1. They talk too much about pre-marital relations.
 2. They only want Inuit wives for work.
 3. They do not know anything about love.

All three women in this case said the most important reason for being with White men was that White men knew how to make love and make them feel wanted, whereas Inuit males used them only for pleasure (NAC18/55h 1959). The point in relating this report is to demonstrate that in addition to Inuit economic structure being transformed, interpersonal relations between Inuit sexes were also influenced by the presence of outsiders. As the RCMP officer pointed out in his report, unless the attitudes of Inuit and Whites towards casual sexual encounters changed (he suggested providing more employment and education for Inuit females), it could be expected that hostility in the community could increase and perhaps lead to prostitution and petty crime (NAC18/55h 1959).

1961:

Frobisher Bay was firmly established as the hub of eastern Arctic administration and commercial activities by 1960. In 1961 the consequences of the period of transition from 1940 to 1960 were clearly evident. Outward signs of economic activity indicated there were a few employed Inuit doing well but on the whole, economic and social indicators often revealed disturbing signals. Frobisher Bay was still divided into three separate living areas. Approximately 900 Inuit and 650 Whites lived in the community. The area around the airport was home to eight Inuit families who lived in modern apartments supplied by DNA. The majority of Whites also lived there. Inuit lived in two buildings, each containing four apartments. Approximately 60% of the Inuit population lived in the Eskimo Village, called Ikaluit. No Whites lived there. The village consisted of 28 'match boxes'. Also, about 50 makeshift dwellings served as homes. These were constructed of bits of lumber, canvas, plywood, or other scrap material. The other living area was Apex Hill, several kilometres from Ikaluit. The remainder of the Inuit plus a few Whites lived there. They lived in 57 houses, called 512s (512 sq. feet) or in 4.8m X 6m single room houses. The sergeant reported most houses were sub-standard, overcrowded, had no baths, showers, or running water nor adequate disposal for sewage or garbage.

Approximately 150 male Inuit were gainfully employed. Depending on the season, DNA hired 80-100, the Department of Transport (DOT) employed 30 with a further 20 working at sundry jobs with private enterprises. Female Inuit employment consisted primarily of domestic jobs at private homes or at the DNA building. The RCMP officer commented that the employment resources were inadequate in relation to the total population. A few Inuit were supporting the majority.

The social effects of development processes were summarized clearly by the RCMP officer in his report. He stated,

Practically all the Eskimos in Frobisher Bay have a great sense of frustration. In compiling information for this report the writer was impressed by the uniformity of opinion in this respect. The Eskimos are insecure, confused and demoralized. Basically the liquor situation in this settlement stems from this fact. The Eskimos have all but lost their customs, environment, social structure and prestige symbols, and little of value has replaced them at this stage. In this transitional period they are resorting to liquor and promiscuity as an escape. After having received some benefits of civilization, they cannot return to their native element, but the restricted working and living conditions in a white influenced community is entirely alien to their hunting type of civilization...The Eskimos have a feeling of inferiority in a white dominated settlement. They believe that they have little control over their lives as the White man has replaced their leaders and parental control (NAC18/55i 1962).

1962:

Conditions remained very similar in Frobisher Bay from 1961 to 1962. Three living areas still existed with 50% of Inuit in Ikaluit and 50% in Apex Hill, not including the few at the White area near the Base. One change during the year was that a considerable number of Inuit labourers were laid off their jobs at various government departments although the Northern Canada Power Commission hired six. Morale was considered to be very low. Drinking continued to have an ill effect on most Inuit homes. It was mentioned that eight to twelve families were making their living from hunting and trapping (NAC18/55j 1963).

1963:

Again, reported conditions as reported were unchanged from 1962. There was, however, one significant item in the report. The RCMP officer stated that hunting and fishing had become more a part of Inuit living during 1963 due to lay offs of 50% of the labourers, even though this way of life offered only a meagre source of income. Dog teams were formed and ski-dogs were becoming popular. This was tempered, however, by concerns that the renewable resource base could not support the increased number of hunters. The officer clearly stated that the "game resources of the local area surrounding Frobisher Bay would not support the present Eskimo population if all were to turn to their native way of life" (NAC18/55k 1964).

1964:

Living conditions in Frobisher Bay retained the status quo with overcrowded housing and a lack of plumbing (although most houses had electricity). Inuit were considered to have low morale. One change was that the only public place which served liquor had closed down. Drinking continued in the homes but did not consume as much time and money. Less than half of the adult male population was employed. The remainder scraped a meagre existence by hunting and fishing, making crafts, or receiving social assistance. Also, in 1964, 20 Inuit in four families were living permanently 100 kilometres east of the settlement. They appeared to be well nourished and seemed to have more of a congenial nature than people living at Frobisher Bay. They told the RCMP officer that the reason for living there was to avoid the problems which developed in Frobisher Bay, particularly in relation to liquor (NAC18/551 1965).

1965:

A slightly less pessimistic mood was conveyed by the RCMP officer for 1965. The one change in living conditions was that all Inuit families living at the Base had moved to Apex Hill or Ikaluit. Other than that, living conditions remained unchanged. The Inuit were reported to have appeared happy to the sergeant. Many hunters lived in Ikaluit and stated they would rather stay there than move out on the land. Generally, families in Ikaluit were more communal and enjoyed fresh meat and fish more than those at Apex Hill. Those in Apex Hill were more settled and worked around the home rather than hunt. Most of the welfare families and transients also lived at Apex Hill.

Recreation activities were more numerous in 1965. The only mention of drinking was that it was done in the homes and although at times heavy and steady, the majority of homes were not seriously affected. There were serious health problems, however, but those are

described under a separate heading. As in 1964, less than half of the adult Inuit males were steadily employed. Only two Inuit families continued to reside in the hunting camp 100 kilometres east of the settlement (NAC18/55m 1966).

1966:

Definite changes in Inuit living arrangements occurred in 1966. A programme was launched adding 29 new low-rent houses to Ikaluit. They included electric lights, oil cook stove and heater, and chemical toilets. Sewage and garbage trucks were provided to pick up waste. Generally, morale of the Inuit was good among older people and those who were married. Hunting provided a living for 25% of the families, wage employment for 50% and welfare or old age pensions, supplemented by carving, for the remaining 25%. No families remained in the hunting camp east of the settlement. The major problems concerned those with juveniles. These are discussed in the section on education (NAC18/55n 1967).

1967:

In conjunction with new housing in Ikaluit, a (White) Home Economist was employed to guide Inuit families in caring for their new houses. She reported to the RCMP officer that some families took very good care of their homes while others were lazy and consumed large quantities of alcohol. In all, 34 additional homes were built at Ikaluit in 1967. Although unstated, this must have provided employment for many Inuit men. Only about 5% of the total Frobisher Bay population made a living directly from hunting and trapping. Welfare provided income for 25%, part-time work and carving for 10%, and wage employment for 60%. Although mention is made of problems with teenagers, the biggest problem in 1967 was the over consumption of alcohol with children appearing to be suffering most through neglect (NAC18/55o 1968).

A1.2 Education.

It was recommended by an RCMP officer in early 1952 that Inuit be provided with elementary schooling (NAC18/55d 1952). The reasoning behind the officer's comments was that Inuit could learn basic skills to be used on the Air Base and thus the Base would not have to bring in outside labour or use servicemen for the jobs. The suggestion was considered at DNA and a request was made for the RCMP to provide DNA with the number of children who would most likely attend school (NAC18/55p 1952). No school was built in 1952, though. Recommendations that a school be started were then included in an annual report written in 1953 (NAC18/55e 1953). A school was finally opened in 1955 as part of a federal building programme. It was not until 1963, however, that a RCMP officer mentioned the role of education in Inuit socio-economic conditions in an annual report. A concern was expressed by the officer in that year about the alienation and psychological distance forming between Inuit children and their parents. "A profound influence is their [Inuit adults] feeling of 'loss' of their children. As a result of schooling, employment, knowledge of English of the smaller children, the traditional bond between the children and their parents has been dislocated" (NAC18/55j 1963).

After one decade of schooling, in 1965, indicators in RCMP reports were that education had not achieved its intended purpose-to enable young Inuit to obtain jobs and integrate into White sectors of society. The adults who maintained aspects of traditional Inuit culture such as hunting, according to the RCMP officer, appeared to be better adjusted to life in the community than young Inuit who had progressed through the school system. "The younger generations appear to be the ones that are having the most difficulty in adjusting to education, schools, the demands for our type of civilization and social standards. There has as yet been no middle ground reached, where other than a very few Eskimo and White can meet on an equal basis" (NAC18/55m 1966). The majority of

students were reported as being apathetic towards school and showed little interest in their classes. Many could not see any future for themselves other than along a menial line of work. While a southern style curriculum and lack of jobs for educated young Inuit no doubt led to these problems, the sergeant in this report still advocated education as a partial solution. The caveat being that Inuit should be educated and provided jobs in professions such as doctors, managers, and foremen so they could become leaders of the community.

Educational facilities in Frobisher Bay were expanded in 1966. A school in Apex Hill had seven classrooms plus a home economics room for older girls. At Ikaluit were 12 classrooms, one library, one home economics building, and one industrial arts building. The highest grade available was Grade 10 but the highest level that any Inuit were in was Grade 7. Four hundred and six children attended school in Frobisher Bay with 17 being sent to Churchill, Manitoba for vocational studies. Problems of the young being disillusioned continued. A suggestion was made, however, to provide adult education so that parents would gain an idea of what their children were learning and the purpose behind education (NAC18/55n 1967). In this way perhaps parents would encourage their children to achieve more in school.

Enrolment in school in 1967 stayed the same as in 1966 with pupils in schools at Apex Hill and Ikaluit. Night classes for adults were offered but not heavily attended. Sixteen students were in Churchill and five in other institutions of higher education. Recreation programmes increased over 1966 but other than that conditions remained similar. One event did take place, however, which encouraged children to obtain an education but which also increased alienation in some towards their parents.

A point of interest is that of the trip made by the 100 Eskimo children to Ottawa last year and it's lasting effects. Many of these children retain written contact with their 'parents' out in Ottawa. Many wish to go back and live outside and are not quite content with their present living conditions. Remarks as follows can be heard. "We haven't sat down to eat a meal since we came

back from Ottawa." "I want to visit my parents in Ottawa.", Some of the more poorly treated Eskimo children of this area have even stated that, "I don't want a Eskimo Mother, I want a white Mother. Eskimo mothers no good, drink and play poker all time." This might sound a little shocking however I think it a healthy sign in that if all other endeavours of education fail to impress these people a taste of other living may be enough to instal [sic] some initiative in the younger generation to strive for a good education to qualify themselves in the competative [sic] labour market. On the whole it would appear that more teen-agers are attempting to get a better education (NAC18/55o 1968).

A1.3 Health and Health Care.

During the 1940s, medical care was received at the Base Hospital. While the hospital was primarily for base employees and servicemen, Inuit in need of medical attention were not turned away. Most sicknesses were of a minor nature in the late 1940s. From May 1947 to October 1949, 36 Inuit were hospitalized in Frobisher Bay. Twenty-four eventually were dismissed, 6 died, and 6 remained in hospital at the time of the report (NAC18/55q 1949). Four tuberculosis patients were flown to hospitals in the south in 1949. Three Inuit returned from southern hospitalization during that same year.

Until 1951 medical care had been voluntarily administered by a medical assistant of the RCAF who seemed sincerely interested in the welfare of the Inuit. In 1951 he was replaced by a new assistant who was not interested in Inuit welfare and apparently only looked after emergency cases. The RCMP office, therefore, strongly recommended that at least a nursing station be established at Frobisher Bay (NAC18/55d 1952). In 1953 the RCAF again was administering to ill Inuit with the RCMP officer describing it as the "daily sick parade" (NAC18/55e 1953). The officer insinuated that the Department of Health and Welfare should have accepted responsibility for Inuit health care rather than the RCAF. He also worried that with the USAF taking over the Base again in 1953 that the Americans would not offer medical treatment for the Inuit. He clearly recommended that a hospital be built.

Officers were definitely concerned throughout the 1950s about the poor health of many Inuit in Frobisher Bay. Many reports in the 1950s

also indicate that families living away from the community in hunting camps experienced very good health. Along with those in other locations, one camp over one hundred kilometres east of Frobisher Bay was inhabited permanently by families who, like those in other camps visited, "appeared to be in the best of health with an abundance of seal meat on hand" (NAC18/55r 1954).

In 1956 a nursing station finally became operative in Frobisher Bay. The RCMP officer and nurse were concerned throughout 1956 about Inuit not buying proper and good food at the HBC. In addition, they worried about the prevalence of poor sanitation and cleanliness in the preparation of food (NAC18/55f 1957). Only those without full time employment relied heavily on seal, caribou, and fish for food. While good, nutritious food was available to buy at the HBC, the Inuit had to be encouraged by nursing staff to buy it. The cleanliness of floors, tables, and water containers was also a problem. It was reported that food and water were often prepared or stored under unsanitary conditions. Indeed, the officer's observations indicated that most sickness was due to:

1. Their habits in the care and handling of food, use of common utensils, etc.
2. Poor Diet
3. Contact with personnel who arrive daily from the south (NAC18/55f 1957).

By 1961 the Department of Health and Welfare maintained an 18 bed hospital in Frobisher Bay. It was staffed by two doctors, one public health nurse, and six nurses. While the RCMP officer was optimistic that health conditions in future would improve because of these facilities, for the year 1961, he reported that in general Inuit health had been poor. He emphasized that infant mortality was 306 per 1000 with the Canadian average 27 per 1000. He stated deaths among infants was usually caused by some type of respiratory infection associated with malnutrition. Again, the causes of this, in the officer's opinion, were

linked to inadequate housing and sanitation, exposure to alien bacteria, and a diet which had veered away from country food to store bought items (NAC18/55i 1962).

Three doctors staffed the hospital in 1962 along with nine nurses. Health continued to be poor with measles and infectious hepatitis being the main diseases affecting Inuit (NAC18/55j 1963). By the end of 1963 the hospital had been expanded to 24 beds with three doctors, ten nurses, and two public health nurses. Tuberculosis was becoming less prevalent but measles and infectious hepatitis were still common. During 1963 the infant death rate was around 200 per 1000, with deaths mainly due to measles, infectious hepatitis, and pneumonia (NAC18/55k 1964).

Throughout 1964, health facilities continued to expand with two additional nurses hired. General health of the Inuit, however, continued to be poor. Similar conditions prevailed to those reported in previous years (NAC18/55l 1965). Conditions even appeared to have been worse in 1965. Although it was reported that general health remained unchanged (meaning poor), a considerable number of meningitis cases amongst younger children were reported. It did not appear that any deaths resulted from this disease. In addition, however, cases of VD amongst teenagers and young single adults were becoming numerous enough to be a major concern. As mentioned under the section about socio-economic conditions, drinking was a problem. The officer linked drinking and increased sexual contacts between teenage Inuit girls and single White men with the VD problem (NAC18/55m 1966).

Again, the general health of Inuit remained much the same in 1966. There were fewer meningitis cases, though. Venereal disease remained high, was increasing, and affecting people from their early teens to middle-aged adults. It was present in both single and married people. Additional medical staff during 1966 included a Superintendent and a pediatrician on a rotation basis from the Montréal Children's Hospital

(NAC18/55n 1967). The report for 1967 again was similar to that of 1966. Very few meningitis cases were reported but VD continued to be a major problem. It primarily appeared in unmarried individuals but was still found in older adults and in one child five years old. Dental care expanded and periodic visits were made by optometrists and eye, ear, and throat specialists. Large numbers of Inuit children seemed to be suffering from eye trouble and it was thought that this might be due to poor diet (NAC18/55o 1968). Overall, health care and facilities were adequately provided but health conditions continued to be far from good.

A2. LAKE HARBOUR/CAPE DORSET

A2.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1950-1951:

Certainly when compared to Frobisher Bay, Inuit living at or near Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset depended more on hunting and trapping than their more urban counterparts. Descriptions in RCMP reports of the 1940s and early 1950s focus on conditions related to the hunting of food and trapping of fur and other aspects of life in outpost camps. This did not mean that Inuit in these areas were not dependent on the HBC and other White establishments. Without the presence of opportunities to obtain wage labour such as in Frobisher Bay, however, when natural conditions led to a shortage of game, the effects were felt to a greater degree. This is illustrated in correspondence in 1950 concerning a lack of food in Cape Dorset.

In February of 1950, RCMP headquarters in Ottawa received a radiogram from the Lake Harbour detachment stating that all Cape Dorset Inuit were in critical condition because of a shortage on seals (NAC18/55s 1950). Many people were eating fox carcasses. Although store food for humans was plentiful at the HBC, dog food was very scarce. In response to this situation, the RCAF was sent to drop a load of horsemeat by parachute during the last week of February. The meat was then distributed by the HBC manager. It was packed in 1.5 pound tins and in all totalled 5000 pounds. A second load of meat, this time frozen, arrived at Cape Dorset the middle of April. It was not until the first part of May that seal hunting improved.

The primary cause which was attributed to the lack of meat was simply that the seals were not in their usual habitat. Equally important, though, was that fox trapping had been extremely poor from 1946-1950 and thus many Inuit could not afford gasoline to power boats to walrus hunt. As cached walrus meat provided dog food over winter,

without it, dog food became scarce. The Inuit then had to eat meat usually reserved for dogs in 1950 when seals were scarce (NAC18/55t 1950).

While seals were obtained during the remainder of 1950, by May 1951, conditions were described as being only barely improved (NAC18/55u 1951). It was not until June 1951 that seal returned in sufficient number to meet the requirements of Cape Dorset Inuit. Very few Inuit, however, could secure a surplus of seal to cache for future use because of bad weather and the high demand for seal when they did become abundant again (NAC18/55v 1951). There were very few days when the sea was calm enough to shoot seal with a minimum of ammunition expended. Also, in summer more than half of the seal shot sank before being retrieved. In order to alleviate the situation, the RCMP issued seal nets on relief and Family Allowances. In addition, encouragement and organization by the RCMP was made to use nets to fish for Arctic Char. Fish were an underutilized resource in the area.

A brief mention was made by the RCMP officer in 1951 about a development input which would indeed change the economic structure of Cape Dorset Inuit in coming years. This was the arrival of the Canadian Handicraft Guild, a marketing and retail organization for Inuit carvings and handicrafts.

1952:

Economic conditions in the Cape Dorset area were indeed improving in 1952 due, in part, by the cache system initiated by the RCMP officer the previous year. Also the economy was greatly helped by an increase in handicraft work including weaving, carving ivory and stone, and sewing sealskins into articles of use and decoration. The handicraft idea was started by the HBC manager as a representative of the Canadian Handicraft Guild. Both Inuit and Whites at Cape Dorset agreed that handicrafts would form the main source of income for residents in the

Cape Dorset area. Based on the low prices paid for fox pelts and sealskins, few believed their hunting and trapping efforts were worth the return (NAC18/55w 1952).

While many people obtained reasonable incomes from handicrafts, others relied almost solely on government relief and Family Allowances. This was made clear in a description of the hunting camps around Cape Dorset. Six out of seven camps were referred to by the RCMP officer as being very clean, tidy, or well-run. These camps all had enough seal to eat and in varying degrees were producing handicrafts for sale. One camp, however, was described as one of the worst that the RCMP officer had ever seen. It was filthy and its inhabitants almost always on relief. The residents demanded more food from the officer and complained that Whites were not giving them enough.

In talking this camp over with the HBC manager, he recommended that the camp be broken up, and in the case of the young hunters who were not working, make an issue of ammunition and rations for one month and then give them nothing more. It is understood that such treatment is rather drastic, but in this particular case it is completely justifiable. Each winter, the camp gets larger and the food necessary to keep them from starving must be issued on relief as they will not hunt for themselves. Something will soon have to be done about this camp because it is rapidly getting worse (NAC18/55w 1952).

This illustrates the direct authority development agents had over their wards. They determined, through their personal experiences and mandates, what constituted a proper camp. Obviously, their superiors would want to keep relief payments to a minimum. Conversely, according to the officer's observations, the Inuit in this camp expected to be taken care of with a minimum of effort on their part. Whether derived from basic human nature, or lack of education, or a combination of both, the Inuit at this camp apparently did not show the desire or motivation to live a life that was deemed appropriate to the time and socio-economic system in which they were living. In the following year, this camp was described as improved thanks to the efforts of the nurses at Cape Dorset (NAC18/55x 1953).

1953:

Even though specific problem cases such as that outlined above existed in south Baffin Island in the 1950s, overall, Inuit in Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset steadily evolved into more modern, southern ways of life in a manner typical to the Arctic (NAC18/55y 1954). Most articles of clothing were store-bought except for sealskin footwear and, for very cold weather, caribou parkas. Winter homes consisted of double sealskin or canvas tents covered with newspaper or magazines as insulation. They were all heated from seal oil lamps. Moss was used, where available, for insulation between the layers. It was noted that morale generally was high but that Inuit possessed an attitude of servility towards White people. The RCMP officer thought this may have resulted from the obvious difference between standard of living and possession of material wealth between Inuit and Whites.

Oppression of Inuit, from a social perspective (or astute business dealings from a commercial point of view), occurred by the HBC concerning the buying and selling of carvings. One Inuk protested to the RCMP in Lake Harbour about common business practises of the HBC. The HBC imported ivory walrus tusks for carving. This ivory was given to carvers and when returned as a carved product, the carver was paid for the item as a whole. Then the price of the raw ivory, by weight, was deducted from the price paid. The RCMP officer investigated and reported, as an example, that an Inuk who had carved a cribbage board for which he received \$7.00. Then \$4.00 was deducted from this price so the carver received \$3.00. This cribbage board then sold in Frobisher Bay for \$20.00 or more. The officer had to inform the Inuk of the reality of the situation: the carver need not sell his goods to the HBC and it was the HBC's right by law to offer any price for produce or work, which the producers need not accept. Of course, in most Arctic communities, there was no other place to sell handicrafts but at the HBC. The only solution the RCMP officer could offer was to have

government control and subsidize Inuit produce (NAC18/55y 1954).

1954:

Socio-economic and living conditions remained similar in 1954 to the previous year. In addition, there was another example of the dependence Inuit had upon the HBC. Lake Harbour Inuit trapped more foxes than those at Cape Dorset and thus depended on fur income to a greater extent. During 1954, Lake Harbour experienced a shortage of seals and relatively good fox trapping. The RCMP officer suggested to Inuit living there that they move to better seal areas. They did not move, however, because the HBC did not want camps to move out of good trapping areas. Without foxes to trade, Inuit would not be able to acquire necessities such as tea, sugar, and tobacco, nor luxuries which may be desired.

So, some of the Natives in this district continue to live in poor sealing areas, but good trapping areas, and they come into the detachment periodically and lament the lack of seals at their camps and when they are advised to move to a better area, they agree and say it would be an excellent idea, but they never do because Foxes [sic] mean wealth and wealth is apparently more important than a full stomach to some Eskimos (NAC18/55z 1955).

Another practise of the HBC manager at Lake Harbour was to order only enough stock that he could be assured of selling. In 1954, shortages of clothing occurred amongst the Inuit as the HBC sold all its stock. The RCMP officer attributed this to the fact that HBC managers got bonuses for stock sold, "...Managers have found it more expedient to order just enough stock to ensure them of a nice Bonus, rather than taking the chances of ordering too much, and having all stock not sold deducted from gross earnings to get the net earnings, on which the Bonus is based" (NAC18/55z 1955). It was pointed out that no one suffered from such a situation except the Inuit.

