The Future of the Caribou Eskimos

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The Caribou Eskimos, living in the Keewatin District of the Canadian Northwest Territories, are the most numerous of Canadian Eskimos who have maintained their cultural and social identity down to the present day. At the same time, they are unquestionably the most primitive of all Eskimos, and in all probability they have continued to follow their old way of life more successfully than any other group of aboriginal Americans north of Mexico. However, as might be expected, these people are currently undergoing rapid and drastic changes in their traditional way of life. Since the Canadian government has only very recently begun to more than tacitly admit the existence of these people it is highly appropriate to consider what the future holds for this last enclave of Eskimo society.

The future of any dependent people is largely in the hands of the government that exercises control over them. If these people happen to be "uncommitted" politically and socially aggressive, they may be able to exercise some control over their future. But a people like the Caribou Eskimos, who are numerically few and are scattered over hundreds of square miles in an area with little economic or political significance, may be simply an unimportant minority. In some ways the Caribou Eskimos are fortunate; due to their isolation, they have been able to maintain their cultural identity, and additionally, Canada is keenly aware of the problems involving minority peoples. Recently the Canadian government has developed an awareness of the Northwest Territories, and to speak of an "awakening interest in the north" is more than a phrase. This attitude is backed up by a great deal of time and money and by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The reason for this change in official governmental attitude need not con-

cern us, but the way in which the Caribou Eskimos are to fit into the changing tempo of northern life is of central importance.

Previously the Canadian Eskimos were subjected to a form of authoritarian paternalism administered by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Hudson's Bay Company, and to a greater or lesser degree, by the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions. Now, largely through the efforts of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, there is a conscious attempt to make the Eskimo a fully participating Canadian citizen. The problems concerning Canadian Eskimos brought into focus in this paper are:

1) To define the current government policies toward the Eskimos.
2) To interpret these policies in light of possible means for changing Eskimo life.
3) To consider how such changes could be implemented among the Caribou Eskimos at Eskimo Point, the largest concentration of these people.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT POLICIES TOWARD THE ESKIMOS

A brief review of official published statements concerned with Eskimo administration facilitates an understanding of current attitudes; such a summary is required before any specific recommendations can be offered. The subsequent recommendations, drawn from anthropological experience, are in keeping with the spirit of avowed government policy statements. Since the general policies of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources are not designed to subjugate or exploit the people involved, the authors feel no qualms about participating in the program and making recommendations for change.

In the annual report of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources for 1954-55, a section is devoted to the Eskimos. Here it is acknowledged that only recently has there been an awareness of Eskimo needs. Bringing the Eskimos

into contact with elements of Canadian culture requires adjustments in their traditional way of life; "this adjustment does not have to mean the loss of Eskimo culture" but will be conditioned by local circumstances. Furthermore, it is considered advisable not only to furnish such benefits of Canadian citizenship as old age security and family allowance but to consider the more comprehensive interrelated need for a sound economy, better educational facilities, and health services. A pressing problem fully recognized is that of stabilizing the economy so that the people are not dependent upon the fluctuating price of furs for their economic well-being. Furthermore, "it seems clear that an effort to place the direction of local affairs in the hands of the Eskimos is desirable" and at the same time outsiders with positions of authority should have less power in the villages (Annual Report, Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, 1955: 10-15).

The views expressed by L.H. Nicholson, a member of the Northwest Territories Council, at the Council opening in Ottawa in January of 1959, constitute a recent semi-official statement of current government attitudes (NICHOLSON, 1959: 20-24). The address opens with a brief appraisal of economic, educational, housing, and health conditions as they currently exist. Nicholson then speaks of the Eskimos' future and states that planning is not for tomorrow "but for ten or twenty years hence" and further "we don't want a generation of uneducated Eskimos while job opportunities in the North go begging." Elaborating upon Eskimo economics, Nicholson comments that currently, there is a total of some 10,300 individual Eskimos in the North. Of this number, some 3,000 are adult males of whom 450 are employed, 150 in hospitals, and 1,500 should be capable of living off the land. Since there are 6,600 wage earners in the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec, "we want 900 jobs for Eskimos from this total of 6,600 — and 900 Eskimos competent to fill these jobs." Furthermore, in Nicholson's statement we find that he considers it most important that the government should take firm steps, if necessary, to keep the people from clustering about white centres of population unless both jobs and housing are available. Finally, it is stated that, "these things should be tackled with all possible attention

to the Eskimo's own wishes and participation. He must never be looked upon as a curiosity but as a man and a Canadian."

This semi-official policy statement is an articulate expression of concern over Eskimo welfare; from it a number of significant policy factors emerge. First, it appears that changes are not to be considered in light of immediate stop-gap measures, but with a view toward long-range planning for the future. Implicit in this approach is the fact that the Eskimo communities will continue as on-going social and economic units with at least half the population continuing to follow a modified aboriginal subsistence economy. At the same time, an increased value will be placed upon education so that more persons can support themselves by wage labour. There is, however, some ambiguity in the view expressed, for it is inconsistent to give sincerely all possible attention to the desires of the Eskimos and at the same time take firm steps toward preventing individuals from going to the cities without the assurance of jobs and housing. Likewise, if planning is for the future, why not consider a broad program of education rather than being concerned with jobs for the 900 men that cannot support themselves adequately by any other means? Surely this is only short term stop-gap planning if living conditions among the Eskimos are to be bettered.

The central theme expressed in Nicholson's address seems to be that the Eskimos should be drawn into Canadian national life but at the same time be encouraged to retain their cultural identity and integrity. These may be incompatible ends, but assuming that they are not, they might be attained through a long-range program of education and through the encouragement of factors that would strengthen their identity as Eskimos.

Viewing the treatment of dependent peoples in general it seems that one of two basic attitudes may be assumed. In theory it is possible to isolate a people from contact with the outside world through rigid control over travel and trade in the area. This artificial containment is virtually always a temporary measure and is so unrealistic that it is rarely attempted. The only notable and recent pursuance of this form of administration in the arctic was directed by Bogoras with reference to the

peoples of eastern Siberia, but this policy only prevailed from 1924 through 1930 (KOLARZ, 1954: 65-67).

A second view of contact situations with Europeans is that assimilation of the aboriginal people is inevitable in the process of increased national control. Assimilation, however, may be envisioned as either a rapid or slow process and varying views concerning the rapidity with which indigenous peoples should be amalgamated into national life are widely held throughout the world today. Often it is felt that rapid assimilation is good for one people but unsatisfactory for their neighbours or even that the problem should be resolved on an individual basis. It would seem that Nicholson considers that assimilation should be most rapid for those persons seeking wage labour equipment; the others would be slowly assimilated while remaining on a subsistence economy. Thus the assimilation would be both slow and rapid depending upon local economic conditions.

From this address it is apparent that at least selective assimilation would be favoured by employing Eskimos for wage labour jobs in the north. It is also apparent that insofar as possible, the Eskimos are to continue to live off the country so that proximity to areas in which wage labour is available is an important factor in formulating changes at the community level. The desire to have Eskimos retain their cultural identity seems evident. Any exodus to the urban centres is ruled out, while education is clearly recognized as a need if a portion of the population is to fit into a wage economy.

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND AVENUES OF CHANGE

When general policy statements are converted into concrete innovative devices, it is obvious that alternative means for action are possible. The guiding purposes or "needs" felt by the government in directing Eskimo affairs can be defined as first, imparting Canadian values and second, the encouragement of Eskimo cultural identity. The implementation of these two values in terms of community programs for change need not

only be mutually exclusive. Education in Canadian ways is actually a process of changing the nature of some of those things that Eskimo society deems important; in other words, to change certain values held by the society's members. The obvious device for enculturating the Eskimos with Canadian values would be the introduction of formal schools both for children and adults. This is hardly a startling suggestion; it is only a statement of basic method while the specific educative techniques may vary tremendously. Educating Eskimos in formal schools has already begun, and in some localities, schools have long been a part of village life. In the past, however, education has been mainly associated with missions and religion and only secondarily with making the Eskimos more fully participating citizens.