1955:

Very few new insights into socio-economic conditions were included

in the report of 1955. The availability of seals improved and no shortages of meat, skins, or oil were anticipated. Also, the HBC ordered sufficient stocks so the Inuit were provided with everything they needed. The only comment of importance was that the RCMP officer thought another type of occupation was needed for Inuit besides trapping (NAC18/55aa 1956).

1956:

Descriptions and comments in reports from 1956 onwards focused on more modern, specific development strategies than in previous years. Communications increased during the year with Northern Messenger radio broadcasts transmitting messages from Inuit in hospitals in the south. The officer suggested that a small wattage radio station be built in major posts such as Frobisher Bay. Many Inuit had battery radio receivers and would benefit from local broadcasts.

Fox harvesting had been poor in 1956 but seals and walrus were plentiful and no Inuk went hungry. The DNA built a handicraft centre at Cape Dorset managed by the newly placed Northern Service Officer. Handicrafts and carvings provided a good revenue for the people. Lake Harbour residents also worked on handicrafts. In addition to the handicraft centre, a NSO home and powerhouse were built at Cape Dorset. No new buildings were constructed at Lake Harbour. Thus, there were construction jobs at Cape Dorset but the only wage employment at Lake Harbour was crew members on the police patrol boat and a few odd jobs at the nursing station. Some casual labour for prospectors was also available. In addition, a boat building project was started at Lake Harbour by the HBC. Five Inuit were permanently employed during the summer on this endeavour. The RCMP officer advised that, overall, the general welfare of Inuit in the region was average. The biggest handicap to working amongst the Inuit was the lack of qualified interpreters (NAC18/55bb 1956).

1957:

Life continued to be based on hunting and trapping but with continually increasing elements of southern society. Most clothing was store-bought. In addition, the NSO in Cape Dorset acquired used DEW Line clothing which he washed and distributed to individuals as needed. More Inuit were employed in wage labour. In Lake Harbour, 15 men were hired by a prospecting party. Three other Inuit men were permanently employed in various jobs. Eight Inuit steadily worked in Cape Dorset at the HBC, the nursing station, and the federal day school. The National Film Board hired two Inuit during the year and a geographer hired one. As mentioned in the section on demographics, many people migrated to Frobisher Bay. Ninety-three people from Lake Harbour and 11 from Cape Dorset migrated there in 1957 (NAC18/55cc 1957). Suggestions by the RCMP officer for improving economic conditions during 1957 included setting up a local radio station, especially as an educational tool. Also, it was suggested that Inuit women patients in southern hospitals could be taught how to prepare White foods. According to the RCMP officer, the need for government subsidized housing was great. It was thought that this would lessen disease. Most poignant, however, were comments about questions concerning what the exact policy was of the Canadian government towards the Inuit.

The Government policy as to the manner in which they wish to set about molding [sic] the Eskimo into becoming a responsible citizen is none too clear to the writer. What is their actual goal? Perhaps we as Peace Officers should not concern ourselves with such matters but for those of us whose work largely consists of welfare work amongst the Eskimos should be made to learn more about the Government's policy, presuming of course a definite policy exists, in regard to Eskimos. If the policy were better known we then could be all striving to the same end and the Eskimo would not be further confused (NAC18/55cc 1957).

Having gone through the appropriate channels in the bureaucracy of the RCMP and DNA in Ottawa, these suggestions and comments were responded to by B.G. Sivertz, the Director of Arctic Affairs at DNA. He

reported that a radio station was a definite possibility in Frobisher Bay. Also, teaching Inuit women whilst in hospital was an excellent idea although fraught with logistical problems. Regarding government policy, Sivertz wrote, "It is regrettable, and the fault is our own, that members of the Force who carry out administrative duties on behalf of this department are not kept better informed of our philosophy and our activities. These officers should be thoroughly [sic] briefed on departmental policy, and I repeat, it is our fault that they are not" (NAC13/55dd 1958). Sivertz directed his office to send the Constable at Lake Harbour some of the DNA's publications outlining their aims.

1958:

During 1958, experimental styrofoam houses were erected in Cape Dorset. These were viewed with interest by all people in the area. It was hoped at the time that they would be successful and Inuit would buy them with help from the Eskimo Loan Fund. Other homes were the common canvas or sealskin tents insulated with moss. Income continued to be generated from a variety of jobs with hunting and trapping the main economic pursuit. Carving was still important although it dropped off when hunting and trapping were exceptionally good. Boat building continued in Lake Harbour. The only major concern, other than health, was that with many Lake Harbour residents having migrated to Frobisher Bay, the hunting areas in the region were under-utilized. The RCMP officer wondered if Québec Inuit would want to move to Lake Harbour as Québec resources were somewhat depleted (NAC18/55ee 1958).

1959:

Availability of wage employment was the major improvement in Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset during 1959. Included was a new tourist industry in Cape Dorset which catered to Whites from the south going seal hunting. This brought in nearly \$4000 to the area. Nearly all

Inuit men wanting wage employment obtained at least part time work in the Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset area during 1959. Government building in Lake Harbour accounted for much of the wage labour available. In addition to tourism, construction and freight unloading was available in Cape Dorset. Carving continued to play a great part in the economy of the people. Those in Cape Dorset mainly produced soapstone carvings while ivory carving was done in Lake Harbour. Also, a large number of Cape Dorset Inuit women were engaged in commercial sewing under the supervision of the wife of the NSO. They made parkas, mitts, socks, and skin boots. A Co-operative was formed to market these items and was quite successful. Although the success or failure of styrofoam housing was not mentioned, there was an improvement in other housing and this was expected to improve health and decrease infant mortality (NAC18/55ff 1959).

The migration from Lake Harbour to Frobisher Bay had stopped. Other than the yearly suggestions of setting up a radio station and bringing in more people to Lake Harbour, a comment was made that a women's sewing Co-op should be set up in Lake Harbour similar to the one that existed in Cape Dorset. Morale, in the RCMP officer's opinion, remained high and Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset Inuit appeared happier than those at Frobisher Bay. The officer commented that "Wage employment and a much higher standard of living does not necessarily make Eskimo people happier" (NAC18/55gg 1960).

1960:

It must be remembered that a few remote hunting camps continued to be in existence around Cape Dorset well into the 1960s. These camps were also included in general descriptions of conditions of Inuit as reported by officers from the Lake Harbour RCMP detachment. Nearly all hunting camps consisted of houses made of canvas reinforced with scrap wood and cardboard. They were insulated with moss with a covering of

snow. In the settlement of Cape Dorset, all lived in wood or styrofoam houses. No Inuit anywhere in the area lived in snow igloos. Seal oil lamps were still used in most homes. Primus stoves were used by all to boil water and for use on the trail. While dog food was scarce due to poor walrus and seal hunting, there was enough human food. Store bought items included flour, lard, biscuits, tea, sugar, baking powder, jam, and milk.

The co-operative in Cape Dorset, the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Ltd., continued to be successful. In the fiscal year April 1959-April 1960, the co-op had a gross income of \$20000. The NSO, who also supervised the co-op, actively encouraged camp Inuit to take up permanent residence in the settlement. He thought that jobs could be found and that hunting was good in the immediate area. It was also stated that permanent settlement living provided the only way that families and children could hope to receive the benefits of education and health services (NAC18/55hh 1960).

Conditions were not as good in Lake Harbour in the summer of 1960. Because of adverse weather, all nine Inuit families who depended on hunting for food could not obtain enough seal to feed themselves (NAC18/55ii 1960). They were supplied with relief rations in the form of canned meat, flour, lard, and other staples. The other eight families were employed in Lake Harbour and did not require relief. These Inuit had above average income during 1960. Purchases of clothing were reflected by this. Most purchases were made by mail order to T. Eaton, Co., or Simpsons-Sears. The RCMP officer pointed out that White people living in Lake Harbour wore native made clothing to a greater extent than the Inuit. Most Inuit lived in wooden frame houses covered with canvas and blocked with snow. A few still lived in snow igloos. Hunting became good again in September and people had enough to eat. Wage opportunities still provided income for many. A disease was decimating the dog population with most dogs having died since 1958.

While infringing on the ability to trap effectively, trappers still procured enough fur for their immediate needs. Regardless of some problems, morale was reported as remaining at a high peak. Finally, migration to Frobisher Bay had reversed with quite a number of families wanting to return to Lake Harbour if they had transportation (NAC18/55jj 1961).

1961:

A few aspects of life in Lake Harbour differed in 1961 from 1960. No snow igloos were used and much interest was expressed in ordering low cost housing supplied by DNA. Morale in Lake Harbour remained high, trapping was the best in many years, and seals were abundant. Seal skin prices were high enough that the Inuit did not desire to work for wages during the summer as seal hunting could support them. Concomitant with good hunting was a steady decrease in carving (NAC18/55kk 1962).

Conditions were similar in Cape Dorset. More people were employed there, however. The major employers were the DNA and especially the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative. Very few Inuit were still living in camps. In the settlement, many Inuit had low cost housing purchased through the DNA. These homes had electricity and a small oil burning cookstove. Construction of a community hall started in 1961. Activities possible in the hall were especially needed as teenagers and older children tended to loiter around the settlement at night (NAC18/55ll 1962).

1962:

Most Inuit in Lake Harbour continued to live in tents with wooden frames during 1962. Four prefabricated houses from DNA were received in the summer, however. Fox trapping was very poor and consequently carving increased and became the main source of income heading into winter. Only three Inuit were employed year round in Lake Harbour but

with carving and hunting, people were not suffering economically (NAC18/55mm 1963).

Cape Dorset Inuit appeared to not have as high a morale as those in Lake Harbour. (This may have been due to different perceptions which the RCMP officer had as he did not live in Cape Dorset but only visited it a few times a year.) Some Inuit in the area still lived in camps and they were reported to be happier than those in Cape Dorset settlement. The majority of settlement Inuit were employed. Social activities increased with the completion of the Community Hall. A movie was shown weekly and dances were frequent. Teenagers continued to be restless, however, and loitering was common. Crime was also increasing, primarily thefts. Only approximately one third of Inuit in the Cape Dorset area were dependent on hunting and trapping for income. Again, most permanent employees worked at the co-op. Carvings were in high demand at both the HBC and co-op. Government and private construction proceeded on a large scale creating many jobs. Regardless, the RCMP officer reported that, calculated on a per capita basis, welfare relief was greater at Cape Dorset than at Lake Harbour (NAC18/55nn 1963).

1963:

Lake Harbour continued to receive new prefabricated housing. Five were added in 1963 bringing the total to 11. Morale was again reported as high and it was noted this could particularly be seen on Sunday when most Inuit attended church even though there was no regular minister. Trapping was still poor but carving made up for the lost income from that source. Hunting of seal continued to be important and most Inuit could still be classified as hunters. Most of these people lived in camps, although within a few kilometres of the settlement. Wage employment consisted of summer work unloading ships, boat building for the HBC, or clerking at the HBC store. This casual employment was

deemed adequate as most Inuit preferred to live on the land, which included carving. As opposed to Cape Dorset, no crime was reported in Lake Harbour (NAC18/5500 1964).

Cape Dorset clearly had more modern facilities than Lake Harbour. All Inuit in the settlement lived in 30 prefabricated low cost housing. Some of these homes were also being constructed in camps. It was noticed that many of the houses were being kept in a dirty condition. In spite of the modern conveniences enjoyed by Cape Dorset Inuit, their morale was described as poor. Teenagers did not have enough to do to occupy their time and were not interested in living off the land. There did not seem to be any control of the teenagers by older people. Vandalism and theft were on the increase. The Community Hall was slowly being wrecked. Regardless of the settlement situation, more and more camp Inuit moved into the settlement because of the more modern living and entertainment. As construction jobs were no longer necessary, only one third of settlement people were steadily employed. Economic conditions, though, were extremely good as high prices were paid for sealskins. Social conditions were problems and the officer thought the change in lifestyles brought about by transition to a more modern system was moving at a pace too fast for Inuit to fully understand.

They have reached the stage where they would rather accept what is being done for them than try to do anything for themselves. Although some of the older Eskimo still realize that it is their responsibility to make a living, many of the younger ones feel that it is the responsibility of DNA and other Departments to provide them with a way to make a living in the settlement. This is probably caused by the wide recognition they have received from their carvings and other forms of crafts, and the good income made by these means. This will undoubtedly change in the future and the Eskimo will again find that he will have to rely more on the land and its natural resources to make a living (NAC18/55pp 1964).

1964:

Even as the middle of the decade was approaching, many Lake Harbour Inuit continued to live in tents and remained in camps within 10 kilometres of the settlement. As reported by the RCMP officer, the morale of the local Inuit was "very high. They are always happy and

never appear to get annoyed with any other person. This I think can be attributed to the active participation they take in church and community affairs" (NAC18/55qq 1965). Most Inuit were dependent on hunting and trapping. Related to this was the increased use of ski-doo's rather than dogs. Seven hunters owned these machines and more were on order. A total of \$34000 was brought into the area by sale of fox pelts and sealskins. This averaged \$1400 per family, more than enough to allow them to live comfortably. Indeed, when asked if they would prefer living in other Arctic settlements, the common response was that they were living well at Lake Harbour and that there was too much drinking and trouble in other places (NAC18/55qq 1965).

Though Cape Dorset consisted of modern, prefabricated houses in 1964, Inuit living accommodations were described as poor. The houses were small, overcrowded, and poorly ventilated. While morale seemed somewhat better than previous years, it was still described as average. One reason was that the White population in Cape Dorset expressed a poor attitude about living there. Hunting was excellent and those regularly employed owned ski-doo's. It was thought that renewable resources were underutilized, though, in the outlying areas. Approximately 30 people were steadily employed while the rest relied on hunting and welfare. A favourable business venture was the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op Print Shop. Run by Inuit, it produced silk screens, stone cuts, and various types of lithography. A problem considered serious in Cape Dorset was debt. Almost all the Inuit were in debt totalling \$25000 to the co-op and HBC. The stores had started to refuse credit. Another problem was gambling, with much income used for playing cards rather than paying off debts (NAC18/55rr 1965).

1965:

Conditions in the main were unchanged in Lake Harbour from 1964. More people were moving into the settlement so their children could

attend school. Most Inuit in the area lived in the settlement in 1965. Ski-doos continued to dominate transportation of hunters. Prices for seal were down and the fox catch was not good so many hunters were being encouraged to carve. For the year, they earned more from carving than hunting and trapping. Again, Inuit appeared happy and content. No crime was reported and there was no evidence of liquor being consumed (NAC18/55ss 1966).

An RCMP detachment was opened in Cape Dorset in November 1965. Conditions seemed to have improved in Cape Dorset over the previous years although problems existed. Only two families in the settlement lived in tents and the rest lived in 50 prefabricated homes. Most people seemed cheerful and satisfied except for unmarried young men. With sealskin prices very low many hunters were unwilling to pursue a hunting mode of life. The chief source of income was from carvings and drawings. The major concern for the RCMP officer was that some training or outlet should be created to employ or occupy the time of young people (NAC18/56a 1966).

1966:

The major change in the reports of Lake Harbour for 1966 was that Inuit morale was described not merely high, but as excellent. The Anglican Church re-opened with a minister and most Inuit were active participants. No one showed any inclination to move from the settlement. Prices for fur and sealskin were low but carving made up the difference in income. No crime or liquor use was reported. It was suggested that a permanent registered nurse be assigned to Lake Harbour and to perhaps set up a seal tanning industry (NAC18/55tt 1967).

At Cape Dorset, people continued to move from camps to the settlement. Only three isolated camps with 55 people remained. Three bedroom prefabricated houses were replacing the smaller one bedroom homes. Twenty-five were erected in 1966. There were a total of 67

Inuit houses in the community, 56 of them rented for as low as \$2.00 per month. It appeared that the new three bedroom houses were a prime attraction motivating people to move from camp to settlement. Morale seemed good although young people who had lived in the south were increasingly unhappy. This group consisted of 29 boys and 22 girls. A youth group was started by the Anglican missionary to provide more activities for these people. Carvings, drawings, etchings, and hand crafted garments continued as the chief source of income. About 40 people were permanently employed in other endeavours. The major problem overall was the youth who were caught between two types of civilization (NAC18/56b 1967).

1967:

It must be noted that throughout the 1960s, it was reported that welfare relief was almost non-existent in Lake Harbour. This was still true in 1967. The RCMP officer even remarked that, "It is very refreshing indeed to see the local inhabitants refrain from seeking welfare assistance in this settlement when they know full well that other settlements have large issues of welfare relief" (NAC18/55uu 1968). Major changes in housing occurred in Lake Harbour during 1967 as 10 three bedroom houses were built. Families in surrounding camps continued to live in tents with wooden frames. All houses in the settlement were heated with oil cooking stoves, oil space heaters, and electric heaters. Electricity was supplied to all dwellings. Camp houses were heated by seal oil lamps or oil stoves and were lit by Coleman lanterns. The RCMP officer found the morale of Lake Harbour Inuit excellent and the people extremely easy to get along with. There were no signs of discontent and no one appeared to want to move away from the area.

The officer wished that the Frobisher Bay CBC radio station had more power as the Inuit were avid listeners and were disheartened to

receive U.S. and other foreign stations when they could not pick up Canadian CBC. Also, it was hoped that mail could be regularly brought in at least once every two weeks. It was only sporadic throughout the 1960s. Hunting, trapping, and carving remained the main economic activities of almost all Inuit in the settlement and the three camps away from the settlement. Five dog teams remained but hunters owned 26 ski-joos. As sealskin prices were so low it was suggested that they should be subsidized by government. Other than these relatively minor problems, life seemed quite happy and content for Lake Harbour Inuit (NAC18/55uu 1968).

Conditions were not as good in Cape Dorset. Welfare payments in the settlement consisted of 1050 payments totalling \$13,463. Full time employees numbered 40 and part time wage labour was had by 140. Hunting and trapping accounted for income of \$9,102. Twenty-four prefabricated three bedroom houses were built during the year. A total of 49 three bedroom houses existed in Cape Dorset. It was hoped that all families would be moved from the one bedroom 'matchboxes' to the three bedroom dwellings. Overall, great pride was taken in the new homes and most were kept clean and tidy. All but 6 of 82 families were living in the settlement. Morale, however, seemed lower than at Lake Harbour.

The older people seemed fine but there was concern over and discontent amongst young people. The Anglican Church attempted to have activities and games, along with religious instruction, but the 16 to 22 year old age group was uninterested in the religious aspects of these functions. This appeared to have led to a breakdown of communications between the Church and older people with the young. One positive note was that some youth were joining adults in making regular income from sales of drawings, etchings, and carvings. Economically, the Cape Dorset Inuit enjoyed a relatively high standard of living and seemed content and happy with this aspect of life. The RCMP officer noted, however, that the youth were not included (NAC18/56c 1968).

1968:

The year 1968 saw all but one camp site closing down and their inhabitants moving to Lake Harbour settlement. Welfare relief continued to be minimal but concern was expressed as the HBC no longer extended debt beyond one month. The RCMP officer wondered if people may ask for welfare relief in future if they could not obtain HBC commodities on credit. Materials for 12 three bedroom houses arrived in 1968 and were used to house those recently arrived from camps. Morale remained high with no visible signs of discontent. The same complaint as in previous years was registered about the Frobisher Bay radio station not being received well. It was noted that Radio Moscow came in flawlessly. Economic activities remained unchanged from previous years and no major problems were encountered (NAC18/55vv 1968).

Welfare payments in Cape Dorset were down from 1967 but still totalled 767 payments for a total of \$9,606. No major construction occurred and the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op did not buy any carvings from November to December as their finances in Ottawa were being re-organized. Nevertheless, 55 Inuit were employed full time and almost \$20,000 were paid in furs. The total amount of cash paid by the Co-op was \$120,000 for soapstone carvings, \$10,000 for sewing, and \$8,000 for drawings. Salaries from DNA totalled \$59,993. When welfare payments were figured in, per capita income was \$2,525, although at least three families earned over \$14,000 from soapstone carvings alone. No new housing was built during the year but several 'matchbox' homes were renovated to accommodate six families who moved in from Sugluk, Québec. Two families also moved into Cape Dorset from outpost camps because of the high cost to transport fuel and so their children could go to school. Two families moved out to camp as they found it more economical than living in the settlement. Only 36 out of 563 area Inuit resided in camps, though. A note of optimism was expressed concerning Cape Dorset youth. Although they did not contribute to the general productiveness

of the community, they gained some ambition over the last year and did not present as much a burden on their parents. For the community overall, conditions seemed good and certainly better than previous years (NAC18/556 1969).

12.2 Education.

A permanent school was constructed in Cape Dorset in 1956. This was federally operated. Meanwhile, the Anglican minister in Lake Harbour conducted school from May to August with 14 pupils attending. All students went with their families to hunting camps during the winter. The RCMP officer commented that films were heavily used in teaching as Inuit appeared to prefer visual education. Also, he noticed many Inuit, including adults, continually reading their prayer books which were the only reading material available in syllabics. He felt that it would be good if more instructional and recreational books could be translated into syllabics (NAC18/55bb 1956).

Schooling was not mentioned in any annual reports until 1959. By that year, Cape Dorset had a regular federal day school with Lake Harbour only having educational opportunities in the summer from the Anglican minister. The Lake Harbour Anglican minister was going to move to Cape Dorset in 1960, though. The RCMP officer recommended that a federal day school be set up in Lake Harbour and run from May to October when area Inuit moved into the settlement. He realized Lake Harbour was a small, isolated settlement but children there were entitled to at least some of the educational advantages as offered to southern children (NAC18/55gg 1960).

A seasonal school continued to be operated at Lake Harbour through to 1961 although it was not stated who ran it. The school was well attended and the RCMP officer again strongly recommended a full time school be established. He wrote, "It is realized that the population is small and the number of children of school age might not warrant the

expenditure, but in a country such as ours this is no excuse for depriving children of a [sic] least a formal education" (NAC18/55kk 1962). Meanwhile, the school at Cape Dorset was operated with two classrooms and was experiencing high attendance levels. It was reported that the Inuit were developing more interest in their children's education (NAC18/55ll 1962).

The year 1962 still did not bring a permanent school to Lake Harbour. A seasonal school again was operated for only two months. There was a great desire among the Inuit for a regular school as 34 children of school age resided in the area (NAC18/55mm 1963). In September 1963, however, a full time school was opened in Lake Harbour. The teacher resigned, though, near the end of November for personal reasons. No replacement teacher was supplied to finish the term. While operating, only 14 children attended the school as most lived in camps and there was no place to board them in the settlement (NAC18/55rr 1965).

While comments do not reflect upon local schools, the consequences of outside vocational education are illustrated by the RCMP officer about Cape Dorset in 1964. He noted that several young Cape Dorset Inuit were sent south for educational training. When they returned to Cape Dorset, however, there were no jobs for their particular skills. He gave three specific examples. An Inuk male was sent south for a complete course on the operation and maintenance of diesel engines. When he came back he worked for the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op as a handyman. An Inuk female received extended courses in sewing and a one year university course in pottery in the United States but back in Cape Dorset was employed as a housekeeper. The final example was an Inuk male who received a course in Nova Scotia on the repair and maintenance of boats and outboard motors. When he returned to Cape Dorset he was unable to acquire needed tools, a place to work, and did not have the knowledge or contacts to obtain parts for such a business. As the RCMP

officer wrote, "Items such as these do not help to build up the morale of the Eskimos in Cape Dorset" (NAC18/55rr 1965).