If the Eskimos are to be drawn into Canadian life it is necessary to break down the linguistic barrier that separates them from the people with whom they have most contact — the English-speaking Canadians. This need not mean the abandonment of Eskimo as a language, but rather, a striving for a bilingual population. It has been repeatedly demonstrated in many areas of the world that the soundest approach to the formal education of nonliterate peoples is to first make them literate in their own language and then teach them a second language (THOMPSON, 1951: 62-63). However, the practicality of such a language program among the Canadian Eskimos may be questioned from the standpoint of obtaining adequately trained teachers. It is feasible for persons speaking only English to teach it to Eskimos, but it is a slow and laborious process for both the teachers and the students. It usually means that a child must attend school for two or three years before he is capable of starting first grade work. Nevertheless, experience in Alaska among Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers demonstrates that in less than twenty years, a significant segment of the population is capable of understanding and speaking English.

In order to ensure the continuation of Eskimo culture and society, there must be a radical change in the social life of these people. The existing pattern in which community leadership is in the hands of mission, police, and trading company officials must be changed if Eskimos are to retain their cultural identity.

It would be unrealistic to advocate a return to aboriginal social life, but it is realistic to strengthen and develop Eskimo community organization through the introduction of new institutions.

The specifics of aboriginal social life, the existing situation and future potential of a community will be discussed at length with reference to the Padlimiut at Eskimo Point. At present, it is only necessary to accept tentatively the fact that social and cultural disorganization have resulted from the long established policy for dealing with Canadian Eskimos (VANSTONE and OSWALT, unpublished manuscript). If Eskimo society is to continue to function, community life must become better integrated and the people encouraged to solve their own problems rather than turn to some government, company, or mission representative. At present, there are numerous Eskimo communities with little social consciousness beyond the extended family level, and feelings of in-group cohesion are minimal. It is only through the fostering of cohesive attitudes that the communities can develop any vitality and continuity. This sort of village integration can be developed most feasibly through an organization, with village-wide representation, that would have very real control over local activities. A village council organization with democratic elections could serve as a real point for village life if such an organization would receive the encouragement of the government and its agents.

THE CURRENT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE AT ESKIMO POINT

In an effort to show how the proposed educative and integrative devices may be introduced on the village level, each will be discussed with reference to the Eskimo Point settlement. It should be clearly realized that the comments to follow are not intended as a condemnation of past Caribou Eskimo administration, but rather represent an attempt to show how the new policy attitudes are quite different from those pursued previously. If the comments on the Hudson's Bay Company, the RCMP and the Roman Catholic mission activities seem

critical, it is only because they conflict with the new goals of northern administration.

The literature on the Caribou Eskimo, while not voluminous, is rather complete. BIRKET-SMITH (1929) has presented a full account of Padlimiut life under essentially aboriginal conditions, and GABUS (1944) has published on the culture as it existed in the late 1930's. Likewise, the popular book "People of the Deer", by Farley Mowatt, has attracted considerable attention to the problems of the Caribou Eskimo. Mowatt's book may not, however, be considered as an authoritative account of these people but rather as an engaging tale. Studies specifically concerned with Eskimo Point include only the rather specialized study of Caribou Eskimo legal practices by van den STEENHOVEN (1958) and a paper concerned with current (1959) Eskimo Point culture and society by the authors (VANSTONE and OSWALT, unpublished manuscript). The summary of Eskimo Point life presented here is largely drawn from the authors' study of this community.[1]

The largest concentration of Caribou Eskimos today is clustered in and near the village of Eskimo Point on the western shore of Hudson Bay. There are some 100 Padlimiut as year-round residents of this village, and approximately 60 others that spend at least part of each year in this settlement. Additionally, 30 Eskimos living in the community permanently are non-Padlimiut, and 13 other individuals are of western

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European descent. It should be added that more and more families are moving into the settlement. During the fall of 1959, for example, two families in the Padlei area planned to move to Eskimo Point. Whether they did or not is not known, but the important fact is that they were seriously considering leaving their traditional inland home for the coast. It also seems likely that within a few years, when the nickel mine at Rankin Inlet ceases to function, at least some of the hundred odd persons that went there from Eskimo Point in 1957 will return to the settlement. There is every reason to believe that the permanent population will grow due to the influx of new families and with the increasingly sedentary existence of the families living there part of the year today. At the present time, approximately 120 Caribou Eskimos live year-round on the Barren Grounds and subsist primarily upon caribou. These people live either in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Padlei or around the shores of Yathkyed Lake. It seems probable that they, too, will be drawn to the coast during the next few years.