In 1965 the school in Lake Harbour had a teacher and was well attended. People were moving into the settlement specifically so children could attend. The RCMP officer was worried, though, that children were not learning how to live off the land but also not learning enough in school to fully integrate into White society and jobs. He foresaw this as a major problem in future but that there was no apparent solution (NAC18/55ss 1966). There were no comments about education in Cape Dorset in the 1965 annual report.

Lake Harbour's education situation was unchanged from 1966-1968. Although larger facilities were promised, enrolment exceeded the capacity of the one room facility. In 1968, 41 children attended day school. Younger children attended classes in the morning and older children in the afternoon. The RCMP officer during these years thought that children were being taught adequately by their parents in how to live off the land. Adult education classes in English were also offered semi-weekly during 1968 and well attended by male adults from the settlement. Materials for a two room school arrived in 1968 and would be erected in summer 1969 (NAC18/55vv 1968).

In Cape Dorset, schools were also well attended. With average attendance of 93% in 1967, 118 students were taught by six teachers. Each year a number of youth between 17 and 22 years old were sent to various parts of southern Canada to learn trades over three to six months. Few who returned to the settlement, however, found employment relating to the courses studied. It was thought most youth who took the courses viewed them as free travel and a means for getting out of the settlement rather than increasing their knowledge and earning ability (NAC18/56c 1968). Education conditions remained very similar in 1968 with 140 students enrolled in local schools and an average attendance of 95% (NAC18/56d 1969).

A2.3 Health and Health Care.

As in other detachments, basic health care in the 1940s was administered by the RCMP. At Cape Dorset in 1947, Inuit health was reported as satisfactory (NAC18/55ww 1947). No other mention of health was made in annual reports until 1952 when a measles epidemic swept the Lake Harbour area leaving a number of Inuit dead. Other than this epidemic, health was generally good. Also, a nurse was stationed in Lake Harbour that year. Along with curative care, she concentrated on teaching preventive measures centring on cleanliness and healthy living (NAC18/55xx 1953). General health was quite good in 1953 although an epidemic of trichinosis, a parasite which attacks muscular tissue and is ingested by eating under- or un-cooked meat, caused several deaths. No other serious illness appeared during that year (NAC18/55y 1954).

Throughout the 1950s, the annual x-rays for tuberculosis were conducted. Although the annual report for 1953 does not indicate if anyone contracted the disease, mention was made that being sent to hospitals in the south or Frobisher Bay was one of the Inuit's greatest dreads. One of the reasons for this fear was that communication between the hospital and family in the home community was little if non-existent. As reported for 1954, eight to ten Inuit were evacuated for TB each year. Concerning the lack of communication with patients, the RCMP officer wrote,

The only continual complaint that the writer has come up against is the fact, that Natives who are taken 'Outside' for hospitalization are usually gone for a long time, with little or no word on their condition, and more often than not never return [death]. It is felt that a tendency is developing in this district, to avoid being X-rayed at 'Ship-time', thus decreasing the possibility of being evacuated to the "Land of no return" (NAC18/55z 1955).

In 1956, the Indian Health Services and DNA were doing a better job of keeping Inuit advised of the welfare of their relatives in hospitals. Families in the area were sent pictures and allowed to speak to patients over the CBC Northern Messenger Service. This was a welcome

development as 60 Inuit had active cases of TB in 1955 and were evacuated from the area. Other than the common cold, no other serious illnesses or epidemics afflicted Inuit in the Lake Harbour/Cape Dorset region (NAC18/55aa 1956). While general health remained good during 1956, 25 Inuit were evacuated for TB. Thirty-five were returned from hospital. Notwithstanding better communication between hospitals and home communities, events occurred which the RCMP officer thought did much to undo all the previous good work and "created ill will" (NAC18/55bb 1956).

Two such incidents involved TB evacuations on the ship C.D. Howe which, during the summer, called at Inuit communities to conduct medical checks. On 6 July 1956, six patients out of 65 examined required evacuation. They were given one hour to make all arrangements for their children's welfare and other family matters. On 31 July 1956, the ship returned to Lake Harbour and conducted medical examinations from 1530 hours to 0100 hours. At 0100 four Inuit were told they had to be evacuated and as the ship was to leave immediately they had no opportunity to say goodbye let alone tend to family matters. Some people were not even told their spouse was leaving. The RCMP Commanding Officer in Ottawa, as with all reports, forwarded the report of these incidences to the Director of Northern Administration at DNA with his comments. He stressed that it was indeed a bad situation and, even though all knew the ship was on a tight schedule, steps should be initiated to correct the type of situation described (NAC18/55bb 1956).

Regardless of the TB cases, general health continued to be good throughout 1957. Both Cape Dorset and Lake Harbour had nursing stations maintained by the Indian Health Services Department. Thirteen people were evacuated with TB from Cape Dorset and six from Lake Harbour (NAC18/55cc 1957). The only serious sickness which was contracted in 1958, other than TB, was one isolated case of scarlet fever. This was diagnosed and treated before the disease could spread. Twenty people

were evacuated for TB, 13 from Cape Dorset and seven from Lake Harbour. High infant mortality was also mentioned in the report for 1958. Out of 20 total deaths in the detachment area, 12 (60%) were infants under one year of age and two were between one and six years old. The RCMP officer thought that Inuit mothers should be taught more about the care and management of babies (NAC18/55ee 1958).

Health in general was reported as fair for 1959. Nine Lake Harbour and 14 Cape Dorset Inuit were evacuated for TB, although several Cape Dorset individuals were later diagnosed as not having the disease. Note was made that a spring influenza epidemic hit as usual and, while not fatal to anyone, caused great hardship. While the nursing station at Cape Dorset remained open, the station at Lake Harbour was closed in summer 1959. The RCMP took care of health after the closure (NAC18/55gg 1960). By 1960, health conditions of infants had markedly improved in Cape Dorset. The RCMP officer attributed this to the excellent job the settlement nurse was doing in educating people about the importance of infant care and cleanliness (NAC18/55hh 1960).

Health during 1960 in Lake Harbour was reported as better than 1959. A total of eight Inuit were evacuated with TB. Improved health was attributed by the RCMP officer to the overall cleanliness of most houses and a well balanced diet based on ample supply of seal meat. The officer could not stress enough the importance of photographs and messages from loved ones in southern hospitals. He wrote, "their exuberance cannot be controled [sic] and they bring the photos to show the White population after circulating them through the Native population" (NAC18/55jj 1961).

Although the only deaths in Lake Harbour for 1961 were infants, overall health was good and the level of cleanliness remained high. Eighteen patients were evacuated for TB. The RCMP officer recommended, however, that there was sufficient need to re-open the nursing station (NAC18/55kk 1962). Cape Dorset Inuit did not enjoy as good health as

Lake Harbour residents. An unspecified epidemic resulted in several deaths during spring 1961. Several cases of meningitis were also detected (NAC18/55ll 1962).

Other than colds and several pneumonia cases, health in Lake Harbour remained good during 1962. One death occurred and this of old age. Only one man was evacuated for TB but returned later in the same year. The RCMP officer continued to recommend that a nurse be stationed in the settlement (NAC18/55mm 1963). Cape Dorset in 1962 had a wide range of illnesses strike its inhabitants. Chicken pox and mumps afflicted most of the younger Inuit although all were successfully treated. Two deaths of children, though, resulted from infectious hepatitis and several other cases were evacuated to hospital. One person died of pneumonia and one was evacuated because of typhoid fever. The whole population was immunized for typhoid after the disease was diagnosed (NAC18/55nn 1963).

No deaths were reported in Lake Harbour during 1963 with the only health problems colds, pneumonia, and chest conditions. Three people were evacuated with TB, though. The wife of the RCMP officer, a registered nurse, was hired in July 1963 by Indian Health Services as a Nurse Dispenser. She was the only medical officer present in the settlement (NAC18/55pp 1964). In Cape Dorset, six deaths occurred and 20 patients were evacuated for TB. Incidences of serious diseases decreased from the previous year, however, and overall general health was good (NAC18/55pp 1964). Lake Harbour was without a nurse again in May 1964 and the RCMP again took over medical care. Overall general health was good during the year with only two confirmed cases of TB. Vitamins were dispensed free to most people and it was thought this contributed to the good health of Inuit (NAC18/55qq 1965).

Conditions were different in Cape Dorset. General health was considered poor. Almost all Inuit suffered from respiratory diseases. It was believed this was due to poor living conditions and the lack of

proper nutrition (NAC18/55rr 1965). The wife of the RCMP officer in Lake Harbour helped with medical treatment during 1965. Even with her help, it was estimated that the RCMP officer devoted one quarter of his time to medical care. Although overall health was again good, many cases of pneumonia were contracted, resulting in two deaths, one of whom was an infant. Two people were evacuated with TB and two people with cancer (NAC18/55ss 1966). Whether due to a change in conditions or because the new RCMP officer had a different perception of health issues, health conditions in Cape Dorset in 1965 were described as very good. Two nurses staffed the nursing station but as no other comments about health were included in the annual report, it is unknown whether they contributed to the betterment of health during the year (NAC18/56a 1966).

For the year 1966, the health of Inuit in Lake Harbour was listed as reasonably good. The settlement experienced an influenza epidemic early in the year and numerous cases of pneumonia were recorded. There were two deaths from cancer and two from pneumonia, one of whom was an infant. It was strongly recommended that a full time nurse be assigned to Lake Harbour as the RCMP officer and his wife had no previous training in health care (NAC18/55tt 1967). Descriptions of medical services in Cape Dorset for 1966 were more detailed than the previous year. Two nurses continued to staff the nursing station. An epidemic of influenza contributed to the deaths of two elderly Inuit. Six evacuations for TB were made but overall, no serious outbreaks of other diseases were reported (NAC18/56b 1967). Until September 1967, the RCMP continued to look after health care in Lake Harbour. In September, a full time nurse was finally stationed there. General health conditions were reasonably good with the usual cases of pneumonia or influenza. Only one death, an infant, from pneumonia, was recorded and no cases of TB were discovered (NAC18/55uu 1968). During 1967, Cape Dorset had 51 cases of chicken pox and 27 cases of mumps. Nine Inuit were evacuated

because of TB (NAC18/56c 1968).

Health conditions in Lake Harbour during 1968 were similar to 1967. Health was reasonably good and no TB cases were discovered. Several cases of pneumonia were encountered but all responded well to treatment from the registered nurse (NAC18/55vv 1968). Cape Dorset also experienced very similar health conditions in 1968 as in 1967. Chicken pox and/or mumps were contracted by almost 80 people. A few cases of TB were discovered but overall no serious outbreaks of disease occurred. One health related problem concerned the RCMP, though. Three males, 21, 22, and 24 years old, died from drinking Methyl Hydrate as a beverage to get high. The officer hoped that in future, if people wanted to get drunk, they would order alcohol from Frobisher Bay (NAC18/56d 1969).

A3. PANGNIRTUNG/BROUGHTON ISLAND

A3.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1952:

Annual RCMP reports for the Pangnirtung district during the 1950s are very general and cover an area which was dominated by many scattered hunting camps. The principle economic activity of Inuit was seal hunting. Foxes were trapped but the region was not noted for having large populations of the animal. Beluga whale hunting was important and the HBC had organized several whale drives prior to 1952. A rendering station was in operation and hunting was led by camp bosses utilizing whale boats. Most camps had at least one boat although not all had larger whale boats. Gas engines were common but gasoline was always in short supply. Even though life centred on the hunt, Inuit wore mostly store bought clothing, except for sealskin boots and caribou or sealskin parkas in the winter. Attempts were made by the RCMP to coax them into wearing sealskin clothes as the duffle-cloth parkas were often worn-out and filthy. The RCMP officer thought that as long as clothing could be bought on Family Allowance it would be difficult to persuade them to revert to more traditional clothing.

Dwellings consisted of canvas tents in the summer. These were generally in poor condition and the canvas quite expensive to buy. In winter, Inuit lived in sealskin tents that were in fairly good condition although not overly clean. Overall morale in the region was good with life revolving around hunters providing food for their families. The major concern the RCMP officer had was the depletion of seal stock, especially whitecoats (baby seals). He advocated a ban on the commercial selling of whitecoat skins. This had been a concern in previous years but officials in Ottawa did not consider the commercial use of whitecoats as affecting overall seal stock (NAC18/85/86/048/55a 1953).

1953:

While seals again were reported to have been decreasing in 1953, overall, game was reported to be good. Beluga provided an important income source and the fox catch was above average for Pangnirtung (which was still not as much as other regions on Baffin Island). Clothing improved in 1953 with more people wearing animal skins. Most Inuit children wore clothing made of whitecoats, which was better suited to the environment and less expensive than store-bought material. Winter housing continued to consist of tents of two sealskin layers with moss between layers for insulation, and covered with snow blocks. Inuit morale was good and most were excellent seal and whale hunters and good providers. Again, the RCMP officer reiterated that the killing of baby seals was a serious problem. He strongly recommended that an ordinance be passed prohibiting commercial use of whitecoats. It was thought that with an ordinance, Inuit would only harvest what was needed for their clothing (NAC18/85/86/048/55b 1954).

1954:

Conditions remained very similar in 1954 to those of 1953. Most descriptions of Inuit indicated a strong reliance on more traditional aspects of culture. Baby sealskin was increasingly used for clothing in winter both by adults and children. Only in summer did Inuit wear store bought clothing to any great extent. Although clothing was fairly good, the RCMP officer thought it could improve, especially if Inuit utilized whitecoats exclusively for clothing rather than trading pelts for tobacco and other commodities. Sealskin tents were used in both summer and winter and provided adequate shelter. Morale was at a usual high standard and game conditions were good. All camps had at least one power boat for hunting as well as two or three kayaks. These were quite old but in good condition and had been handed down from father to son. Two camps were moved during the year for different reasons. One camp

was asked to move by the RCMP because it was in very poor game country. The RCMP evacuated them in the summer to a new location which was chosen by the residents. Another camp was forced to break up by the RCMP because it had become a gathering point for "all the bums and scroungers in the district, all of which require relief assistance sometime during the year" (NAC18/85/86/048/55c 1955). They were informed that unless they moved they would no longer receive Family Allowance or relief payments. They all agreed to move back to their old, established camps and were moved in RCMP boats.

1955:

The year 1955 was significant as the RCMP officer on patrols gathered information on the newly established DEW-Line sites. Kivitoo and Padloping Island were locations for four of the bases, all within the jurisdiction of the Pangnirtung RCMP detachment. Concern was made about the loitering occurring at two DEW Line sites at Padloping Island and Kivitoo. Inuit, in hopes of being hired, were neglecting their hunting and loitering around the sites. The officer advised them to keep off the bases and resume hunting. On the other hand, Inuit at Broughton Island showed little interest in working at the DEW Line base and concentrated their activities on hunting (NAC18/85/86/048/55d 1955). Considering there were 14 other camps in the Pangnirtung area, the loitering at only two bases indicates this was not a common problem. General socio-economic conditions for the entire Pangnirtung region during 1955 were very similar to 1954. One difference was that very few baby seals were caught as a thick crust of snow made it difficult to break through seal liars to capture the pups. The officer thought this was fortunate as it would increase the seal population and, besides, whitecoat pelts were only worth \$1.00 each at the HBC so did not deprive the Inuit of much income. DEW Line sites provided a number of Inuit with employment. Employed people purchased new rifles and outboard

motors with their wages. Overall, morale was good in the region (NAC18/85/86/048/55e 1956).

1956:

Although no reason was given, it was reported in 1956 that the Inuit were mostly wearing store-bought clothing again, except when travelling in winter. These clothes were not washed sufficiently and were often dirty and soiled. Sealskins were still used for tents, however, and these provided adequate shelter. Seal and whale hunting continued to provide the main source of income. It was noted that several of the poorer Inuit were trying to move into Pangnirtung and loiter during the summer. They were told that only those employed by one of the White establishments were allowed to live at the settlement (NAC18/85/86/048/55f 1957).

1957:

There was again concern during 1957 over conditions of Inuit near DEW Line sites near Kivitoo and Padloping Island. The problem of loitering was no longer an isolated event. At three sites near Kivitoo and Padloping Island, many Inuit were reported as loitering and neglecting their hunting. Only one or two Inuit were employed at each site and others there were relying on hand-outs or scrounging for discarded items. Several had erected shacks from scrap lumber. All except those employed were told to return to their original camps and pursue hunting. It was recommended that in the summer they be ordered to return to their original camps (NAC18/85/86/048/55g 1957).

In response to the problem of loitering at DEW Line sites, the Chief of the Arctic Division at DNA wrote a memorandum to the Pangnirtung NSO outlining the government's policy towards the situation.

He first pointed out that as the DEW Lines were operated by and for the U.S., a Canada-U.S. agreement had been negotiated previously which stipulated that the DEW Line operators should prevent improper relationships between themselves and local residents. This included prevention of the creation of dependence on hand-outs. It was the government's responsibility to:

...take some positive action, not merely to move the Eskimos away from the sites, but to find a viable life away from the sites in order to reduce the temptations to drift back...All local advice must be sought on hunting possibilities, fishing and other sources of income. Should these reports be pessimistic, and should we conclude that other activities are insufficient to support the Eskimo population, it might be better to move these groups to new locations far distant from the DEW Line... (NAC18/85/86/048/55h 1957).

A report circulated throughout the DNA reiterated this problem, specifically listing conditions at the DEW Line site on Broughton Island. During the construction of the base, 61 Inuit settled at the site with 15 hired for labour. In 1957, however, only three Inuit were directly employed. Most of them were relying on hand-outs and scrounging. Hunting was neglected or poor. Many people were sick and children were starving. Similar conditions were reported at other DEW Line sites (NAC18/85/86/048/55i 1957).

Conditions in other parts of the Pangnirtung region, however, were not as grim. Mention was made in the annual report, though, that two distinct economies were evident in the region. One, around Cumberland Sound, was based on a more traditional living off the land and the other was that around DEW Line sites. For those not at the DEW Line sites, morale was good and socio-economic conditions differed little from previous years (NAC18/85/86/048/55i1 1958).

1958, 1959:

After a patrol of eastern Baffin Island, the RCMP officer reported that camps away from DEW Line sites or other White establishments were living quite well, had good health, and excellent morale. There still

were problems with camps near DEW Line sites. Three camps were near a base on Broughton Island, not including the camps of four men employed at the base. Those not employed were in poor health and very hungry. Relief rations of food were arranged to be flown in from Frobisher Bay. A camp at Kivitoo near the DEW Line site was also in poor shape although the people there were not as hungry. The RCMP officer demonstrated his frustration of the situation by commenting, "My opinion and the opinion of my predecessor to alleviate [sic] this situation, by depleting the Eskimo population [sic] around the Sites [sic] has been expressed in reports over the past four years. As they are still the same, and are apparently not feasible to the Northern Administration, it can serve no purpose to express them here again" (NAC18/85/86/048/55j 1959).

Conditions for Cumberland Sound Inuit during 1958 and 1959 were quite different. Except for wearing store bought clothing, they led relatively traditional lives. The RCMP officer reported they had little or no contact with White people except when they visited Pangnirtung to trade or when visited by a missionary, doctor, or policeman. Their morale and hunting were good, and income was above average (NAC18/85/86/048/55k 1959). Morale was boosted by a constant flow of mail from family in hospitals. The economy was bolstered by an HBC beluga processing plant in Pangnirtung. Oil and hide were processed with the meat kept by the hunter. The hide was shipped to England to be made into boot laces. The only complaint by the Inuit was that there was a lack of goods to purchase at the HBC post (NAC18/85/86/048/55l 1959).

1960:

Conditions of camps near DEW Line sites and other areas on eastern Baffin Island improved markedly over the previous year. All but one camp on Broughton Island, Padloping Island, and Kivitoo were clean and the inhabitants enjoyed adequate clothing, shelter, and food. They were in good health and had excellent morale. All camps depended on hunting

for their livelihood. A school was built on Broughton Island and the RCMP officer attributed the good conditions there to the influence of the teacher (NAC18/85/86/048/55m 1960). Also in summer 1960, an HBC post was built at the settlement on Broughton Island.

People in other regions of the Pangnirtung detachment lived similarly to that in previous years. Thirteen camps were located in the Pangnirtung trading area. Clothing continued to be primarily store-bought. Canvas was replacing seal skin for tents and all had wooden floors. Walls were often papered over with newspapers and magazines. Hunting, especially of seals, still was almost the sole economic activity and, overall, these Inuit maintained a more traditional way of life. Morale was high and the only complaint made was that the school and HBC post on Broughton Island were not in a good location for hunting. The RCMP officer thought that once Inuit moved there they would not have great problems, however (NAC18/85/86/048/55n 1961).

1961:

Conditions did not noticeably change in 1961, either. Inuit around DEW Line sites salvaged material for their homes such as wood, oil drums for stoves, and discarded fuel. Although all Inuit in the region heavily relied on hunting, Cumberland Sound Inuit lived more of the traditional lifestyle in scattered camps with tent dwellings. A major building project was undertaken by DNA in Pangnirtung which attracted many people to the settlement and led to employment of 30-35 Inuit. This placed \$20000 into the local economy and the money was largely used on food and clothing. Stoves and outboard motors were also purchased and sales of candy and cigarettes increased greatly. Only those who could not support themselves, primarily widowed and the disabled, asked for and received relief assistance (NAC18/85/86/048/55o 1962).

1962:

The year 1962 saw drastic changes, although not as yet permanent, to settlement patterns of the Panguitung region. Late in 1961 a distemper epidemic amongst dogs broke out on the south shore of Cumberland Sound. By late January, the disease had spread and the problem reached serious proportions. Around 500 dogs had died and Inuit faced shortages of food and the means to earn a living. A survey was taken of the 13 camps and those with the greatest chance of facing starvation and destitution were evacuated by plane or RCMP dog team to Panguitung. Approximately 200 people were taken to Panguitung by the second week of March. Some people refused to move although the RCMP tried to persuade them (NAC18/85/86/048/55p 1962).

Once in Panguitung the evacuated Inuit were accommodated in houses occupied by Inuit employed at the settlement. Houses were soon built for the newcomers, however, with snow walls and canvas roofs. Tents were used when warmer weather arrived. An arts and crafts programme was initiated to allow people to earn enough income to survive. Adequate income was determined to be \$20.00 per week. Surplus canned pork was flown in from Frobisher Bay and sold to the Inuit for a subsidized price of \$5.00 a case. Oil for heating fuel was provided free by the DNA as there was no way hunters could obtain seal oil without their dogs. Casual labour jobs were created by the DNA and wages determined whereby everyone could earn \$20.00 a week (NAC85/1952a 1962).

Once the evacuations were completed a total of 217 people had been moved from camps to Panguitung. This left 198 remaining in 7 camps around Cumberland Sound. There was great concern by officials of DNA that those remaining in camp would be unable to provide for themselves throughout the year. As a dependence on relief was not wanted it was thought that the camp people should be persuaded to be moved to Panguitung and enrolled in the arts and crafts programme (NAC85/1952b

1962). By the beginning of May the dog disease had run its course. Approximately 600 dogs had died bringing the total number of live dogs to slightly over 200. Most Inuit in the remaining camps had voluntarily moved to Pangnirtung leaving only three camps inhabited by 83 people. Thus, within 6 months the population of Pangnirtung had increased from 138 to 464.

This influx of people, according to the RCMP report, did not raise many serious problems. Income for the Inuit was generated from carving, with 30 men casual labourers with 60 men employed, or community hunts with income generated divided amongst the hunters so all received \$20.00 a week. Throughout the summer of 1962, people lived in tents and were employed (albeit some with subsidized wages), and displayed high morale. There was concern, however, that conditions would be far more difficult in the coming winter (NAC18/85/86/048/55q 1962). Life continued similarly to previous years in the Broughton Island area (NAC18/85/86/048/55r 1963).

1963:

Socio-economic conditions in 1963 were more typical to those prior to 1962 regardless of the dog epidemic. The DNA supplied puppies and dogs to Pangnirtung hunters throughout the later months of 1962. This contributed to a 50% increase in the dog population over 1962. By winter 1962-1963 most Inuit had returned to their hunting camps. Eleven camps were located in the Pangnirtung area as opposed to 13 before the epidemic. Only 26 families lived in Pangnirtung settlement. As only 15 Inuit were steadily employed throughout the year in both Pangnirtung and Broughton Island, most people earned a living by hunting. Over 96% of the \$118,544 paid out by the HBC in Pangnirtung from hunting and trapping was derived from sealskins. The remainder was from whale oil, whale hides, and white fox (NAC18/85/86/048/55s 1964).

An event in eastern Baffin Island during the early months of 1963 led to an influx of people into Broughton Island. Whilst on a hunting

trip, two men from Kivitoo drowned when their igloo broke through the ice during the night. One man survived but later froze to death and was eaten by his dogs. Another man in the party survived but had to be evacuated to Montréal for treatment of his injuries. As they were the sole support for the 38 people at Kivitoo, it was decided that DNA would fly all the people to Broughton Island settlement where they then would live (NAC85/15 1963).

1964:

Comments by the RCMP officer indicate that in the Pangnirtung area still lived in camps and pursued seal hunting as their major economic activity. Indeed, on trading missions to Pangnirtung, families would only stay in the settlement one night as they were eager to return to their camps. The exceptions were a few young men who wanted to remain in Pangnirtung but were forced back to the land by their parents and taught a hunting mode of life. One change which occurred was a shipment of 14 ski-doos at the HBC post. Half of these were purchased by steadily employed Inuit in Pangnirtung and the remainder were bought by hunters from camps. Regardless of the ski-doos, dog teams were steadily increasing and most hunters had full teams. Total income from hunting in Pangnirtung increased to \$130,736 with 98% of this from the sale of sealskins (NAC18/85/86/048/55t 1965).

Broughton Island had more modern development inputs than Pangnirtung. In 1964, 13 low cost homes, 11 of them purchased outright, were occupied. Several houses were provided free for DNA or DEW Line employees. There were also two hostel buildings for school children. Ski-doos were popular and used for hunting. Economic conditions were adequate and few cases of relief assistance reported (NAC18/85/86/048/55u 1965).

1965:

The processes of centralization were clearly evident during 1965. Concentrations of population in the Pangnirtung region centred on Pangnirtung and Cumberland Sound, Broughton Island, and Padloping Island. While the majority of people in the Pangnirtung area living at 11 camps were in tent dwellings, by the end of 1965, 15 Inuit houses had been built in the camps. In Broughton Island, 21 houses were occupied and 9 were built during 1965 on Padloping Island. A definite, continuous movement was evident from camp to permanent settlement. Luxury items such as houses attracted many but a number of Inuit, especially young males, seemed to move to settlements because of the availability of relief assistance. This meant they did not have to hunt for a living. In the main, however, settlement inhabitants continued to hunt but in Pangnirtung the influx of more hunters led to depletion of seal stock near the settlement. Many hunters had to travel 120-160 kilometres by ski-doo to find enough seal for their needs. East Baffin Island continued to have enough game resources for the hunters. All hunting near Broughton Island was done by ski-doo. Hunting still was the primary economic activity as only 12 Inuit were steadily employed in Pangnirtung and 12 at Broughton Island and Padloping Island combined. Prices of sealskins dropped from \$18.00 to \$5.00 during the year and total income from skins and furs decreased by over \$7,000 from 1964 to a total of \$123,313, 93% from sealskins (NAC18/85/86/048/55v 1966).

1966:

Changes during 1966, compared to other years, were quite drastic in the Pangnirtung region. Only eight camps remained along Cumberland Sound and the majority of Inuit lived in Pangnirtung settlement. More welfare relief was issued, often to able-bodied men who were reluctant to hunt. Fifteen three-bedroom houses were constructed in Pangnirtung in 1966 with an additional 23 waiting for construction in 1967. A total

of 30 Inuit houses existed in the settlement. There were still approximately 40 families living in tents. All Inuit lived in houses at Broughton Island with a total of 46 and Padloping Island with a total of 10. More and more people, especially young men, were neglecting hunting in favour of welfare. Only 12 Inuit were steadily employed in Pangnirtung and another 12 in Broughton Island and Padloping Island combined. Ski-doo's were still popular and used exclusively by the better hunters. Hunting still brought in the majority of income with carvings and handicrafts and casual labour secondary. The RCMP officer foresaw more problems for Pangnirtung in future as welfare was so easily available and low cost housing with free heating oil and electricity attracted more and more people. A concern was that with more people living in the settlement, serious depletion of game may occur (NAC18/85/86/048/55w 1967).

1967:

By the end of 1967 only 44 out of 573 Inuit in the Pangnirtung area lived in camps. The RCMP officer predicted that by 1968 all would live in the settlement. There were 73 houses in Pangnirtung in 1967 with only three families living in tents. A total of 50 houses were in Broughton Island but only six at Padloping Island. Steady employment was available for 19 Inuit in Pangnirtung and 11 in Broughton Island. Hunting was diminishing as a source of income. While seals were abundant, except in close proximity to Pangnirtung settlement, low prices for sealskins made hunting uneconomical. Only \$21,000 was derived from furs and skins in Pangnirtung during the year although \$260,000 in retail sales were recorded at the HBC post. The major portion of Inuit income was derived from handicrafts and carvings, casual labour, and government pensions, Family Allowances, and welfare. Indeed, there was great concern that welfare was too easy to obtain and led to an inordinate dependence on government.

In January 1967, 416 people in Pangnirtung were in receipt of welfare payments. For the year a total of \$44,785 were given in welfare relief. The RCMP officer related the purchases a man made at the HBC post after ordering and receiving a welfare payment of \$70.00. His purchases included 4 boxes of ammunition, 4 boxes of biscuits, 5 pounds of sugar, 1 box of tea bags, 10 gallons of gasoline, 1 carton of chewing gum, 10 chocolate bars, 10-25 cent bags of candy, 24 cans of pop, and 4 cartons of cigarettes. Although the officer did not begrudge the Inuk from obtaining welfare, he thought that purchases should perhaps be restricted to only necessities and staple foods. Furthermore, the officer stated,

I feel too that it is time for the government to take a long look at the welfare system. I am informed that if a person asks for welfare then it must be given to him. This being the case, I can foresee the time when the Arctic will be a total welfare state, no one wanting to work if they can get everything for nothing. I am aware that there is no means test to obtain the benefits of welfare, but I am equally aware that the Eskimo was not always dependent upon the government to stay alive. He was once a reasonably active and ambitious race of people, willing to work if by doing so he could maintain some pride in himself. By having everything given to him, he has had his pride taken away from him, without realizing it. Part of what now appears to be resentment towards the white race in the North I feel is that the Eskimo has realized that he is no longer self sufficient, but must depend upon the white man to stay alive (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968).

1968:

Pangnirtung had a total population of 571 at the end of 1968 with 25 people living in camps along Cumberland Sound. Broughton Island consisted of 317 people including all Inuit from Padloping Island, which had been abandoned in favour of Broughton Island because it had a trading post. Residents of both settlements all lived in two or three bedroom houses. Subsidized rent covered water, fuel, sewage disposal, electricity, and oil stoves for cooking and heating. There were not enough dwellings, however, and many homes were overcrowded. While morale seemed good, with the RCMP officer reporting that the Inuit were usually happy, their dependence on welfare payments continued to be a

concern. More people had steady employment, however, with 22 men employed at Pangnirtung and 15 at Broughton Island. A co-operative had been started by DIAND as an outlet for carvings and handicrafts. This provided the first source of income for Inuit women. The RCMP officer seemed quite optimistic that carving would supply significant income for men and women in future.

A problem which was absent in previous years but was gaining a foothold in Inuit life in 1968 was alcohol abuse. Liquor was being brought in by Inuit who had been away to other settlements for employment or school. The officer's main concern was to educate people in the use and dangers of alcohol. A favourable view was given to a new government policy which required a review of a family's income level before welfare payments were given. The RCMP continued to actively encourage Inuit self-sufficiency (NAC18/85/86/0148/55y 1969).

A3.2 Education.

It is unclear why, but very little information was given by RCMP officers in the Pangnirtung detachment concerning education. The first reference to education is a brief comment for the year 1960 that a new school was located near the HBC post on Broughton Island (NAC18/85/86/048/55n 1961). Other sources indicate the government began to build a school in Pangnirtung in 1960 (Kemp 1977). The only other mention of education is from the RCMP report about 1968 in which the officer commented that young male Inuit returned to Pangnirtung from trade school outside the region with no employment possibilities in the settlement (NAC/18/85/86/048/55y 1969).

A3.3 Health and Health Care.

Inuit of the region had the benefits of having a hospital in Pangnirtung settlement. Descriptions of health care facilities and general health of the Inuit were made in the RCMP annual reports. In

1952 health amongst the Inuit was reported as being fairly good. Many cases of TB were treated at the hospital in Pangnirtung with more severe cases evacuated to the south. Complaints were made about the lack of communication between the Arctic and family members hospitalized in the south (NAC18/85/86/048,55a 1953).

Health was listed as having improved in 1953. Ten people with TB were admitted to hospital in Pangnirtung. During 1953 the hospital had an average of 16 to 18 patients continually (NAC18/85/86/048/55b 1954). While conditions were very similar in 1954, three people died from pneumonia. Overall, however, all camps visited by the RCMP during the year reported good health (NAC18/85/86/048/55c 1955). Health improved in 1955 over 1954. A medical doctor of the Medical Survey Team aboard the ship surveying all east Arctic communities reported that health in the Pangnirtung area was better than in other districts. The exceptions were those on Padloping Island who had more cases of TB and serious tooth decay than those along Cumberland Sound. Except for this, all camp residents were in good health with colds as the only common illness (NAC18/85/86/048/55e 1956). Again in 1956, health conditions were very similar with few changes in the report (NAC18/85/86/048/55f 1957).

Beginning in 1957, reports indicate increasing health problems amongst Inuit living near DEW Line sites. Although health was listed as fair in three camps, colds and skin diseases were common. Sanitation was reported as being disgusting or poor in two out of three sites (NAC18/85/86/048/55g 1957). A DNA official, in a separate report, stated that in one DEW Line site nursing children were on the edge of starvation because their mothers were in such poor health that they were not producing enough milk. Substitute food was unavailable (NAC18/85/86/048/55i 1957).

In other parts of the region during 1957, health was reported as good. A considerable amount of TB was found, however, that apparently had gone unnoticed in previous years (NAC18/85/86/048/55il 1958).

During the next two years, health was variously described from fair to good. People in two locations had poor health. Those in Broughton Island also had very little food and were eating sealskins. Inuit in Kivitoo were not as hungry but their health was poor and skin diseases and eye trouble were prevalent (NAC18/85/86/048/55j 1959).

As in previous years, during 1959, people along Cumberland Sound experienced good general health (NAC18/85/86/048/55k 1959). No new cases of TB were discovered during the first part of 1959 (NAC18/85/86/048/55l 1959). Also, an extensive immunization programme was carried out in 1959 inoculating Inuit for polio, typhoid, whooping cough, and other diseases (NAC18/85/86/048/55z 1960). Conditions at camps near DEW Line sites improved by 1960. Health was reported as being good except for one camp on Broughton Island which had fair health but poor sanitation (NAC18/85/86/048/55m 1960).

Pangnirtung hospital was without a permanent doctor during 1960. The RCMP officer strongly recommended that one be placed in the settlement. Overall, health was good in the Pangnirtung area although an epidemic of what was thought to be whooping cough swept through Broughton Island, killing four infants. Several cases of TB were discovered but this was not a serious problem (NAC18/85/86/048/55n 1961). During 1961, a severe influenza epidemic struck the region, resulting in seven deaths. Except for the epidemic, overall general health was good (NAC18/85/86/048/55o 1962). For most of 1962, Pangnirtung area residents enjoyed very good health. At the beginning of September, however, Pangnirtung settlement became infected with Rubeola. For approximately 10 days, the entire village, both Inuit and White, was down with the sickness and 202 cases were treated by the settlement nurse. No deaths resulted from the disease and precautions were instituted so that the disease never spread to outlying hunting camps (NAC18/85/86/048/55r 1963).

A resident doctor was still not employed at the hospital in

Pangnirtung at the end of 1963. The hospital continued to be managed and owned by the Anglican Mission and was staffed by three full time registered nurses. During 1963 inhabitants of the area enjoyed very good health. No epidemics occurred and only two active cases of TB diagnosed (NAC18/85/86/048/55s 1964). Three nurses continued to staff the hospital in 1964. The only major health problem during that year was an outbreak of infectious hepatitis. While 202 Inuit were treated there were no deaths as a result of the disease (NAC18/85/86/048/55t 1965).

Tuberculosis still affected people during 1965 with 3 cases diagnosed. Infectious hepatitis also continued to plague Pangnirtung with 38 people being infected. The prevalence of this disease was attributed to the low level of cleanliness and sanitation plus a poor source of water. The RCMP officer pointed out that often body wastes were dumped in close proximity to dwellings. Conditions were improving during the year as the RCMP officer repeatedly told the Inuit about the importance of proper sanitation (NAC18/85/86/55v 1966).

Four registered nurses staffed the hospital during 1966. A total of 15 Inuit were evacuated with TB from the entire region. Pangnirtung continued to experience infectious hepatitis with 15 cases treated. At Broughton Island, pneumonia caused two deaths and afflicted many people (NAC18/85/86/048/55w 1967). Conditions improved somewhat in 1967 with moderately good health reported amongst all Inuit in the region. Only 7 active cases of TB were detected although epidemics of measles, mumps, and pneumonia were encountered throughout the region. One type of illness which appeared during the year and was a cause of concern for the RCMP was venereal disease. It was believed to have been brought to Pangnirtung by people returning from Frobisher Bay. Infectious hepatitis was no longer a problem, though, as sanitation had vastly improved (NAC18/85/86/048/55x 1968). Venereal disease continued to be the major health concern in 1968. While those suffering from VD were

treated, they were reluctant to name their contacts and the disease was spreading to all age groups within the community. Other than this, people enjoyed good health (NAC18/85/86/048/55y 1969).

A4. CLYDE RIVER

A4.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1953:

There were 147 Inuit in the Clyde River area in 1953. Twenty eight of them were hunters or males over the age of 16. Two men were employed by the DOT weather station and one by the HBC. One woman also worked for the HBC. The men received \$40 per month plus food rations while the woman received \$15 plus rations. All other people depended on hunting and trapping for a living. Hunting was difficult, however, as the Inuit lacked sufficient transport to move to good hunting grounds during the year. Seal stocks were depleted in some areas as concentrations of people remained too long at one spot. Hunters also had very little hunting equipment. It was clear to the RCMP that their lives would improve if they could obtain better equipment and more transport (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3a 1953).

A new constable who arrived in September 1953 noticed that Inuit of the area were poorer than those in other parts of Baffin Island. Many camped near the settlement and relied on Family Allowances and handouts, neglecting their hunting and trapping. The RCMP officer attributed this to the presence of a large number of U.S. military personnel stationed at Cape Christian. According to the RCMP officer, in their misguided generosity, the Americans provided the Inuit with free clothing, food, fuel oil, and other commodities. It was noted that four or five families who lived about 240 km from the settlement appeared to be in better health and spirits than Inuit living near Clyde River.

People who lived near the settlement also were increasingly wearing store-bought clothing. As sealskins were becoming more of a trade item, women became reluctant to use or sew them into clothing for themselves. They would rather trade the skins than use them personally. As hunters were inadequately equipped for hunting, where permitted, Family Allowances were used to purchase traps, ammunition, twine for

seal nets, outboard motors, and duck cloth for tents. A concerted effort was made by all Whites in the area to raise Inuit standards of living. Regardless of their conditions, the Inuit seemed to have good morale (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3b 1954).

1955-1956: (Reports are missing for 1953-1954.)

The economy of the area improved somewhat over previous years as there was an increase in prices paid for bearskins, foxes, and sealskins. One major problem was that hunters did not skin all the seals they killed. Out of approximately 4000 killed, only 200 were traded at the HBC, potentially depriving them of an additional \$6000. Inuit stated to the RCMP officer that the amount of work involved in skinning, cleaning, washing, and stretching skins was not sufficiently compensated for monetarily. The RCMP officer thought that the real reason for not skinning seals was laziness of the hunters. Some sealskins were used for personal use as more Inuit wore sealskin pants after being advised by the RCMP that they were superior to southern clothing. Women also sewed sealskin handicrafts to be sold to Whites stationed in the area. Hunting equipment improved over previous years with the help of Family Allowances. Most people no longer lived near the settlement unless employed there as they were warned that Family Allowances would be discontinued unless they moved (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3c 1956).

1956-1957:

During the year ending June 1957, the economy of the Inuit in the district markedly declined. Foxes were scarce and quotas set on shooting polar bears. The RCMP officer presented data indicating that polar bears had not declined over the years and stressed that should more stringent quotas be made, the local economy would greatly suffer. There was a considerable market for souvenirs and handicrafts amongst

Whites in the area. Inuit were hampered, however, because there were very few materials to carve in the area. Morale continued to be good and the Inuit were described as jovial and of amiable disposition. They all enjoyed a Christmas Party given by the U.S. Coast Guard and children were all treated to gifts and holiday food (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957).

1957-1958:

Five families had a member steadily employed at the DOT weather station or HBC post. They all lived at Clyde River settlement. One man worked for the RCMP at Cape Christian with his family also residing there. The economy improved during the year with trapping conditions more favourable and handicraft material more readily available. Income from trapping, employment, and handicrafts amounted to \$7598 while Family Allowance accounted for \$7471 of total income. Hunting equipment was adequate but the RCMP officer thought that equipment was not properly maintained and that hunters were not providing sufficient caches of meat to last them the winter. The officer estimated that 25% of the Inuit total yearly income was spent on ammunition. He suggested that hunters be provided with an ammunition hand-reloading press so they could make their own bullets. The officer also suggested that Inuit be provided with the necessary tools and materials to further develop a handicraft industry which, he thought, was at far below its potential (NAC18/TA-500- 8-1-3e 1958).

1958-1959:

The economy improved over the year with the HBC and White personnel paying three times the amount over 1957-1958 for handicrafts. Income from furs also almost tripled. A survey of hunters who had used reloaded ammunition reported that it was as good or better than factory loaded ammunition. The RCMP thought, however, that if a reloading press was given to hunters, they would become even more dependent and used to

government assistance. If the DNA approved of providing the reloading press the RCMP would co-operate. It was thought, however, that if hunters wanted it they should purchase it themselves (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3f 1959).

1959:

In the report for 1959, the RCMP officer made a point about how Inuit were in an economic stalemate because their incomes depended almost entirely on the fur market which fluctuated widely. Very little native made garments were used except for sealskin boots. Dwellings continued to consist of sod or snow igloos in winter and canvas tents in summer. The RCMP encouraged sealskin tents to be used but their suggestions went unheeded. Although general morale was high, the officer commented about many instances of misunderstandings or exploitation between the Inuit and HBC.

One concern was that Inuit had no knowledge of what their furs and handicrafts were used for, how their value was estimated, or the reasons for fluctuations of fur prices. This meant that the Inuit did not have a clear idea of the importance of proper handling of skins or why quality was important in carving soapstone. Many Inuit complained that they were not getting a fair price for fur but had no other choice but to trade at the local HBC, although some fur was sold directly to DOT or U.S. Coast Guard personnel. Indeed, the local HBC trader at the time had informed the Inuit that anyone found selling furs to anyone except the HBC would be refused credit. The RCMP officer thought that Inuit complaints were well founded. He also stated,

During the last few years, the Canadian Eskimo has increasingly become the center of attraction to many departments concerned with the development [sic] of Canada's Northland. This situation had caused a certain amount of bewilderment [sic] to the natives, and they now find themselves torn between two environments, the old way and the new. The Eskimos now find themselves with new restrictions and codes of conduct, which are presented to them with little or no explanation. The lack of education is a serious handicap to equipping the Eskimo with the proper attitude toward civilization, and his forthcoming place in it (NAC18/1952a 1959).

1960:

Six out of 38 families in the detachment area had a family member who was permanently employed in Clyde River by DOT, DNA, or HBC. Other Inuit were dependent on hunting, trapping, and carving for income. The presence of 24 American servicemen at Cape Christian continued to provide a market for handicrafts and carvings. These were sold directly to the servicemen under supervision of the RCMP. The HBC manager did not object to this practise and was even mentioned by the RCMP officer as being most co-operative in all dealings with the Inuit. For 1961, the RCMP had plans to implement a soapstone carving project in hopes of improving economic conditions in the area (NAC18/1952b 1961).

1961:

Low-cost houses were being ordered for Clyde River during 1961 by permanently employed Inuit. Other housing throughout the area consisted of scrap wood, canvas, and sod. The inside of these dwellings was lined with newspapers and magazines. Most were still heated with seal oil. While the overall economy was fairly high, prices for fox and seal dropped sharply. The handicraft project run by the RCMP was a success and additional income was generated from this endeavour. No serious problems were encountered and it was noted that most Inuit had a full time job merely providing the necessitated to sustain their families (NAC18/1952c 1962).

1962:

Most of the clothing worn by Inuit in the Clyde River area was ready-made or sewn out of material purchased from the HBC. A large proportion of income was spent on clothing as the Inuit did not have good facilities for washing and clothes wore out quickly. Although 10 welfare or low-cost houses were built or available to be built, the

typical Inuit dwelling consisted of scrap lumber and canvas. A few families still lived in snow igloos during the winter. Morale was average during the year. Community events were held at the school and the White teachers showed great interest in community activities. The U.S. Coast Guard gave their annual Christmas Party which was enjoyed by all. Movies were shown, with Westerns receiving the most applause.

The general economy improved somewhat during the year as did Inuit management of their earnings. Foxes trapped declined by 50% but prices for sealskins increased by 50% and total income from furs and skins was nearly the same as the previous year. The RCMP estimated only 25% of sealskins taken were actually traded with the remainder used for making footwear or for dog food. White personnel at the settlement were endeavouring to teach the hunters not to waste their seals as it was thought more sealskins could be traded. Although Family Allowances and welfare relief made up the majority of total income, furs and handicrafts were important. A school teacher encouraged women to make dolls as souvenirs. Overall, the RCMP officer indicated socio-economic conditions were progressive for the year. Concerning the White people in the community, the officer concluded his report by stating, "There was co-operation amongst all personnel throughout 1962. Everyone worked together trying to express to the Eskimos that the white mans [sic] interest in them is not exploitative, but to try and introduce them to a new way of life" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3g 1963).