Within the community of Eskimo Point, the household units are composed consistently of a man, his wife and children, sometimes with the addition of a few individuals closely related either to the husband or wife. For most of the Eskimos, the residence unit is a tent from late spring until late fall and a snowhouse in the winter. A few Eskimo families have flimsy cardboard, tarpaulin and wooden structures for winter, while those that work for the school or police live in substantial frame houses as do all the residents of European descent. The dwellings are arranged along a raised beach line with the non-Christian families clustering at the opposite end of the village from the missions, while the Roman Catholic and Anglican families tend to cluster near their respective missions. The Eskimo families with a member working for the school, police or trading company live near their jobs on land clearly defined as belonging to these organizations. Thus, among the various population segments, there is a physical separation based upon employment, religious affinity and personal preference.

A further look at village social life reveals that the nuclear family is the most important social and economic unit of the

society. The male heads of such families are responsible for the behaviour of household members and they are usually the sole providers. The obligations toward persons outside of this unit are minimal. Beyond the bonds of intimate family ties are those based upon friendship, and friends tend to be persons of like religious convictions who are, at the same time, usually neighbours. There is every indication that village-wide social unity does not exist. No organization or activity draws everyone together as a participant. The nearest approach to social integration is in the infrequent village dances and village-wide participation in helping to unload the fall supply ship.

It is not surprising that in this social milieu Eskimo leadership is poorly developed beyond the family level and no one individual represents a significant segment of the population. The only discernible leaders are the whites, who control political, economic, and religious activities. Since there is a trading monopoly in this area, the Hudson's Bay Company trader is a very real leader, for he controls credit and the distribution of desirable goods from the outside world. The same is true of the police who are the distributors of relief and family allowance credit, which again must be spent through the Hudson's Bay Company store. It is to these organizations that the villager is forced to turn for virtually all economic goods that cannot be taken from the local environment by the existing subsistence activities.

The churches also exercise a degree of control over the economy of some villagers by distributing food to those families that are faithful church members and who may or may not work for the church. When it is realized that virtually all of the villagers function within an essentially subsistence-trade economy, the control exercised by the non-Eskimos gives these individuals an opportunity to direct both economic and some non-economic facets of village life.

A further analysis of community subsistence activities demonstrates the presence of two primary forms of yearly subsistence cycles. Some families live at Eskimo Point year-round and range inland only a short distance, if at all, to hunt caribou or to set a line of fox traps. Others move inland during the fall to intercept the southward migration of caribou and then stay

inland to trap for the balance of the winter, finally returning to Eskimo Point in the late spring. Both groups hunt for seal along the edge of the flow ice during the spring and set out gill nets for arctic char in the summer.

At the time of historic contact, only a few of the Caribou Eskimos left their inland caribou hunting areas in the Barren Grounds and came to the coast for spring sealing and summer fishing. However, after the establishment of a store at Eskimo Point in 1924, more and more families came to the coast during the summer, and after the arrival of the supply ship, they purchased their winter supply of manufactured items and certain foods before returning inland for the balance of the year.

In recent years, the attraction to coastal life at Eskimo Point has increased. The people have become drawn more and more into a fox trapping-trading economy and along this area of the coast, foxes are normally abundant. Then too, in recent years, the people have failed to intercept the migrating caribou and faced starvation. They know that at Eskimo Point, where there is a store, the police and missions, they will not starve. This has been an additional attraction to the village in times of stress. All of these factors contributed to the growing concentration of people in this community and the abandonment of their aboriginal way of life.

The traditional focus upon caribou hunting to the virtual exclusion of all other subsistence activities, apart from lake fishing, has become modified by the inclusion of fox-trapping. When fox prices are high and caribou scarce, there is additional incentive to turn away from the pursuit of caribou to dependence on an animal that has no food value. This is particularly true, since the people have placed an increasing value upon those manifactured items and food staples which may be received only in exchange for fox pelts. So long as the fox prices are high and the animals plentiful, these felt needs can be fulfilled. When prices are low and the animals scarce, there is a tendency not to revert to hunting caribou inland but toward an increased reliance upon sea mammal hunting and government aid.