1963:

Seven family heads were permanently employed and seven temporarily employed during 1963. All except two families lived in permanent buildings, 10 of which were welfare or low-cost units, and two which were owned by the DNA and Anglican Mission. Many camp Inuit expressed a desire to obtain modern housing but which would be easier and more

economical to construct than those in Clyde River settlement. They were asked by the RCMP for input into what they thought would be the best type of structure for their needs. Some suggested structures similar to Atwell Huts while others said they would be willing to learn how to construct their own houses from scratch with boards and timber. The RCMP officer hoped those in Ottawa would listen to the Inuit and plan to provide them with appropriate ways to obtain housing. The general economy and other socio-economic conditions were similar to previous years. The only problem was that Inuit thought morale could be higher. In the opinion of the RCMP officer, this might have been caused by the presence of Pagnirtung and Broughton Island Inuit living in the area. They had different dialects and ways of thinking. This was not anticipated to pose much of a problem in future, however (NAC18/1952e 1964).

1964:

Out of 44 families in the detachment area, 16 lived at Clyde River settlement during 1964. The heads of 5 families were permanently employed. Store-bought clothing or material continued to be the norm but caribou and seal was used for winter trail clothing. There was a shortage of caribou during the year and skins had to be brought in from Baker Lake. Most shelter in the region was still made of scrap material. The snow igloo was only used as an overnight shelter. Hunting equipment was adequate and the majority of hunters still used dog teams for transport. There were five ski-dogs in the area. The general economy remained about the same from 1963. Income from furs, including handicrafts made from them, increased while that from employment decreased. No new construction occurred as it was rumoured that the DNA was going to move the site of the settlement. The RCMP officer thought a move would be worthwhile as the present location became a bog in summer with no fresh water supply nor solid ground for

future construction (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3h 1965).

1965:

Sixteen out of 46 Inuit families were residing at Clyde River settlement in 1965. The heads of five families were permanently employed there. Most conditions were similar during the year to 1964. There were more caribou killed in the area and everyone had sufficient numbers of skins for clothing and bed coverings. There was no change in the type or number of dwellings in the area. Morale in the area greatly improved over 1964. This was partially because 13 people returned from TB hospitalization after absences for up to three years. Total income decreased slightly from the previous year as prices dropped for sealskins. Sealskins were barely worth processing at the prices paid for them in 1965. A survey crew recommended the settlement be moved to a site across the bay from the present location. All construction and development was on hold until a final decision was made about the relocation. The RCMP officer also noted what he called a preposterous situation. Apparently due to a recent ruling by the commissioner of the Territories on the legality of Inuit custom marriage, only 5 out of 46 couples in the Clyde River area were legally married. This meant that 154 (93%) out of 164 children in the area were illegitimate (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3i 1966).

1966:

Twenty out of 44 families were residing in Clyde settlement in 1966. Six men from these families were permanently employed. Conditions of clothing, shelter, and hunting equipment remained unchanged from previous years although more people had ski-doos. Morale remained good primarily due to greatly improved hunting conditions over 1965. Total income increased because of more employment. Handicrafts also became more important as an income source. Definite plans were

made for the building of a road and a few buildings at the new settlement site in 1967. The HBC built a new store at the present site during 1966, however (NAC18/TA-500-3-1-3j 1967).

1967:

Special note was made in the RCMP report for 1967 about the continual movement of people from camp into Clyde settlement. A majority of Inuit in the detachment area resided in the community. Total Inuit population of the settlement was 160 and for outlying camps, 93. Only six head of families were permanently employed at Clyde settlement with most people relying on a combination of hunting, handicrafts, and part-time employment for income. Seven new houses were erected during the year at the new site for the settlement. Although a few people relied on welfare, most Inuit led a more traditional life. The RCMP officer thought that camp Inuit still had their traditional pride, led a close-knit tribal life, and almost appeared to have a contempt for a White way of life.

Conditions of housing for the majority of Inuit were not considered good by the RCMP officer. Dwellings continued to be made of scrap lumber, paper, canvas, and sod. Although the majority were kept fairly clean, all had only one room with the toilet situated in full view in one of the corners. Usually, there was only one big bunk on which the entire family slept. The remains of any animals killed for food were left inside the houses, adjacent to the stove and kept there until all the meat on it was consumed. It was then disposed of by dumping it outside the entrance door.

DIAND continued with plans to move the entire settlement. The RCMP officer thought this was an unfortunate decision. He pointed out that the present site was selected by the Inuit before the arrival of Whites. The location was picked because there was seldom any wind and had good landing beaches for canoes. One big drawback was that it had

poor drainage and turned into a bog during the summer. The new site had similar drainage problems plus an ever-present cold wind which necessitated wearing a parka even in summer. The RCMP officer strongly recommended the new site be abandoned.

Ski-doo's were continually replacing dog teams as a mode of transportation. This radically altered hunting behaviour. Hunters with ski-doo's obtained more game in less time over a greater area. There were disadvantages, though. Those who still hunted by dogteam had very little debt with the HBC and when they did, it was paid off on a regular basis. Ski-doo owners, however, were constantly in need of parts, gasoline, and oil for the machines (in addition to the original purchase price) and usually were heavily in debt. Despite the debt, general morale was high. An amateur radio station was operated for a few months by local residents. This proved popular with everyone including people in outlying camps. It was hoped the radio station could continue broadcasting once it obtained a licence (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

1968:

By the end of 1968, 210 out of 266 area Inuit were living at Clyde River settlement. Eight men were permanently employed. Conditions of clothing and housing remained unchanged from the previous year. The settlement was still at its original site although plans were in place to move it to the new location. Carvings played a greater role in the local economy and an organization was formed to market the handicrafts. This, along with casual labour, hunting, and trapping, resulted in a good economic situation for the year. No serious problems were reported for the community during 1968 (NAC18/TA-500- 8-1-31 1969).

A4.2 Education.

The DNA did not open a school at Clyde River until 1960. All Inuit children were eager to attend. The teacher was interested in the

community and willing to work after hours (NAC18/1952b 1961). No further mention was made about education in annual RCMP reports until those for the year 1964. In that year, the RCMP officer noted the remarkable job the husband and wife team of teachers were doing to promote education. Classes for adults were held during the evenings although day school for children was hampered by the lack of a hostel (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3h 1965). No other comments about education were made in annual reports.

A4.3 Health and Health Care.

General health of the Inuit was reported as being good in 1953. Serious medical cases were referred by radio to doctors in Pangnirtung or Thule, Greenland. The RCMP officer was concerned about the lack of a building to quarantine and treat sick Inuit. He was not impressed with the facilities at Clyde River and the lack of communication between medical survey teams and local Inuit. All sicknesses were treated by him and while not concerned about government policy, he was responsible for the health and well being of the inhabitants of his detachment (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3b 1954). By the middle of 1956, general health had improved and was described as being very good. Five Inuit were evacuated with TB and two adults likely died from the disease. Other than these cases, however, there were no colds or other illnesses reported during the previous 12 months (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3c 1956).

A severe viral infection swept through the region in fall, 1956, killing five young children and an elderly couple. Treatment was conducted with the supervision by radio with a doctor in Pangnirtung. Ample supplies of medicine were provided but Clyde River was in dire need of a building to treat patients. The RCMP officer had to care for the sick in their cold and damp tents. Concerning the deaths of people in the area, the RCMP officer commented, "most of these deaths could have been prevented; specially those affected by the recent epidemic had

some adequate heated quarters been available to treat those patients. In view of this pathetic situation, it seems [sic] that the elementary welfare of our eskimos is seriously jeopardized by the present lack of facilities for their sick and injured" (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3d 1957).

Seven Inuit were diagnosed as having TB in 1957-1958 and were evacuated. All people in one remote camp were afflicted with influenza resulting in two fatalities. The RCMP journeyed to the camp and administered sulfa drugs and there were no other casualties. Other than these incidence, general health conditions were good although colds, influenza, and pneumonia were common. The RCMP officer offered several comments about why he thought Inuit were very susceptible to common illnesses and also expressed a sincere concern for their welfare. He thought that superstitions and ignorance of simple but essential sanitary practises contributed to their vulnerability to infections. As an example, one sick Inuk with a high fever decided to cool his body by going outside in -18 degree C. weather, eating ice, and leaving the entrance to his igloo open. He died a few days later most likely from pneumonia. The communal use of unwashed household utensils and food was also thought by the officer to contribute to the spreading of disease. Efforts were constantly made by the RCMP to correct these situations. The officer also thought booklets on preventive medicine written in syllabics would greatly promote better health (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3e 1958).

In addition to eight people with TB, three Inuit with poliomyelitis were evacuated during 1959. One Inuk also died with polio suspected as the cause. Other than these cases, no other health problems were reported (NAC18/1952a 1959). Twenty-two Inuit were evacuated to southern hospitals in 1960, 16 having TB while the rest had various illnesses. One Inuk boy died of TB shortly after being evacuated. One explanation for there being so many TB patients was that the medical survey team reached almost all Inuit in the area to be x-

rayed for TB. In previous years several camps were missed. No other major illnesses were reported (NAC18/1952b 1961).

Tuberculosis and cancer were causes for evacuations during 1961. One death resulted from cancer of the stomach, liver, chest, and spine. Four out of the five total deaths resulted from bronchia-pneumonia, however. A one week old infant died after travelling with his parents for 240 km by dog sled. The RCMP officer thought a pamphlet written in syllabics about infant care would be appropriate to distribute. Other than that, general health improved during 1961 (NAC18/1952c 1962). Other than TB or various afflictions (i.e. hernia), general health continued to improve during 1963. An outbreak of measles, however, occurred in two remote camps. Apparently five deaths resulted from the disease (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3g 1963).

The HBC manager took over medical services from the RCMP in 1963. Although not a common practise, the Hospital Corpsman at the U.S. Coast Guard station was asked to examine serious cases. Pneumonia caused the deaths of two infants and nine persons were evacuated with TB. A cabin was constructed for short stays for sick people. Other than colds, flu, and other minor ailments, general health was good (NAC18/1952e 1964). Although overall health was good in 1964, three infants died of pneumonia. Births increased significantly, rising from six in 1963 to 22 in 1964. There were no epidemics or outbreaks of contagious diseases during the year (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3h 1965). During 1965 the HBC manager indicated he no longer wanted to take care of medical services, although by the end of the year no one else had been appointed. General health during 1965 was good with the usual colds and flu and TB evacuations. The number of births decreased to 11 with one infant death and one middle aged woman who died in hospital of TB complicated by measles (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3i 1966).

The community teachers, a married couple, handled medical care in the area during 1967. Births increased to 20, with four of these babies

subsequently dying of pneumonia. As in previous years, other than several cases of TB, overall general health was good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3j 1967). During 1967, a mild epidemic of the mumps struck Clyde River. One six year old boy died because of this illness. A doctor and nurse from Frobisher Bay visited the settlement and controlled the spread of the disease. A total of 16 births were recorded. The RCMP officer commented about birth control in his report, the only mention of the topic in any RCMP annual report reviewed. He wrote,

With living conditions slightly better in the settlement of Clyde in conjunction with a more balanced diet than they [are] used to in the camps, the birth rate has gone up steadily in the last several years. The Eskimos themselves are concerned with this and several of them have mentioned to me that they have heard of birth control from their friends in Frobisher Bay or those hospitalized in the South. They say they are having "too many babies-too quick-no good". Contraceptives are not available locally, however, as this appears to be a problem throughout the Arctic, it could perhaps be brought to the attention of the proper authorities. This situation does require attention because the families continue to grow larger annually. The land simply does not produce enough for the head of the household to be able to support his family. Consequently they are forced into deeper poverty. A solution could possibly be reached to this problem through the mutual co-operation of the medical and welfare authorities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3k 1968).

The wife of the school principal became medical officer for 1968. She relied too heavily on the Medical Corpsman from the U.S. Coast Guard. Eventually the Coast Guard had to restrict use of the corpsman to only emergencies. Because of the large number of medical cases being handled, however, it was expected that a registered nurse would be assigned to Clyde River in 1969. Mumps continued to afflict people in the region with one person dying from the disease. Meningitis was the cause of death of a 15 year old girl. At the end of 1968, the majority of Inuit were suffering from chest colds. It was also mentioned that many Inuit had poor health. Only eight births were recorded during the year (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-3l 1969).

A5. POND INLET/ARCTIC BAY/IGLOOLIK

A5.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1952:

Although the white fox catch was good in 1952, prices paid for the pelts were very low compared to previous years. Therefore, the general economy of the Inuit deteriorated somewhat and buying power was curtailed. In addition to low prices for fur, the HBC and Canadian Handicraft Guild discontinued purchasing handicrafts from the Inuit although no reason was given for this in the RCMP report. Even if buying power was limited, Inuit in the area were turning more and more to store-bought southern clothing. Exceptions were those residents in Igloolik, possibly because caribou were more plentiful in that area. Two reasons were offered by the RCMP officer concerning why Inuit preferred White society's clothing over traditional wear. One was the increasing prices and purchases for sealskins by the HBC and Churches. If people could receive income from seals they no longer used all of them for clothing. Also, children's clothing could be purchased on Family Allowance which made buying even more attractive. Many Inuit told the officer that White society's clothing was superior and that they were ashamed of native clothing. The officer noted that in reality, store-bought clothing was highly unsuitable to the Arctic climate.

While White society's clothing was becoming the norm, living dwellings were still Inuit built, well constructed, and adequate for the environment. Although hunting and trapping for fur and pelts was important, the greater percentage of hunters' time was spent in obtaining food. Indeed, the RCMP officer commented that most hunters lacked enough equipment to make hunting profitable. A sea-worthy boat was necessary to successfully hunt enough seal to be profitable but only four out of 50 hunters in the Pond Inlet area could afford one. Even if a boat could be purchased (and one could not use a boat until it was

fully paid), gas was very expensive at \$1.50 per gallon. The officer suggested that boat-building instruction could be offered by the DNA. Ammunition was also expensive with one box of 20 bullets costing around \$5.00. It was thought by the officer that if ammunition were not so high the general economy of the Inuit would improve. Regardless, in general, the Inuit appeared to be happy and contented as long as they had sufficient food. The only problem was that some Inuit were inclined to live and/or loiter in the settlements of Arctic Bay and Igloolik. The RCMP actively discouraged this and instructed any White residents to do the same unless the Inuit were employed in the community (NAC18/18/85/86/048/55aa 1953).

1952-1953:

The only general problems in the region during the year ending June, 1953 (Pond Inlet reports in the 1950s covered July to June) was the high price of ammunition. In addition to the RCMP officer, the Inuit complained that the price was curtailing their hunting. This along with a very poor fox catch led to below normal living standards. Also, in Arctic Bay, food shortages were encountered. This was attributed to unfavourable hunting conditions and a scarcity of seals. Relief assistance increased but this was primarily because several women became widows (NAC18/3668 1953).

1954-1955:

The general economy of the district in 1954-1955 improved over the previous year. Fox catches were good and prices paid for pelts slightly higher. Coal mining added to the income for a few people. Family Allowances, however, contributed the largest single source of income for people in the immediate Pond Inlet area at 37% of total income. Income would have been greater if the skins of seals which had been killed had been sold to the HBC. Apparently most hunters, in the opinion of the

RCMP officer, because of laziness, did not properly skin common ringed seals. Only 200 skins were traded out of an estimated 7500 killed, 4950 skins of which would be surplus beyond what would be personally used by the hunter. One reason may have been that the HBC only paid \$1.00 per skin during the year. Regardless, sealskin was not used in clothing except for boots. Almost all Inuit wore White clothing exclusively. The RCMP officer encouraged them to wear sealskin clothes but to no avail.

Dwellings were more traditional. During the winter, people constructed houses with the sides made of the earth and roof of sealskin or duck cloth. Snow was piled over the structure and provided warm and comfortable living quarters. In summer people lived in tents of duck cloth. No unnecessary loitering in settlements was reported anywhere in the region. Morale was noted, albeit rather condescendingly, as being very high, "As long as they have a little tobacco and sufficient food to get along from day to day, they are happy" (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb 1955).

1955-1956:

Although the general economy remained the same from the previous year, prices paid for fox and polar bear fur and sealskins increased. More common jar sealskins were being traded and hunting intensified for the silver jar seal which was worth almost twice as much. Although White clothing was common, the majority of hunters wore caribou skin clothes. Many men in the Arctic Bay area insisted on wearing duffle parkas, though. Many caribou skins were bought from the HBC, having been imported from outside the region. Dwellings were the same as previous years with many Inuit in the Igloolik area living in igloos during the winter rather than sod houses. More people were moving into settlements of the region. Fond Inlet had 32 Inuit living in the community, all in families with at least one member a permanent employee of White establishments. In Arctic Bay, one family had a member

permanently employed and two families consisted of widows on relief. Twenty-two Inuit lived in the settlement. Only three families and three widows or elderly people were employed or on relief in Igloolik. The settlement was permanently inhabited by 77 Inuit, however, all of whom were hunters (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb1 1956).

1956-1957:

Due to good catches and higher prices paid for fur and sealskins, the general economy of the district improved over previous years. Earned income came primarily from the sale of fox, polar bear, and sealskins with additional income from casual employment and, in Pond Inlet, coal mining. As seals were less plentiful in the Arctic Bay area, Inuit there depended more on store bought food. No caribou skins were received by the HBC during the year and very few hunters killed sufficient numbers of game. Consequently, most clothing again was of duffle or other southern manufactured material. Overall, other socio-economic conditions were unchanged and morale high, except for one camp visited on patrol by the RCMP.

This camp was situated near a DEW Line site in the Igloolik area. The officer reported that almost all material needed for shelter and food was being scrounged from the garbage dump at the DEW Line base. The house the officer stayed in two nights was a large frame shack covered by a large tarpaulin found at the dump. An old oil stove was set up using scrap wood for fuel while anti-freeze was used as fuel in two discarded gas stoves. No evidence of seal or walrus was found and when two hunters brought in two freshly killed seals an old woman exclaimed that she had not eaten seal in a long time. Apparently all food was being salvaged from the garbage dump (NAC18/85/86/048/55cc 1957).

1957-1958:

Total income for the region increased greatly over the previous year as prices for fur and sealskin rose. Igloolik did not fare as well because of poor fox catches in the area. Indeed, over 60% of total income in the Igloolik area was derived from Family Allowance or relief assistance. Store bought clothing remained the norm with caribou skins also purchased. A scarcity of caribou resulted in very few locally made garments. Most dwellings consisted of walls of peat blocks covered by two layers of canvas with heather in between the layers as insulation. Seal oil lamps were used for heating. Windows were made from animal membranes. Several of the more prosperous Inuit expressed an interest in building permanent structures out of purchased lumber. In spite of increased income, however, many Inuit in the region did not have a good year.

Weather conditions prevented many hunters from obtaining sufficient numbers of seals for human food, dog food, and oil for lamps. Relief rations were given to many camps by the RCMP. Several camps moved to better seal areas during this time but it was noted that one camp in Milne Inlet refused to move because there were rabbits at their location and the head man liked to eat rabbits. Eventually he was persuaded to move, though. One comment was made by the RCMP officer concerning camps which were in need which contradicts the usual view of Inuit society. He wrote, "It is a peculiar trait of some of the Pond Inlet Eskimos in that they will do little to help one another in time of need and are able to maintain a selfish and unruffled attitude to the plight of their brothers. One exception to this are the people at the Guy's Bight camp, east of Pond Inlet who went quickly to the aid of the camp at Buchan Gulf, 150 miles SE. when it was suspected that they were short of the essentials" (NAC18/85/86/048/55dd 1958).

1958-1959:

Economic conditions improved at Igloolik and Arctic Bay during the year and remained about the same at Pond Inlet. More foxes were caught at Igloolik and prices paid for them were high. In addition, a greater number of walrus were taken and thus a greater amount of ivory was sold to the HBC. Relief payments almost doubled but these were largely due to an increase in the amount of payment and because a number of people returned from southern hospitals and needed welfare while they were rehabilitating. Members from four families were employed full time at Pond Inlet, two at Arctic Bay, and four at Igloolik. More caribou were killed during the year and, especially in Igloolik, hunters were wearing caribou clothing while travelling in cold weather. Dwellings were gradually becoming more modernized. Many people used Coleman gasoline lanterns in their homes. In Igloolik settlement and around DEW Line sites, most of the houses were heated with old fuel drums converted into stoves. Scrap wood and anything that burned were used as fuel. In some homes, plexiglass scavenged from dumps was used for windows. The RCMP officer also saw evidence of discarded food from Dew Line sites such as potatoes, carrots, and cabbage being used as food. It was noted that a system was to be in place within a year whereby garbage was to be burned except for scrap wood and metal which could be used for shelter (NAC18/85/86/048/55ee 1959).

1960:

Very few changes in the conditions of clothing and housing occurred in the Pond Inlet region during 1960. One prefabricated house was constructed for a welfare case and two additional houses were ordered for 1961. More would be ordered if they proved popular with the Inuit. Overall economic conditions improved in Pond Inlet and Igloolik but deteriorated in Arctic Bay because of poor trapping. Additional income was generated in Pond Inlet from construction of a house and a

short-stay hostel for the nursing station. The only major problem encountered was in Pond Inlet. During and after the construction of buildings, many Inuit loitered around the community in hopes of finding employment. The RCMP and HBC manager discouraged this but to no avail (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff 1961).

1961: (For Arctic Bay, only.)

The general health for Arctic Bay during 1961 was good. Materials for a health centre arrived but it was unknown when it would be built. The officer reported that people in the area dressed more shabbily than those at Pond Inlet or Igloolik. Although morale appeared good, the officer made an interesting comment about knowing the true morale of people he visits only periodically during the year.

The morale of the Arctic Bay Eskimoes [sic] was found to be good at the time this Detachment's patrol visited that area. However this does not give a true picture of the situation at Arctic Bay. Eskimoes [sic], in general, want to give visitors the impression that they are happy and prosperous and therefore it is only through continual contact with the people throughout the year that an accurate account of the conditions can be made (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff1 1962)

He reported that one group of Inuit living at the bottom of Admiralty Inlet came near to starvation during the winter. Also, more people were moving to Arctic Bay settlement. Some were loitering and "reported to by a lazy lot, poor hunters and trappers and content to scrounge off the employed families or ask for relief or hand-outs" (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff1 1962).

1962:

Very few new descriptions concerning the Pond Inlet region were included in reports about 1962. Economic conditions had improved in Arctic Bay, however, as Inuit heeded the encouragement by the RCMP and HBC personnel to hunt rather than loiter around the settlement. There was somewhat of a loitering problem in Igloolik with only five out of 20

families living there having members who were permanently employed. The 15 other families apparently were living off of the employed Inuit or receiving hand-outs from wherever they could be obtained. Coal mining near Pond Inlet continued to require casual labour for some men in addition to temporary employment from various construction projects. Overall, morale throughout the region was high (NAC18/85/86/048/55hh, ii, jj 1963).

1963:

Inuit in the Pond Inlet region during 1963 continued to rely on store-bought material for clothing and lived in makeshift houses of scrap wood and canvas with moss as insulation. A number of men in the Igloolik area were observed to be wearing discarded clothes from DEW Line sites. Handicrafts and carving continued to provide income with Arctic Bay residents carving old whalebone. This *objet d'art* was unique to the region. Overall, morale was high and the economy remained the same over previous years (NAC18/85/86/048/55kk 1964).

1964:

An RCMP post was established in Igloolik during November 1964. Arctic Bay was still covered by the Pond Inlet detachment. Clothing and dwellings were similar to previous years with the RCMP officer making special note of the poor living conditions which camp Inuit experienced during the spring. As all homes, whether sod or canvas, were covered by snow during winter, when warm weather struck, the snow melted and dripped constantly into the dwellings. It would be too cold to move into canvas tents, however, so these conditions had to be endured. As prefabricated homes were becoming increasingly available, many Inuit were purchasing them by taking advantage of grants or long term loans. Income levels rose slightly in the region during 1964 with money being spent primarily on food, clothing, and ammunition. The RCMP officer

noted that most of the money was spent wisely with the Inuit trader being a shrewd businessman (NAC18/85/86/048/5511 1965).

1965:

The most noticeable change from previous years in 1965 at Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay was that Inuit dwellings had improved considerably (NAC18/85/86/048/55/mm 1966). During 1965, 14 prefabricated homes were brought into the area with more being ordered. In general, these houses proved to be quite practical and popular with the only complaint voiced being that because they were considerably bigger than camp homes, they were harder to heat. The economy remained stable although prices for sealskins dropped considerably. Carving in Arctic Bay was good enough that many items were directly exported to the south. Although income from carvings was a small percentage of total income, it provided enough money that the carver would not have to go on welfare. A concern was raised by the RCMP officer about what the future would hold for the Inuit. In reality, it was quite prophetic.

The only foreseen problem in the immediate future in the population of the people, will be the mass migration from the camps to the settlements. This has been quite noticeable this year in Pond Inlet. Last year the settlement had a population of 103, while this year there are 155, which is a considerable increase. This is brought about mainly by the parents wishing to be close to their children, when they leave the camps to attend school in the settlement. Because of the close knit Eskimo family, this will continue to be a problem, and in the future, I would imagine a very great one (NAC18/85/86/048/55/mm 1966).

The officer continued to ponder that once young men grew up they may not wish to travel far from the settlement to pursue hunting and trapping as a livelihood.

The new RCMP detachment in Igloolik covered the area around Foxe Basin, including the settlement of Hall Beach. Hall Beach was established around a DEW Line site which was run by the Federal Electric Corporation (FEC). Igloolik settlement consisted of eight on-room houses constructed by DNA for welfare recipients. These were often

overcrowded with up to 18 people living in the one room. During the fall of 1965, 23 larger homes were constructed, equipped with oil burning stoves with eight having electricity. Women were educated through DNA in the use of stoves. Eight new houses were constructed at Hall Beach for the families of the seven Inuit who were employed by FEC. The remainder of Inuit, approximately 96 families, were hunters and trapper living in camps with dwellings made of scrap wood or snow igloos. Economically, the Igloolik area was similar to others with income derived from furs and skins, carvings, wage employment, and relief payments. One problem encountered in Hall Beach was the increasing use of alcohol. It was feared that drinking would spread to Igloolik (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

Another potential problem affecting Inuit in future, was the tremendous migration from camp to settlement. The estimated population of Igloolik settlement more than doubled from 118 to 239 during fall of 1964 to the end of 1965. The factor influencing these moves seemed to be the attraction of new housing being constructed by DNA. The RCMP officer strongly recommended that camp people should not be encouraged to move into the settlements. He wrote, "If the long range plan is to provide every Eskimo family with a house, then they should be built in the camps..." (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

1966:

Inuit continued to buy ready made clothing or material such as duffel to make into clothing. In cold weather, outer clothing made from caribou was worn. The interesting change in clothing habits in 1966 was that increasingly suits, white shirts, and ties were being worn to church. Twenty new homes were brought into Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay during the year. As prices for sealskins and fox pelts increased, income was greater than in previous years. Many people bought ski-doo's at the HBC for \$850 each. The RCMP officer thought they were not rugged

enough for the terrain and not too dependable. Also, the Inuit needed to be taught about care and maintenance of the machines. Overall, the year was reported as being prosperous and healthy for the inhabitants and the RCMP officer saw no reason why 1967 would not be a better year (NAC18/85/86/048/55nn 1967).

By the end of 1966, all residents of Igloolik and Hall Beach were living in DNA provided housing. All Inuit appeared well satisfied with their housing and an Inuit housing committee unanimously agreed that anyone living in the houses should pay rent of between \$2 and \$67, depending on their income. Hall Beach experienced rapid growth and plans were forthcoming to establish a school and HBC post there. While many families depended on hunting and trapping for their livelihood, there was a continual migration from camp to settlement. The RCMP officer reported that in 1965, 57% of the total population resided in Igloolik and Hall Beach settlements and at the end of 1966, 75% lived in the communities. Although the RCMP officer did not comment on the socio-economic effects of the increase in settlement population, he did note that drinking increasingly was becoming a problem. The best event that could happen to the area, he thought, would be to open a mine at a recently discovered iron deposit 225 km north of Igloolik. He thought the added income and revenue generated from the mine and the accompanying employment opportunities would greatly benefit the local Inuit economy (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967).

1967:

Conditions in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay appeared prosperous during 1967. Seven new houses were erected in Arctic Bay and five in Pond Inlet. The RCMP officer reported that the new homes were kept clean and in a good state of repair. Morale was high in both communities. More of the Inuit were drinking liquor but weekly dances, community dinners, meetings, and sports events were well attended. Most of the Inuit made

a living by hunting and trapping but for both communities, 11 were permanently employed by DIAND, four by the HBC, and one by the RCMP. Thirty to forty men were seasonally employed during construction and sealift months. Although sealskin prices drastically plunged, the general economy was good. Handicraft and carving co-operatives started in both settlements and did well. Ski-doo's were rapidly replacing dog teams and as in all Baffin Island regions, people continually were moving from camps to settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/5500 1968).

Two months after the annual report was drafted, the RCMP officer at Pond Inlet added a report clarifying some of his previous remarks. He pointed out that higher incomes and increased spending only occurred amongst 35 to 40 men who were permanently employed or had part-time employment. For example, while 28 new ski-doo's were purchased, these were bought by steadily employed men. Their old ski-doo's were then sold to seasonal employees. Most hunters could not afford many purchases and only one Inuk was known to have any savings (NAC18/85/86/048/55pp 1968).

An example of the hardships of camp life occurred in the Igloolik area early in 1967. Due to unfavourable weather conditions, one camp could not obtain enough seal or caribou and in addition, their caches of food had been eaten by wolverines and foxes. The RCMP officer wrote of how conditions were in the camp at the beginning of January as related by a resident of the camp.

They decided they wanted to come to Igloolik...but this was impossible unless they could get some food, especially for the dogs. However, they could only get enough at one time to feed themselves and could not get enough to save for a trip to Igloolik. It now became a matter of survival. One can not imagine what these hunters went through to provide food for themselves, families and dogs. To hunt on the continually shifting ice of Committee Bay during the darkness is dangerous to say the least. They also had to contend with the extreme cold and hunger (NAC18/85/86/048/56c 1967).

Their dogs, 30 in total, began starving to death with the surviving dogs eating the dead. The nine Inuit living at the camp had very little to eat as hunters had to catch game on foot. By the middle of February rumours circulated in Igloolik that something could be wrong at this

camp as they had not been heard from for a long time. A police aircraft was dispatched and found the camp, all its dogs dead or dying and some people near death from starvation. Supplies were left and several women and children were evacuated on the airplane. A dog team was sent from Igloolik to take the remaining Inuit into the settlement where they henceforth lived (NAC18/85/86/048/56c 1967).

By the end of 1967 housing in Igloolik consisted of 32 three bedroom types, 23 smaller homes with partitioned rooms, and nine one-room dwellings. Hall Beach had 16 three bedroom homes and 11 partitioned houses. While general morale was high, several serious problems emerged. Liquor continued to be increasingly used. Also, the ease of obtaining welfare contributed to people not trying to make any other sort of living. A big problem concerned young men loitering about the community. They did not have an interest in hunting. The Igloolik Community Council continued to be active and conducted a meeting in December concerning liquor consumption in the community. They resolved to educate people about responsible use of liquor and stated that no person should drink to excess.

Hunting continued to be a primary activity for the area. As more people lived in the settlement, herds of caribou increased in outlying areas but people had farther to travel to hunt them. The local co-operative was doing very well and the general economy was good. As indicated by the RCMP officer, however, the period of transition from the traditional to modern was almost complete.

The trend of abandoning the camp to move into Igloolik continued during the year. This movement will spell the end of the traditional Eskimo way of life eventually, however it appears that this will be the price exacted in the name of progress. I believe the big attraction is the housing being provided by D.I.A.N.D. (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968).

1968:

Only 34 out of 616 people remained in hunting camps in the Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay areas. There were 46 Inuit houses in Pond Inlet, but

with a high influx of camp residents during the year, many were overcrowded with two or three families sharing one house. The majority of Inuit remained hunters and trappers, though. Prices paid for fur and sealskin climbed in August 1968 to levels higher than in all of 1967. The HBC expanded in both Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay and sold many luxury items such as fresh frozen meat, vegetables, T.V. dinners, candy, tape recorders, record players, and radios. Managers at HBC posts at both settlements confidentially told the RCMP that sales had increased 15% each year since 1964 (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969).

As in Pond Inlet, only 38 out of 733 people living in the Igloolik detachment area remained in camps. Older Inuit continued to make a living from hunting and trapping but increasingly the younger Inuit relied on welfare for their livelihood. According to the RCMP officer, the future held no promise for the younger generation. Liquor was no longer a problem in Igloolik, though. This was attributed to pressure from the Igloolik community council to drink responsibly. There continued to be problems with drinking in Hall Beach, however. Overall, general conditions among older Inuit were favourable with many saying they had never had such a good life (NAC18/85/86/048/56d 1969).

A5.2 Education.

As schools were not present in the Pond Inlet region during the 1950s, if children were to be educated, they had to go elsewhere. This indeed occurred, as in 1956, 10 children from Igloolik and three from Pond Inlet were sent to the Roman Catholic Mission residential school at Chesterfield Inlet in the Keewatin (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb1 1956). By the middle of 1957, 20 children from Igloolik and three from Pond Inlet were at Chesterfield Inlet (NAC18/85/86/048/55cc 1957). Although schools were built in Pond Inlet and Igloolik in 1959 (and 1963 in Arctic Bay), little mention was made about education until 1964 in RCMP reports. The

officer in that year simply mentioned that children in Pond Inlet settlement attended school regularly with children from camps staying in two hostels while attending school. Not all camp children attended as some were needed for chores, hunting, and feeding dogs (NAC18/85/86/048/5511 1965).

By the end of 1965, three teachers were employed at the school in Pond Inlet teaching all settlement children in three classrooms. Night courses in sewing, English, and simple economics were conducted for adults and were well attended (NAC18/85/85/048/55mm 1966). The consequences of education in outside residential schools were addressed by the RCMP officer in Igloolik for the year 1965. He wrote,

Some of the older fathers are not in favour of sending their children outside to school. As one hunter stated, his children are sent out to school and then they are given back to him. The boys don't know how to hunt and sometimes they don't even speak the [Eskimo] language properly. Most of them, both boys and girls, don't even desire to live like an Eskimo after they return. They are content to hang around the larger settlements (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

The officer stated later in the report that most Inuit agreed that education was a necessity but unless educated young people got a job with White organizations they were not able to support themselves. As the officer wrote about the concerns of one Inuk father, "he was worried because when he died, who would look after his son?" (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966).

Regardless of the outcome of education, more and more children were attending school throughout the region. During 1966 there was a 40% increase in the number of children attending school in Pond Inlet and Arctic Bay (NAC18/85/86/048/55nn 1967). Three new hostels were erected to accommodate school children from outlying camps. Although some camp families were reluctant to send their children to school, most were realizing that it was necessary. Both day school for children and night classes for adults were regularly attended. In Igloolik, the RCMP officer continued to be concerned about young people who had returned

from residential schools outside the region. He wrote,

The separation of children from their parents for the purpose of education is another demoralizing factor, both for the parent and the child. The child no longer comes under the required guidance of the parents. A comparison of the young people who were sent "outside" with the young people going to school locally can be made resulting in a poor opinion of most of these "returnees". There is not one returned student employed locally, they are content to loiter in the settlement. A more appropriate description of some of these healthy young men would be "educated bums" (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967).

Concerns with education were similar throughout 1967 and 1968 with the RCMP officer in Pond Inlet mentioning increasing enrolment and well attended classes at the schools. In 1968, there were five teachers at Pond Inlet and two at Arctic Bay. School children at Pond Inlet numbered 122 with average attendance of 96% (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969). The RCMP officer in Igloolik during 1968 was again concerned about the lack of opportunities for young Inuit returned from residential schools. Inuit adults were also concerned about proposals to construct a high school in Frobisher Bay. They were firmly opposed to sending children to Frobisher Bay because of its reputation of leading youth into drinking and delinquency (NAC18/85/86/048/56d 1969).

A5.3 Health and Health Care.

As in other areas in the eastern Arctic, Inuit in the Pond Inlet region were susceptible to a variety of maladies and viruses brought in from other parts of the world. Colds, influenza, chicken pox, and measles were common. A large number of cases of TB were also encountered. One of the main problems in the Pond Inlet detachment region in 1952 was that there were no suitable buildings to house ill Inuit while they were being treated or awaiting evacuation (NAC18/85/86/048/55aa 1953).

Throughout the 1950s, health care was handled by the RCMP or personnel at the HBC posts where there were no RCMP. Radio consultation with the doctor at Pangnirtung was required for serious cases.

Pneumonia plagued the area with 13 young babies or old people dying from the illness in 1955. The RCMP officer thought fewer would have died had a building been available for treatment and quarantine (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb 1955). While pleas for a medical centre continued in 1956, there were no serious epidemics during the year. Fatalities did result from flu and pneumonia nevertheless. Vitamin pills were distributed throughout the year for the children (NAC18/85/86/048/55bb1 1956). An epidemic of the flu occurred in 1957 resulting in a number of deaths. A nursing station was established at Hall Beach which was expected to benefit the people around Igloolik (NAC18/85/86/048/55cc 1957).

General health was good throughout the region in 1958. Incidences of TB were decreasing. The major concerns were the high frequencies of skin diseases and the unproportionately high rates of infant mortality (NAC18/85/86/048/55dd 1958). These same problems were mentioned as major concerns again in 1959 with even more skin problems. No serious epidemics occurred, however, although several deaths at Arctic Bay and Igloolik were thought to have been caused by polio (NAC18/85/86/048/55ee 1959).

By the end of 1959 there still were no nursing stations at Arctic Bay or Pond Inlet. Health matters were similar to previous years during 1960. Skin problems had decreased and there were no widespread outbreaks of disease except quite a few cases of whooping cough (NAC18/85/86/048/55ff 1961). Although health care facilities were still inadequate at Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet at the end of 1962, overall general health of the Inuit was good (NAC18/85/86/048/55hh 1963). A health building was finally constructed at Arctic Bay in 1962 but because materials for the structure had been stored and exposed to the weather since 1960, the building could not be used until repairs were made (NAC18/85/86/048/55ii 1963). Contrary to other parts of the region, those in Igloolik were reported as having very poor health during 1962. An epidemic of measles struck there in spring and summer

killing 10 people. The weakened state of health from the measles epidemic was believed to have led to increases in TB, colds, and pneumonia (NAC18/85/86/048/55jj 1963).

While nursing stations were still not established in Pond Inlet or Arctic Bay in 1963, general health of the Inuit was reasonably good. The RCMP handled health care in Pond Inlet and the HBC manager in Arctic Bay. Health in Igloolik was very poor with epidemics of measles and chicken pox. No deaths were recorded for these diseases, however. Several deaths resulted from trichinosis, apparently contracted from uncooked walrus meat (NAC18/85/86/048/55kk 1964).

While health was reasonably good in other areas, it seemed to be worse around Pond Inlet in 1964. The RCMP officer reiterated several times in the report about the need for a nursing station. He stated, "I feel the need for a Nursing Station at Pond Inlet can not be stressed too much", pointing out that the RCMP treated approximately 500 cases for the year (NAC18/85/86/048/55ll 1965). A nursing station was promised in 1965, to be built in 1966. While overall health was good during 1965, the RCMP officer still stressed the importance that the nursing station should indeed be constructed (NAC18/85/86/048/55mm 1966).

A small health centre was opened in Igloolik during 1965. Pneumonia caused the majority of deaths in the area, but overall health was good. It was noted that Inuit midwives delivered most of the babies during the year (NAC18/85/86/048/56a 1966). Health at Pond Inlet in 1966, however, was not good. Total number of cases treated increased from 500 in 1965 to 1091 in 1966. Tuberculosis continued to be a problem. It was noted that more supplies were provided during the year, especially vaccinations, so that more people could be handled. A nursing station was opened in September and included an x-ray unit. Comments were made about the Inuit's fondness for gum and candy would most likely lead to a decline in dental health (NAC18/85/86/048/55nn

1967).

Nursing facilities were greatly expanded in Igloolik in 1966 with three registered nurses stationed there. General health was good and rates of infant mortality declined substantially, which the RCMP officer attributed to the improved nursing facilities (NAC18/85/86/048/56b 1967). The first full year for the nursing station at Pond Inlet was 1967. Epidemics of measles, influenza, and colds struck most, if not all, Inuit there. The birth rate increased and the death rate decreased, however, and overall health in Arctic Bay and Pond Inlet was fairly good. It was observed that the teeth of Inuit were good except those of families of full time employees. These people could afford candy, gum, and pop (NAC18/85/86/048/5500 1968). According to the RCMP officer in Igloolik, Inuit health improved due to the conscientious and competent work of the three nurses stationed there. Tuberculosis was still prevalent as well as pneumonia but overall health was good (NAC18/85/86/048/56cc 1968). By the end of 1968 a registered nurse was posted to Arctic Bay. Two nurses were stationed at Pond Inlet. General health was good and attributed to better medical attention. Tuberculosis continued to be contracted, however (NAC18/85/86/048/55rr 1969). Conditions were very similar at Igloolik with the exception that no cases of TB were discovered (NAC18/85/86/048/56d 1969).

A6. RESOLUTE

A6.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1953:

On 7 September 1953, four families of 23 Inuit from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet disembarked at Resolute to begin their new lives in the High Arctic. Sufficient country food was obtained upon their arrival and there did not seem to be any concern about the availability of food for the winter. Residents lived in tents with snow igloos being built for the winter. The Inuit camp was about 7 km from the airbase. A community centre approximately 9m by 5m was constructed out of discarded packing boxes from the base. During the winter it was used as a workshop and church. The RCMP officer also used it as a classroom to instruct children. The officer ordered ivory and soapstone so the Inuit could carve during the dark period of winter. Camp morale was high and everyone said they were happy in their new home (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14b 1953).

1954:

Since arrival at Resolute the only Inuit allowed on the airbase were those employed there. The first time all Inuit visited the base was in 1954 when the CBC wanted to film them and lighting was too poor in the Inuit camp so they shot them in buildings on base. Contact with Whites was kept to a minimum so that Inuit would practise more traditional hunting and trapping activities. Indeed, the Inuit never had to receive food rations from the airbase as there was plenty of country food caught or other food purchased at the local store. Fox pelts were the primary source of income. The RCMP officer decided not to encourage carving as he did not want the Inuit to depend on this for their livelihoods. Comments were made by the officer concerning whether more people should be moved to Resolute. He thought that the game resources could support more people. If Ottawa decided to bring in more

Inuit, however, the RCMP officer encouraged DNA to allow more time and thought to be put into planning the project. Apparently the RCMP officer at Resolute had a minimum of time when he was assigned to Port Harrison to choose volunteers to move north. Also, it was the sole responsibility of this officer to assist the Inuit in settling in at Resolute (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14c 1954).

1955:

Life seemed to be progressing smoothly for the Inuit in Resolute during 1955. All stated they were content and wished to remain for a longer period of time. They were, however, very interested in having other Inuit from their homelands join them. The RCMP officer was in favour of such a move as he thought the area could support at least four more families. The officer suggested that if more Inuit were moved, they be flown to Resolute to avoid the lengthy trip by ship (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14d 1955).

1956:

Three large DNA buildings were brought to the Inuit camp during 1956 but because of cold weather were not ready for use by winter. The RCMP officer suggested the buildings be used for a school/recreation centre, a retail store, and a warehouse. Inuit expressed a desire to collectively purchase and operate two large power boats for hunting. They had enough money to purchase these outright. The RCMP officer, however, thought that only one power boat be bought. This was because one boat would be easier to maintain but, more importantly, with one boat the RCMP officer could supervise hunting and make sure animal conservation was practised.

Overall, the economy at Resolute appeared very good. One example was that an Inuk hunter, when living in Port Harrison, had poor

equipment and lived entirely on Family Allowance and welfare relief. This same man at Resolute owned his own winter home and had several dozen traps, a good sled, rifle and shotgun, and a team of 10 good dogs. While people seemed satisfied with Resolute, all experienced a desire to return to their homeland for perhaps one year to visit friends and relatives (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14e 1956).

1957:

By summer 1957, the Inuit village consisted of 11 wooden houses used as winter quarters only. They were made entirely from scrap materials discarded from the airbase. Each house had a home-made stove for heating and cooking, fuelled by scrap wood from the airbase dump. All houses had one light fixture with power supplied by DOT. With insulation obtained by the RCMP officer, the houses were quite comfortable and warm. No other socio-economic conditions were mentioned in the report (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14f 1957).

1958:

Apparently more people did move to Resolute as in 1958 the population was 70, including those confined to southern hospitals. All people lived in homes made of scrap lumber with furniture also having been discarded by the RCAF. Most of their clothing was store-bought although a good portion of it was sewn from bulk material purchased at the local trading store. While hunting and trapping were the primary sources of income, during the spring and summer some of the Inuit men were employed part-time by various government departments and the RCAF. Other than for employment, the only time Inuit were allowed to visit the airbase was when they wished to see the RCMP office there. Similarly, the Inuit village was out of bounds to all White people unless permission was obtained from the RCMP.

Hunters were fairly well equipped and, since 1956, six new boats and four outboard motors had been purchased. Morale was very high except for a few men whose wives had been hospitalized in the south for the past three years. All Inuit, though, advised the RCMP that they were very happy at Resolute and under no circumstances would they consider returning to their original homes. They further stated that since moving, they have never been hungry, had good homes, and most had considerable savings (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g 1959).

1959:

Overall, economic and social conditions at Resolute seemed very good throughout 1959. Revenue from trapping, casual labour, and carvings allowed the Inuit to enjoy a good living and they had many luxury goods such as radios, tape recorders, phonographs, irons, and electric sewing machines. Four men were permanently employed, one as a caretaker for the school and three at the RCAF Survival School. Morale was very good except for two men whose wives were absent in hospital and one man whose wife had died. A potential problem, however, was the hostility between Port Harrison and Pond Inlet Inuit. Openly they got along well but in private conversations with the RCMP officer they clearly expressed a dislike towards each other. Another potential problem was that nearly all residents from Port Harrison were encouraging their relatives to move to Resolute. This also included relatives from Grise Fiord. The RCMP officer was concerned that if all these people moved, the area would definitely be overpopulated (NAC18/TA-5008-1-14h 1960).

1960:

Concerns over an influx of relatives and friends from Port Harrison and Grise Fiord reached the administrative level at DNA during 1960. The recommendations by the RCMP at Resolute that game resources were insufficient to provide for a greater number of people were agreed

upon by administrators. While officials could not prevent the movement of Inuit as they were Canadian citizens, a letter was written by C.M. Bolger, the Administrator of the Arctic at DNA, strongly encouraging Resolute Inuit not to bring others to the settlement. He stated to the Inuit that not enough was known about animals in the area and whether it could sustain a larger human population. He wrote, "Until we study this and have more information, we do not think it wise to bring any more Eskimos into the region because the additional hunting might deplete the game and there would not be enough for everyone...because we want you to remain successful and have plenty of food, we prefer that you do not encourage your relations and friends to come to Resolute Bay at this time" (NAC85/1951 1960).

With a total Inuit population of 78, the Resolute economy seemed sufficient for their needs. Four men were permanently employed, one as a caretaker for the school, one by the RCAF base as a cleaner, and two by the RCAF Survival School. Hunting, trapping, carving, and casual labour provided income for the others. In November, the Resolute Eskimo Co-op was formed and it was hoped interest and activity for this endeavour would grow. The RCMP officer actively participated in the formation of the Co-op and taught management skills to those interested. People continued to live in houses constructed from discarded lumber. Electricity was free but oil for heating had to be purchased through the Co-op. Morale remained very high. The only problem was that Inuit men occasionally got drunk at the RCAF canteen and sometimes caused disturbances. Only men who worked for the base, permanently or temporarily, had the privilege of going to the bar (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961).

1961:

More purchases were being made by residents of Resolute in 1961. The Co-op and mail order stores provided much of these goods. Most

homes had new stoves and house furnishings although the structures were still of discarded lumber. An additional Inuk was employed by the RCAF Survival School, bringing the total permanently employed Inuit to five. Morale was very high for the year but the RCAF Commanding Officer revoked any drinking privileges of the Inuit. There had been too many domestic squabbles after men returned home from a night of drinking (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14j 1962).

1962:

Socio-economic conditions remained good throughout 1962. Furnishings and other household items continued to be purchased and homes were kept in good condition. New hunting equipment was also purchased. Nine Inuit were employed permanently, three of whom were mechanics and equipment operators. Two or three movies a week were provided by the RCAF and were very popular with all residents. A Boy Scout Troop was formed by men at the RCAF and the 11 boys in the troop were very active with scouting activities. Morale remained very high. Inuit continued to be banned from purchasing alcohol. Although some Inuit men disagreed with this rule, their home life and work had improved and all the women in the settlement were happy to have the ban enforced (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963).

1963:

Mention was made several times in the RCMP report for 1963 about the prosperous economy of the Inuit at Resolute. It was reported that no welfare problems existed as all people were financially well off. Ten Inuit were permanently employed. One out of the eight hired at the RCAF base was fired during the year for drinking on duty. He had been a janitor at the canteen and as he cleaned he had been drinking the beer remaining in beer cans. There was concern over whether the RCAF jobs

would continue as the RCAF was leaving the airbase and turning it over to DOT. Social life continued to be good with movies shown several times a week. A Boy Scout Troop was still active and the wife of the school teacher was forming a Girl Guides Troop. Morale continued to remain high except for families with sick members. Animosity between the groups from Port Harrison and Pond Inlet greatly diminished due to marriages between the groups. Inuit were still forbidden to purchase alcoholic beverages (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14k 1964).

1964:

Jobs were lost in 1964 when the RCAF no longer ran the airbase. Only five Inuit were permanently employed in the settlement. Temporary jobs increased, however, and overall employment remained about the same as in the previous year. Four new houses were added to the settlement with material purchased from the local Co-op. Two trailer units were purchased from an oil drilling firm. All houses were adequate for the needs of the community. Many items of hunting equipment were bought including 11 ski-doos. In addition to fox pelts and sealskin sales, polar bear hides brought in much income. General morale was high except amongst those who were laid off. Several people expressed a desire to visit friends in Port Harrison or Pond Inlet although, overall, residents were content with life at Resolute (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-141 1965).

1965:

Employment conditions improved during 1965 with 12 Inuit permanently employed. All the rest of the men in the settlement were able to gain temporary employment by the various government and private agencies operating in the area. One new home was purchased through the Co-op with new furnishings added to many of the older homes. The RCMP officer thought the Inuit had been using their money wisely. Most of

the Inuit owned ski-doo's and hunting and trapping was still an important component of the economy. The Boy Scout Troop was still very active and popular. A committee of four airbase (DOT) personnel, an Inuk, and the RCMP officer administered the troop and offered instruction. Overall morale was good. It was thought that restrictions on purchasing alcohol at the base canteen contributed to the relatively good quality of life enjoyed at Resolute. Equally important was that White people stationed at Resolute were still forbidden to visit the Inuit settlement unless they had permission from the RCMP (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966).

1966:

Throughout the 1960s, clothing in Resolute consisted primarily of store-bought material with boots made of seal and cold-weather parkas of caribou. During 1966, however, even these were being replaced by southern material. Sealskin footwear was being replaced by flight boots and caribou wind pants by nylon fabric. Housing was still considered good with prefabricated homes supplied by DIAND being promised for 1967. Permanent employment remained steady with 12 Inuit still hired. Most all other Inuit men obtained temporary employment throughout the year in addition to hunting and trapping activities. Indeed, the RCMP officer pointed out that employment seemed to be the main concern of the adult male population. They had come to realize the benefits and security employment provided compared to the hardships encountered in their old way of life.

Only one full time hunter remained, but he had no problem providing for his family. Ski-doo's enabled the other Inuit to hunt on a part-time basis. Morale continued to be good with additional social activities of bingo and curling. Also, an area administrator from DIAND was assigned to the community. Comments were made, however, about situations which could lead to problems in future. It was noted that the 12 Inuit hired permanently had been granted membership in the base

social club. This allowed them full bar privileges. Another comment indicated that there were concerns over work performance by the Inuit employed at White establishments in the area.

The Eskimos at Resolute Bay, as in other parts of the Arctic, realize that they are able to skip a day's work, present a feeble excuse, and get away with it, however, as the cry seems to be equal pay to their White counterparts, it appears that the employer concerned should expect equal performance and reliability. To this end, it could very well mean that employers will find it necessary to take sterner measures in hiring and firing Eskimo labour in the future. As well as being educated to preserve that which is given to him, the Eskimo should be educated to the extent that he fully realizes that wage rates depend on capability, performance and reliability (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967).

1967:

Very little new information was conveyed in the RCMP report of 1967 as the officer had only been assigned to Resolute for a short time. Mention was made that five families obtained new housing during the year and all 21 occupied houses were in good shape. Several new Inuit run organizations were formed during the year. A social club sponsored movies and other recreational events. A community council was convened to look at common problems in the settlement. Also, a housing authority was organized to look after the new houses being built. Almost all Inuit had been able to obtain full or part time employment and the RCMP officer stated that it appeared that hunting was only a secondary source of income for the majority of Inuit. The only other comment of interest was that the Inuit appeared happy and most of the families were financially secure (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14o 1968).

1968:

If previous RCMP reports portrayed overall conditions in Resolute as being good, the report from 1968 presents more negative problems in the high Arctic community. The most positive comment made was that the Inuit were in good spirits most of the time. Regardless of their morale, however, the RCMP officer presented data indicating a variety of

problems present in the settlement (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

One problem concerned the debt which Inuit accumulated since 1966. Many families were in debt to the Co-op between \$500 and \$1500. In addition, all people owed the Co-op between \$19,000 and \$33,000 combined for fuel oil over a two or three year period. Apparently individuals helped themselves to oil with no supervision or proper accounting of what they took. The Co-op also ran out of food early in December 1968. In looking at the bookkeeping of the Co-op, the RCMP officer and an official from DIAND discovered that not enough food had been ordered. The manager had ordered an excess of chewing gum, candy, and other non-essential items rather than staple food. This was exacerbated by the fact that Inuit were relying more on store bought food than country food. By the last of December, people had been without meat for anywhere from one to two months and were living primarily off of tea and bannock. This was pointed out to the DIAND Area Administer who then ordered food from the Project Manager on the base. The project manager then supplied meat and salt for the Co-op to sell. The RCMP officer strongly recommended that a responsible, energetic, and patient [White] person be brought in to manage the Co-op (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

Although all Inuit who wanted to work found full or part time employment, their work habits were not up to the expectations of the employers. The RCMP officer kept track of earnings and/or work days missed over periods at the end of 1968 and beginning of 1969. From 2 November 1968 to 16 November 1968, the 10 Inuit permanently employed at the base could have earned \$2123. Instead, they took many days off and earned only \$1376. From 9 December 1968 to 4 January 1969, nine Inuit could have worked 198 work days but missed 52 (26%) of the total possible. From 4 January 1969 to 14 January 1969, seven employees missed 30, (54%) out of 56 days that could have been worked. In addition, these workers were provided with three full meals a day. This led to neglect of the men's families, who had to obtain food themselves.

It was proposed that employees only receive one meal a day, lunch. The men were then credited for breakfast and supper at the Co-op and thus would have to purchase food for their families as well as eat with them (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

A social problem which had to be dealt with by the RCMP was the increasing problem of drinking too much liquor. Indeed, the social club formed previously was disbanded as people preferred to watch movies at the base and then go to the bar. (Granted, one other reason for disbanding the club was that admission was charged to watch movies borrowed free from the base.) Base employees could sign friends into the bar and once they arrived and drank, it was difficult for White personnel to get some Inuit to go home. Often Inuit would be found wandering through the buildings at 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning. One fatality occurred when an Inuk drove his ski-doo while drunk, got lost, and froze to death. White personnel, who were males, were also part of the problem as they bought copious quantities of liquor for Inuit men and then proceeded to fondle and kiss their wives. One White man was also caught selling a bottle of Scotch whisky to an Inuk. One criminal incident of mischief and one of breaking and entering with assault involved two Inuit on separate occasions in late 1968.

Responses to these incidences resulted in base personnel being warned against selling Inuit too much liquor. They were quite cooperative in working to alleviate the drinking problem at the base. Also, showtimes for movies were altered so that they finished near bar-closing time and the Inuit did not have enough time to get drunk before going home. Again, the RCMP officer recommended that someone be stationed at Resolute to oversee social and welfare activities of the Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

A6.2 Education.

Pupils were attending school at Resolute in 1959. Children showed great interest in their education and the RCMP officer thought they were progressing further than other communities which had had school for several years (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14h 1960). Education courses were expanded in 1960 to include adults. The school teacher started evening classes in English for men while his wife taught home economics for local women. The classes were well attended (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961). Regular courses for children and night classes for adults continued throughout the 1960s. In the report for 1962, the RCMP officer suggested that young men be sent to trade school in Yellowknife to learn skills such as mechanics, heavy equipment operation, carpentry, and plumbing. Jobs needing these skills were being filled in Resolute by southerners on six month contracts. It was thought that the community would benefit if these and other positions could be filled by Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963). Recommendations for outside training were again made for 1964. There was great need for painting the buildings at the airbase and other White establishments. Because few other labour jobs were available it was thought that Inuit could take short painting courses and then get jobs painting at Resolute (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14l 1965).

Two Inuit were chosen in 1965 to be sent south for training in painting. It is unknown whether they actually went. Another Inuk did leave Resolute in 1965 for training as a fur grader so he could clear fur shipments for export once he returned to Resolute. Classes at the school in the settlement during 1965 continued as usual. English and child care classes were conducted for adults by the school teacher and his wife (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966). Although unknown whether education in Resolute proceeded without any problems throughout the 1960s or if the RCMP officers did not consider mention of education necessary in their reports, no further discussion of the topic was

included from 1966 to 1968.

A6.3 Health and Health Care.

During the few months after their arrival at Resolute in 1953, there was no sickness amongst the Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14bb 1953). No major health problems were reported during the 1950s except TB. In 1958, four Inuit were evacuated and a total of 12 Inuit from Resolute were in the south undergoing treatment for the illness. The only other health problem during 1958 was a mild epidemic of influenza which led to the death of a one year old baby (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14g 1959). Only five Inuit were in southern hospitals by the end of 1959. During this year, the health of residents at Resolute was described as extremely good. The RCMP officer thought that one reason for good health was that the Inuit were extremely clean, especially in comparison to those the officer worked with on southern Baffin Island. Health care was administered by the RCMP although the RCAF medic at the airbase could be consulted if a health problem occurred beyond the officer's knowledge (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14h 1960).

The main health problem during 1960 was a large increase in respiratory illnesses contracted by the Inuit after an influx of Whites during the summer. By September, measures were taken to restrict contact between Whites and Inuit and there was a discernable decrease in the illness. No other serious outbreaks of disease were reported although two babies died of pneumonia. There were seven people in southern hospitals during the year, five for TB, one for respiratory infection, and one for bronchiectasis and congestive heart failure. Serious or emergency health cases were flown six hours to Churchill, Manitoba or in extreme emergencies, evacuations were arranged to the much nearer USAF Hospital in Thule, Greenland. The RCMP officer continued to be responsible for medical treatment with frequent assistance from the RCAF Medic (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14i 1961).

Health remained good throughout 1961. The RCMP officer and RCAF Medic arranged weekly Saturday medical visits to all Inuit homes, thus enabling them to treat illness in the early stages. No serious outbreaks of sickness occurred during the year although two out of the eight people hospitalized in the south had epilepsy (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14j 1962). Weekly medical checks continued in 1962. Overall health was generally good and most illnesses were diagnosed and treated in their early stages. Serious medical cases were evacuated to Edmonton or Thule. Two babies died during the year and six other Inuit were in southern hospitals, five with TB and one with mental illness (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14jj 1963). General health continued to be good in 1964 although nine people were evacuated, mainly to Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton. Seven of them had TB, one was an accident victim with a crushed foot, and one had an apparent brain haemorrhage. A mild case of measles struck all young children in August but there were no complications and everyone recovered. No other sickness occurred, as reflected by the absentee rate for illness at the school being nearly nil (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14k 1964).

As in other Arctic communities, tuberculosis was a problem well into the 1960s. Four people were evacuated with TB from Resolute in 1964. Measles also afflicted many of the Inuit with a 18 month old child dying as a result of measles and pneumonia. No other serious outbreaks of disease were reported during 1964 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14l 1965). Patients with TB must have made recoveries during 1965 as only two Resolute Inuit were in hospital with the disease at the end of the year. Overall health was good and no outbreaks of illness reported (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14m 1966). Health was good in 1966 although an influenza epidemic struck in April resulting in the death of a 33 year old woman. Also, in 1966, Resolute increasingly became a transfer point for patients from Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet, and Arctic Bay en route to Frobisher Bay. Seriously ill or injured Resolute Inuit continued to be

evacuated to Edmonton or Thule (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14n 1967).

Although a number of epidemics were recorded during 1967, general health was thought to be average by the RCMP officer who had not been in Resolute long when he wrote his report. The airbase continued to be a transfer point for ill Inuit from Grise Fiord, Pond Inlet, and Arctic Bay (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14o 1968). During 1968, the general health of the population was good. A nursing station was established in the community in June and health care in Resolute became the responsibility of a registered nurse. There were 31 people who had TB residing in the settlement but all were on medication (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-14p 1969).

A7. GRISE FIORD

A7.1 Socio-economic Conditions.

1953:

The officer writing the first RCMP annual report on conditions of Inuit at Grise Fiord began by stating they were transferred by the government under a new rehabilitation programme under experimentation. Four families arrived at Craig Harbour from Port Harrison, Québec and two from Pond Inlet on two different ships on 29 August and 4 September. All families were gradually transferred by police boat to an area on Lindstrom Peninsula near the mouth of Grise Fiord approximately 60 km west of Craig Harbour. The RCMP officer chose this location because he did not want the Inuit too near the RCMP post, which could lead to loitering and dependence on handouts. Also, the site was far enough away from the main feeding grounds of caribou and musk-ox that overhunting would not occur. It was thought, however, that the Inuit would move farther west within a year to a location which afforded a better harbour.

The RCMP supervised caribou and seal hunts in order to assure that the newcomers had enough food for the coming winter. Food and clothing rations were also given as the Inuit were starting their new lives essentially without funds. Both Pond Inlet and Port Harrison families were put together as one group and a headman from Port Harrison appointed to be their leader. This man was also designated trader at Craig Harbour. There was little friction between the groups and they appeared to co-operate well. The chief difference was that the Port Harrison group was more used to White society's clothing and food. They seemed to adapt to more traditional ways, however, with the aid of those from Pond Inlet. All Inuit lived in tents as there was not enough suitable snow for igloos. Skin clothing was inadequate, though, especially for the children. Skins were provided by the RCMP and orders placed for more. Inuit were encouraged to use sealskin clothing as much

as possible although many preferred southern garments. The economy was based on fox trapping with carving of ivory encouraged by the RCMP. A small RCMP boat was used free of charge for hunting with gasoline and oil also provided until the economy could sustain Inuit purchased equipment. Overall, it was thought that the Inuit were happy and content in their new residences and there were no indications that any wanted to return to their homeland (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5a 1953).

1954:

Inuit apparently adapted well economically to their new home during the first year after their move. Approximately 365 fox pelts were traded and a sufficient number of seal and rabbit caught for human and dog consumption. Post Harrison Inuit also ate fox. Clothing was reported as being very good and caribou and sealskin utilized for most garments. There was a lack of dogs but more were expected by 1955. Spare lumber, left over from construction of a trading store at Craig Harbour, was given to the Inuit who then used it to build floors and frames for tents. Bison skins supplied by DNA surrounded the canvas and old magazines lined the inside walls. All these homes were described as being warm and clean. The relatively good state of the local economy was reflected by the continual improvement and purchasing of tents, cooking and eating utensils, primus stoves, harpoons, knives, rifles, and other home and hunting necessities. A new trader was recruited by the RCMP from the Inuit camp for the post at Craig Harbour as the previous trader died during the year from a heart attack. All Inuit, especially those from Port Harrison, seemed very satisfied with their new place of residence. Everyone had enough food and no one requested relief. Carving provided supplemental income with soapstone imported from other Arctic regions. Overall morale was high and there were no difficulties between the two groups of Inuit (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5b 1954).

1955:

Although fox trapping was not too successful towards the end of 1955, for the entire year enough pelts were traded to provide adequate incomes for Grise Fiord hunters. In addition, food and clothing sources were adequate. All types of seal plus walrus, beluga, and caribou were utilized. Clothing was very good with some articles made from store-bought caribou skins imported to Craig Harbour. One family from Port Harrison moved to Grise Fiord during the year. Housing was similar to 1954 although canvas was used more as lining, both inside and outside the tent, with moss acting as insulation between canvas layers. Some Inuit were actively saving money to purchase hunting equipment such as boats and outboard motors. The RCMP boat previously used on loan was purchased outright by one hunter and used by the entire camp. No one stated that they wanted to move back to their homeland although the RCMP officer expected that they would. Several wanted relatives to move to Grise Fiord. The two groups of Inuit continued to get along quite well (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c 1956).

1956:

The RCMP post was moved to Grise Fiord from Craig Harbour during 1956. Income during 1956 continued to be derived from fur sales, carvings, Family Allowances, and casual labour. Resources were abundant enough throughout the year to provide sufficient dog and human food. Clothing was adequate but a shortage of caribou skin was evident. Housing was similar to previous years with the Port Harrison families expanding their homes in floor space and height. Overall conditions were good and the RCMP officer did not state that any major problems existed (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5d 1957).

1957:

Trading, especially in fox pelts, increased over 1956 and led to

the best fur yield since people were moved to the area. Migration occurred in and out of Grise Fiord but the reasons were all associated with family matters. One family returned to Pond Inlet to care for elderly parents and one man left to seek a wife. Another man arrived in Grise Fiord in transit from Alexandra Fiord to Pond Inlet but instead got married to a Grise Fiord woman and settled in the area. One widow and her daughter moved from Arctic Bay to Grise Fiord in order to live with relatives. Other than that, no major changes occurred in the area. Morale seemed good, everyone was active, and no one loitered or relied on relief (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5e 1957).

1958:

With the additions of three families during 1958, the total population around Grise Fiord was 43 people in 11 families. The Inuit camp was situated 11 km west of Grise Fiord settlement. Trapping was the primary source of income as well as carving and Family Allowances. All Inuit were reported as being debt free and the majority had accumulated substantial credits. Housing, especially by those native to Port Harrison, was continually being improved and expanded, primarily with scrap material. Morale was very low for a short period during the year after the accidental drowning of two children from one family. At the same time, staple food items had been depleted from the trading post. Upon arrival of more goods on the supply ship, morale improved. No major problems were encountered during the year (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5f 1959).

1959:

Mention was made in the RCMP report for 1959 that the Inuit camp was divided into two separate groups. One camp of 16 persons consisted of people from Pond Inlet and the other camp, five kilometres further west, was inhabited by 24 people from Port Harrison. Two families of 18

people resided in Grise Fiord settlement. General socio-economic conditions in 1959 remained similar to previous years. The RCMP officer organized a project in the Inuit camp whereby he had people make articles pertaining to their old way of life. These included a kayak, snow goggles, bow drills, fishing spears, bow and arrow sets, and harpoons. He then sent them to Ottawa to be sold. The articles grossed \$247 which was credited to Inuit accounts in Grise Fiord. By the end of August, building materials for low-cost housing had arrived and five houses were built by the end of September. Loans to purchase the houses came from DNA. People still seemed pleased to be living in the area although one man said he would like to move his family to Resolute so that he could be with his brother. The RCMP officer discouraged this move as he thought others may want to follow. Other than that, no major problems were encountered (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5g 1960).

1960:

Camps continued to be divided with families from Port Harrison living to the west of the camp from Pond Inlet. Four families lived in Grise Fiord settlement, all but one coming from outside the area. Although trading in fox pelts decreased substantially from 1959, total income remained approximately the same as revenues from carving, sealskins, Family Allowances, and wage employment increased. In addition to carvings, Inuit continued to manufacture old-style articles such as kayaks and harpoons for sale through the DNA in Ottawa. Clothing and food were adequate for Inuit needs. Two new low-cost housing units were built with more on order. Overall, the RCMP officer concluded that morale was high, that the Grise Fiord area had very good Inuit camps, and that the Inuit were generally healthy and happy (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5h 1961).

1961:

Only two families lived at Grise Fiord settlement in 1961. The heads of these families were Special Constables with the RCMP. Most all clothing worn in the area was store-bought, ready-made garments, or material which was sewn into clothing. Three new houses were built bringing the total to 10. All houses were rigid frame, 3.6m X 4.8m, and usually sheltered a family of five or six people. They cost \$640 per unit. They were heated by small fuel oil burning stoves. The oil was paid for by the resident at approximately \$175 per year. All homes were kept exceptionally neat and orderly.

Hunting and trapping remained the primary activity of the Inuit. Seal was the staple diet and very little outside food was purchased except flour and sugar. On 22 December 1960 a co-operative was formed which took over all matters of trading and retail goods. It was very successful throughout 1961. Morale remained high partly due to the entertainment offered for the Inuit. This consisted of periodic films from the National Film Board, regular radio programmes over CBC Northern Service, and broadcasts from Greenland.

As a school was to be built in 1962, the RCMP officer had to decide and justify where the building would be constructed. It was decided that the best location was near the RCMP building at Grise Fiord settlement. Most of the reasoning for choosing this site focused on weather conditions, access to drinking water and harbour, and available land for the community to expand. It was fully realized that all Inuit would relocate near the school once it was built so that families could remain together. Again, overall conditions were described as very good and no major problems encountered (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5i 1962).

1962:

Just as predicted, in May and June, 1962, all Inuit moved from their camps and rebuilt their homes in Grise Fiord settlement which was

13 km to the east. They divided the community with Pond Inlet families to the west of the RCMP post and Port Harrison families to the east. While people appeared very happy and lived comfortably in their homes, the majority had to have welfare relief from the government as the prices paid for fox pelts declined drastically. Two men continued to be employed as Special Constables and one man worked for the new federal school. In addition to classes, the school was used for social activities such as square dances which were held every other week. The Co-operative continued to function well and overall conditions remained good. The RCMP officer reported there had never been any crime since Inuit were moved there in 1953 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962).

1963:

Morale in Grise Fiord during 1963 was thought by the RCMP officer to be at an all time high. All but two men in the settlement owned their own homes although several houses were too small. Construction projects, such as the building of a single men's residence and office quarters for the RCMP, employed Inuit labour. Along with earnings from furs and carvings, income for the year was good. Perhaps the biggest morale boosters, however, were the social activities which residents enjoyed. In addition to dances and films, classes were conducted in sewing, cooking, art, and music. Also, Girl Guides and Wolf Cub troops were formed. The CBC Northern Service radio programmes were extremely popular and the Inuit showed a keen interest in news reports. The RCMP officer was involved in many discussions with the Inuit after the assassination of U.S. President Kennedy. People desired to know more about the structure of the United States Government and the effect Kennedy's death would have on Canada and other nations. The only major problem was the concern the RCMP officer had for the future economy of the region. He thought that income levels were bound to drop after the community was built up and new construction ceased (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k

1963).

1964:

Socio-economic conditions were similar in 1964 to those of previous years. Residents obtained income from furs, carvings, casual labour, and Family Allowances. Four families were on welfare. Heads of the household in three of these cases were widows with young children and one of these families consisted of a 62 year old man with a chronic heart ailment and his wife and young daughter. These people obtained their assistance in the form of food and clothing purchased from the Co-operative trading store. No other person in Grise Fiord asked for or received welfare relief. The only problem which concerned the RCMP officer was the increasing instances of home beer brewing. While this had not yet created adverse conditions, the officer was not optimistic that that would be the case in future. The RCMP officer also seemed sincerely concerned about other aspects of Inuit life. He concluded his report,

The native people here are to be admired for their honesty and initiative in situations that are at times quite trying. There is no lack for the necessities of life and sufficient game is available for their requirements. With a greater variety of 'extras' available to them in the co-operative store or through the mail order catalogues, there is occasionally a tendency for them to misspend some of their earnings. It is felt that guidance along this line must constantly be afforded them so they can realize for themselves that it is to their own advantage to have a reserve of cash, rather than some item which does not prove to be useful to them. Co-operation between D.N.A. and this force in regard to all community affairs is very good, and will no doubt aid in the correction of any such situations (NAC28/TA-500-8-1-51 1965).

1965:

Although overall conditions were not appreciably different from past years, several indicators of Inuit attitudinal change from more traditional to more modern were reported by the RCMP officer for 1965. Very few men pursued carving for supplemental income and expressed an increasing desire to work as casual labourers rather than making a

living from hunting alone. This was attributed by the RCMP officer as being caused by Inuit having permanent homes, children attending schools, and fluctuations in fur prices. Construction in the settlement was extensive enough to provide income to each of the families living there. One result, however, was the increasing tendency to purchase items which were not beneficial or economically practical. This was brought about by mail-order catalogues and the ease in which a variety of items could be obtained. None of the families were financially sound except the two Special Constables. The RCMP actively encouraged more fiscal responsibility. The only other major problem during the year concerned one man and his home brewing of beer. This person made threats to villagers (apparently while drunk), claiming he would shoot all the men in the settlement. He was flown south for observation and mental assessment and then he and his family relocated to Frobisher Bay (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m 1966).

1966:

Seven new prefabricated homes were built in Grise Fiord during 1966. While all Inuit had wooden frame homes, five families occupied houses which were either too small or below standard. More were on order, though, for 1967. Other than housing construction, there were very few wage labour jobs in the settlement. Hunting and trapping still were the main sources of income. Overall financial conditions were fair but often Inuit still purchased articles which they did not need. While morale was quite high, there was a definite tendency for people to segregate themselves socially into groups based on being from Pond Inlet or Port Harrison. Three families expressed a desire to return to their homeland because of dissatisfaction of overall community feelings towards each other (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5n 1967).

1967:

By the end of 1967, all families in Grise Fiord lived in new, three bedroom houses. People took great pride in them and kept their homes reasonably clean, thus contributing to the good health enjoyed in the community. All homes had tiled floors, a stove, oil-run space heater, table, chairs, beds, and a chemical toilet. These were provided by DNA with the prefabricated home. One item was lacking which seemed to puzzle the RCMP officer. This was a bath tub. The officer thought this would have been extremely beneficial towards the cleanliness of the Inuit.

The average monthly rent for housing was \$16 and covered the house, electricity, heating, fuel, garbage removal, and ice for water. While casual labour supplemented incomes, the primary source continued to be hunting and trapping. Only three Inuit men were permanently employed. Overall, other socio-economic conditions were adequate and no problems with liquor or beer were recorded. One concern continued to bother the RCMP officer, however. He wrote,

The greatest obstacle locally to morale is the noticeable division between the Pond Inlet and Port Harrison Eskimo. No form of leadership is evident with this division and no one Eskimo is willing to make decisions affecting the community. Having a representative from each group results in no communication between representatives and again no decision being made. This greatly hampers any community projects wherein the Eskimo is encouraged to organize, decide and produce results using his own initiative (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-50 1968).

1968:

The social division between natives of Pond Inlet and Port Harrison continued as strong as ever in 1968. This still did not seem to adversely effect overall socio-economic conditions, however. Hunting was the major income source with a few more men and younger boys making soapstone carvings to supplement their income. Most men were employed casually for construction, unloading ships, and hauling supplies, ice and garbage. One Inuk man became employed as a manager trainee for the Eskimo Co-operative and one man was sent to Alberta to train in oil

drilling and rig work. Business at the Co-operative expanded and a sharp increase was seen in sales of handicrafts, carvings, and ivory. Overall, conditions in Grise Fiord were good. Previous concerns over drinking had not materialized. All able Inuit were active and worked hard. Country food was plentiful (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

A7.2 Education.

Materials for a school did not arrive in Grise Fiord until 1961 with the structure being erected for use in 1962. The building served as a community centre in addition to classrooms. With the full co-operation of the teacher, the school also served as a workshop for Inuit pursuing carpentry work, stone carving, and other activities (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962). Very few comments concerning education were made by RCMP officers in the early 1960s. This may indicate that classes were running smoothly and that there were few problems associated with education. It was noted that during 1963, evening sewing and cooking classes were conducted at the school for women and these proved beneficial to their lives (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k 1963). No further mention was made about education until the report for 1966.

During 1966, classes for children were cancelled by the teacher on several occasions and reasons for their cancellation were not offered. This was causing consternation amongst the adults as families were living in the settlement so that their children could obtain schooling. They would move back to camps if the school was not in operation. This was especially frustrating to fathers as they had to decide whether to take older sons hunting or leave them behind to attend school. The RCMP officer could only hope that the problem would show improvement in future as he had no control over how the school was run (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5n 1967).

A new teacher operated the school from September 1967. The teacher must have been better as attendance became consistently high and

the children again showed a keen interest in school activities. Four older children from the settlement attended school in Fort Churchill, Manitoba. The RCMP officer stated that the boys did not like it there as they were unhappy with the strict discipline and wanted to return to the settlement and resume hunting activities. The girls, on the other hand, when returned for holidays, found Grise Fiord dull and dead and anxiously awaited their return to Fort Churchill. The officer was concerned as the girls showed no interest in the settlement activities or normal chores. He wondered what this bode for the future of these young women (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c 1968).

A second classroom was added to the school in 1968 and one additional teacher brought in. Both teachers appeared very capable and most of the children showed a keen interest in school. Three older pupils were still in Fort Churchill with a fourth in a tuberculosis hospital. One Inuk man had received training in Co-operative management in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Upon returning to Grise Fiord, he was further trained by the RCMP officer so that he could become the manager and Secretary-Treasurer of the Co-operative. The RCMP officer thought the Inuk was quite capable, showing a keen interest in his work (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

A7.3 Health and Health Care.

Upon arrival, and until the end of 1953, all Inuit enjoyed good health (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5a 1953). Medical care was given by the RCMP with periodic visits during ship time from outside doctors. No cases of severe sickness were reported throughout 1954 and the one death for the year resulted from a heart attack (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5b 1954). Again, in 1955, no severe cases of illness occurred although two children were evacuated to hospital with TB (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5c 1956). Good health was also the norm during 1956. A small boy broke his leg but RCMP members set it after consulting over the radio with a doctor in

Pangnirtung with no resulting complications. The medical team which arrived by ship to examine the Inuit commented that they were the healthiest Inuit they had encountered (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5d 1957).

The two children, a brother and sister, who had been in a southern hospital with TB arrived home in 1957. The boy could no longer speak Inuktitut but soon re-learned it. General health of all other Inuit remained very good although there was a steady increase in tooth decay most likely because of the increasing amounts of sugar and candy being consumed (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5e 1957). One serious illness occurred during 1958 when a nine year old boy contracted a severe cold which developed into pneumonia. Although he recovered from pneumonia, his eyes became covered with scar tissue resulting in much pain and headaches. The RCMP members did all they could, being advised by the doctor in Pangnirtung. Other than this illness and one girl evacuated with TB, the health of the Inuit remained good (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5f 1959).

The boy with eye trouble was evacuated by RCMP aircraft to Frobisher Bay hospital in 1959. An Inuk man was evacuated by RCAF aircraft with a stomach disorder. He recovered and returned by ship to Grise Fiord. General health was very good amongst other Inuit in the area (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5g 1960). There were no medical evacuations from Grise Fiord during 1960. The boy with eye trouble returned to the community and after a re-occurrence of the problem seemed to recover after receiving treatment from the RCMP. General health amongst the Inuit was good until the arrival of the supply ship in the summer. Everyone contracted severe chest colds after the ship left. Then in November, a severe outbreak of whooping cough and thrush broke out. One child died and several became seriously ill. By the end of the year all Inuit were well (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5h 1961).

General health was described as being excellent during 1961. The local RCMP continued to administer all medical aid with consultation by

radio with doctors of the Indian and Northern Health Services. Only one person, an Inuk boy, was evacuated south with TB (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5i 1962). Health continued to be excellent in 1962. The only common problem was that numerous infected teeth had to be extracted by RCMP members. The medical officer aboard the annual supply ship reported that on a per capita basis, Grise Fiord Inuit were the healthiest group of people in the eastern Arctic (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5j 1962). Although RCMP members treated 383 cases of sickness and injury during 1963, most consisted of common colds, aches, sprains, and other minor ailments. In addition, two dozen teeth had to be extracted. No serious diseases were contracted although one elderly man had a chronic heart problem and an elderly woman had arthritis and incontinence (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5k 1963).

Health conditions remained basically unchanged through 1964. Evacuations were necessary but these were a result of injury or complications during pregnancy rather than disease. Approximately 500 individual medical calls were made by the RCMP but these were primarily for common diseases or minor injuries. Other than the elderly people with continuing chronic problems, the only other concern was for the boy with eye trouble who was losing his eyesight during 1964 (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5l 1965). During 1965, overall health continued to be very good. Evacuations primarily were for injuries or complications with pregnancy. The boy with eye problems was taken to Frobisher Bay and then Montréal for treatment. It was also discovered that one older woman had polio but, although crippled, did not let her handicap keep her bed-ridden (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5m 1966). The general health of everyone also remained quite good throughout 1966. Common colds were the only widespread ailment and no evacuations were necessary (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5n 1967).

Health continued to be good in 1967 with no emergency evacuations. Five children, though, had to be taken to Frobisher Bay for massive extractions of decayed primary teeth. In addition, the RCMP officer

provided insight into how Inuit were treated by the medical survey team on the annual supply ship. This was the officer's first year in the community.

In August of 1967, the "C.D. Howe" visited the settlement and carried out an X-ray survey and medical examination of the people. This was my first experience with the medical ship and it left me with little impression. Prior to its arrival, the ship's helicopter landed in the settlement and immediately started shuttling the Eskimos out to the approaching ship. When the ship dropped anchor in the harbour, at 2.00 P.M., the helicopter had almost all of the people on board. They were herded below decks, an identifying number was stamped on their wrists in printing ink, and they were X-Rayed and examined. The lay dispenser [the RCMP] was never consulted with regards to any immediate problems or certain individuals who should be given special attention. At 8.00 P.M. the survey was over, the people were returned to the shore by barge and at 9.00 P.M. the ship was underway. On his last trip to shore, the helicopter pilot left an envelope containing a copy of the results of individual examinations, the contents of which are understandable only to a medical student (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5o 1968).

An outbreak of whooping cough occurred in 1968 but other than that, general health was good. One case of TB was discovered but other serious health problems consisted mainly of injuries and complications with pregnancy. On 2 December, medical duties were turned over from the RCMP to the wife of one of the school teachers. She was a registered nurse and well qualified for the job (NAC18/TA-500-8-1-5p 1969).

APPENDIX II: An example of an RCMP archive.

DIVISION FILE No. _____

DIVISION "G"
PROVINCE

SUB-DIVISION Eastern Arctic
N.W.T.

DETACHMENT Lake Harbour
DATE January 14th., 1960

FILE REFS.

Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally - Annual Report - Year ending December 31st., 1959. Lake Harbour, N.W.T. (LAKE HARBOUR DETACHMENT CASE)

HEADQUARTERS

1. With reference to the above, and to "G" Division "C" Dept. Policy Instructions ESK-NWT, the writer wishes to report the following information.

HEALTH

SUB-DIVISION

2. The Eskimo health in the Lake Harbour Detachment area could be considered fair. The annual T.B. X-ray aboard the C.G.S. "C.D.HOWE" examined the entire Lake Harbour native population. It will be noted with interest that 1959 was the first time in several years that the natives from Aberdeen Bay camp had been X-rayed, and that none were found to have the disease. In all nine Lake Harbour Eskimos were evacuated with T.B., or approximately 8 per cent of the total population. The writer has been given to understand that this is well above the Eastern Arctic average. Not all of these were new cases, however, as several of the Lake Harbour patients had been "south" to hospital before. The writer has also been given to understand that Cape Dorset too, had a successful T.B. survey. Some fourteen Cape Dorset natives were evacuated to southern hospitals, however, it is understood that further examination indicated that several of this number were not suffering from the disease.

DETACHMENT

60LH-6-43

F.C.R.

Oct 24 '59

A.R.V. NO.

3. The usual spring epidemics of influenza were noted at both Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset during 1959. This condition can usually be attributed to contact with visiting aircraft or dog teams, and although seldom fatal, often causes great hardship. One patient was removed from Lake Harbour during the spring of 1959 for mental reasons, and is made subject of Lake Harbour report under the file number 59-5-14. This patient has since returned to the settlement and would appear to be cured.

AT

4. The nursing station of the Indian and Northern Health Service is still in operation at Cape Dorset, however, the ~~corresponding~~ station at Lake Harbour was closed during the summer of 1959. Matters concerning Eskimo health at Lake Harbour now come under the control of members of this detachment, with any assistance necessary coming from I.N.H.S. Frobisher Bay, N.W.T.

STATE OF CLOTHING AND HABITATION

DIARY DATE

SIT FOR. 31-12-60

5. It would appear that the tendency to purchase manufactured clothing still exists in this area. Skin clothing is still used on the "Trail", however, when camp natives visit the settlements, native made boots are the only articles manufactured from animal skin to be seen. The clothing for the most part is clean and in a good state of repair.

(CONT'D ON PAGE TWO)

5. Continued . . .

This was very evident at Lake Harbour during the past Christmas season, when the writer noted that nearly all the Eskimo people, including children, were attired in new parkas.

6. The living quarters of the people in this area would appear to be improving. This is especially true of the Government sponsored housing program at Cape Dorset, and has been previously mentioned in the following report:

Conditions Amongst Eskimos Generally,
Cape Dorset, N.W.T.
(LAKE HARBOUR DET. CASE) dated Oct 24 '59

It is this writer's opinion that any improvement in Eskimo housing will also show a definite improvement in health, sanitation and cleanliness, and ~~the~~ will show a decrease in the very high Eskimo infant mortality rate.

MORALE

7. The writer feels safe in saying that the Eskimo morale in this area remains high. This would also tend to indicate that Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset Eskimos are for the most part happier than their brothers at Frobisher Bay. Wage employment and a much higher standard of living does not necessarily make Eskimo people happier. Morale at T.B. survey time is sometimes low, however, the people understand that if a person becomes infected it is best for him, and for his associates, that the proper medical attention be given. The new system of hospital patient progress reports being sent direct to relatives would appear to be excellent, in theory. However, should a patient leave an isolated post in late August or September, it is very likely that his relations will hear nothing of him until the Christmas Mail drop, if then. This of course is mainly due to lack of a mail service over the fall freezeup period, and it is appreciated that notification of hospital progress via radiogram would be too expensive. The Eskimo progress reports over the C.B.C. "NORTHERN MESSENGER SERVICE" from C.B.W. Manitoba do a lot towards keeping relatives informed of hospital progress, however, this service can in no way keep relatives informed on a weekly basis. Should the C.B.C. decide to establish a radio station in the north, it would then appear likely that hospital progress could be given at least twice per month, in the Eskimo native tongue. It will be noted that nearly all Eskimo camps in this area have at least one radio.

GENERAL ACTIVITIES AND PERSUITS

8. Hunting, and to a lesser extent trapping continue to be the major occupation of the men in this area. Hunting during 1959 could be considered average, or a little below average. Lake Harbour had excellent seal hunting during the month of July, however, the fall shooting was about average.

(CONT'D ON PAGE THREE)

8. Continued . . .

Cape Dorset reports a very poor walrus hunt this past fall, with a resulting shortage of dog food.

9. Nearly all native men wanting wage employment, obtained at least some in this area during the past year. One Government building was erected at Lake Harbour during the past summer, with native labor being used exclusively. Freight handling and ship or boat building also was available at this settlement. Hudson's Bay Company officials report that there is some doubt if the native boat building program will be continued in 1960, as the cost of the completed boat, F.O.B. Lake Harbour is fairly expensive. Cape Dorset also reported much wage employment during the past year. The newly developed tourist industry at that point accounted for much work. Construction and freighting work was also available.

10. ^{economy} Native carving and other handicrafts continue to play a great part in the lives of these people. A large amount of ivory carving is being done at Lake Harbour, with soapstone being used mainly at Cape Dorset. The women obtain a good wage from sewing, and their work continues to be of a very high standard. The Cape Dorset "CRAFT CENTRE" continues to produce excellent work, under the direction of the Area Administrator, and this small but important organization is bringing great satisfaction to its employees, both in money made and in knowing that they are doing a job well.

11. It would now seem that the Eskimo migration from Lake Harbour to Frobisher Bay has now stopped. Lake Harbour has no natives who are considering leaving for Frobisher Bay, and in fact several families are even considering returning to this settlement.

HUNTING EQUIPMENT AND DOGS

12. The hunting equipment in this area improves from year to year. All Eskimo men have at least one heavy rifle and one .22 rifle. These weapons for the most part have clean working parts, however, the outside of the barrel and stock could usually use some cleaning and repair. The Eskimo attitude towards this seems to be that the outer parts of the weapon are not directly involved in the shooting, therefore why bother keeping them clean and oiled. The Eskimo camp at Aberdeen Bay purchased a trap boat from the camp at Amadjuak Bay during 1959, and this boat seems well suited to the former's needs. Several smaller boats and engines were also purchased by Lake Harbour natives during 1959.

13. During late December of 1959 a severe dog disease began to appear at Lake Harbour. To date approximately fifty percent of the total dog population has died, and it would appear that few animals will survive. This matter has been made subject of Lake Harbour report dated 6-1-60, under the file number 60-5-1, the caption being: (CONT'D ON PAGE FOUR)

13. Continued . . . THE CAPTION BEING: . . .

Dog Diseases at Lake Harbour, Baffin Island, N.W.T.
(LAKE HARBOUR DET. CASE)

At present all of the native camps trading into the Lake Harbour post can muster at least one dog team (i.e. 6 to 8 animals), however, should these animals die, a severe relief and health problem might ~~be caused~~ at this point. Members of this detachment are keeping a close check on this matter, and if anything further develops, the necessary action will be taken.

POPULATION IN RELATION TO RESOURCES OF DISTRICT

14. This matter remains about the same as was reported in the report under the ~~same~~ caption dated December 31st., 1958. The latest Cape Dorset census list has some 83 people at the camp at Cape Dorchester, and if there is any overcrowding in this area, it would be at that point. Due to circumstances beyond control, no police patrol visited at Cape Dorchester during 1959. It is the intention of this office, however, to have a member visit at this camp during late January or February of this year. Should any overcrowding be noted at that time, a report will be submitted. There are presently less than one hundred natives trading into the Lake Harbour post. This is due to an almost "migration" to Frobisher Bay. In previous years this area has supported over three hundred persons, and there would appear to be no reason why that number could not live here now. The Cape Dorset population remains fairly well constant. Two of the outlying Cape Dorset camps have moved to sites closer to the settlement, with this being mainly due to the shorter distance for trading purposes.

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES IN DISTRICT POPULATION

15. Under separate cover a new Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset census list (in triplicate) has been forwarded to Headquarters. As will be noted from these lists, this area still has a larger male population than female, however, the female population is increasing percentagewise.

INTER MARRIAGE AMONGST THE NATIVES

16. There are no known cases of inter marriage amongst Lake Harbour nor Cape Dorset Eskimo people during the year 1959.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

17. As has previously been mentioned in paragraph #7 of this report, the writer would like to stress the desirability of establishing a Government owned radio station in the Eastern Arctic. This station would have to be of sufficient power to send a strong signal long distances, however, if at least some of the programs were in the Eskimo language, much could be done to improve the lot of these people. The writer

17. Continued . . . THE WRITER . . . has noted that many of the local native population take a great interest in the Eskimo language programs from Radio Greenland. Local people find it difficult to understand much of what is being said over this station, however, they continue to listen whenever the opportunity presents itself.

18. Upon visiting other points on Baffin Island, the writer notes with interest the emphasis placed on Eskimo youth education by the Education Division of the Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources. During the summer months, Lake Harbour too has a school under the direction of this department, with the teaching being done by the local Anglican Missionary. Although this system may have proved satisfactory in past years, the writer wishes to suggest that much more should be done to teach the Eskimo youth. Today, Lake Harbour is a small isolated spot in a very large country, however, it would seem that our Eskimo children should at least have a small fraction of the education advantages of "southern" children. Due to the lack of permanent residents during the winter months, it would seem unlikely that a school would be warranted during this time, however, a large percentage of the native population move into the settlement during the late spring, summer and fall. If a Government Day School, with trained teachers, were to establish itself here in May and continue to function until October, it is the writer's opinion that much could be done to further both Eskimo youth and adult education. In any event, the writer has been given to understand that the local Anglican Mission will cease operations at Lake Harbour during the summer of 1960, and will be moving to Cape Dorset. This will mean that there will be no school at all available to local children.

Edie

19. It has recently been brought to this writer's attention that Eskimo manufactured parkas, skin boots, mitts and socks are finding a cash market in the "south". Cape Dorset has taken advantage of this situation, and through a co-operative society are sending clothing to the "south" for sale. In the same light, it would appear desirable to have such a government sponsored program at Lake Harbour. Local women could use the money, and the quality of the sewing would be of the finest. During May of 1959 a representative of the Dept. of Northern Affairs visited Lake Harbour and suggested to members of this detachment that this department would be interested in purchasing native made clothing for resale. At this time members of this detachment were given to understand that all material would be supplied. To date this office has had no further information on this matter.

ECW

20. A further report under the above noted caption will be submitted to meet the undernoted diary date.

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION:

DIARY DATE: 31 Dec. '60

C.P. Pallister Cst.
(C.P. Pallister) #18842.
i/c Lake Harbour Detachment.