In summary, it seems apparent that Eskimo Point is a physical community with little social integration above the family level. Eskimo feelings of cohesion or unity in the face of common problems hardly exist. The police, churches and store do represent focal points of village social and economic life, but these are dominated and controlled by non-Eskimo agents. It is little wonder that Eskimo Point is an unorganized community, for there is no precedent in aboriginal Padlimiut social organization for the structuring of the activities of such a large population. Rather than encourage the development of village-wide institutions in which the Eskimos could participate and cultivate some sense of local unity, the police, missions and store have each attempted to promote their own vested interests. Within this system, the Eskimo is the perennial loser. Particularly disheartening is the fact that the people cannot really anticipate the attitudes of the whites, especially those of the police and traders. These individuals are always being rotated to other stations, and each constable or manager may interpret his obligations toward the people quite differently. One constable may be a tyrant, concerning himself with every facet of village life. The next may be concerned only with police business, but by the time the people know what to expect, the individual has gone to another station, and the process begins all over again.

If Eskimo Point is to remain as a physical community, which seems highly probable, and if the Eskimo residents are to maintain their cultural identity and emerge from their current lethargic state, then it is necessary to develop feelings of purpose and mutual responsibility on the community level.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGES AT ESKIMO POINT

The Physical Village:

Today, the community is arranged around the missions, store, police and newly-constructed school. Each of these organizations has its own plot of ground clearly defined with boundary markers. For the Eskimos to build their snowhouses

or pitch their tents upon any of these plots, it is first necessary to receive permission to do so from the organization involved. Only police employees live on police ground and only members of the Anglican Church live on church ground, etc. Logically enough, when these organizations established themselves at Eskimo Point, they located on the best available sites so that the Eskimos must live in less desirable locations unless they are associated with one of the entrenched organizations.

It would be appropriate to set aside an area for the villagers alone, since these boundary-maintaining mechanisms are well established and not likely to change. The only remaining desirable plot of land is inland from the school site. The villagers should be encouraged to live along this section of the raised beach which is already the home of some families. This would give the people a sense of physical identity and could be a first step toward increased social identification with one another.

Dwellings:

With the more sedentary nature of village life, a much greater number of permanent dwellings may be anticipated. This, in fact, has already begun with the erection of cardboard-tarpaulin-wooden shacks by three families. Considering the cold winds that blow across the point, it would seem necessary for the people to have more substantial dwellings than the canvas tents in which most families live for about half of the year. The snow at Eskimo Point is often not suitable for building snow houses until well into December. It should be possible to introduce more substantial dwelling units, preferably small, perhaps twelve feet square with low ceilings, and well constructed against the weather. A house of this size would approximate that of larger tents, and could serve as a storage place in the summer when the people would doubtless really prefer to live in tents. The real difficulty is in heating such structures but this is already a major problem for the people living at Eskimo Point. Even using the existing heating method, a primus stove, well-built permanent houses would be warmer than tents or snow houses. The current experiments with suitable

arctic housing for the Eskimos being conducted by the Canadian government may offer some positive solution to the housing and heating problem. If permanent houses could be introduced, it would be best to cluster them in one section of the community in keeping with the foregoing recommendation concerning the physical settlement.

DEVELOPING SOCIAL AUTONOMY

If the government is sincere in its desire to further the social well-being and viability of the people at Eskimo Point, one of the first steps toward this end should be the encouragement of local self-government. This is conceived of in terms of a village council with limited jurisdiction over the community. Such an organization would have elected representatives and clearly defined powers. The purposes of such an organization would be defeated if it were without real authority. The villagers themselves must be the ones to determine what action is necessary when confronted by particular problems. It is, of course, realized that serious crimes within the Canadian legal system could not be handled by such an organization, but it would be very desirable to have the council exercise control over everyday problems which confront the community such as loose dogs, thefts, village sanitation, etc. These are all matters currently dealt with by the police. It would be of little value to have an organization of this sort without some degree of local power. The primary failing of village councils among Alaskan Eskimos, for example, is that they can make decisions but have no power to enforce them. The organizations thus become sounding boards for village opinions and handle only comparatively insignificant village matters.

Acknowledging that many of the council's activities will involve the members with Canadian government officials and other non-Eskimos, one special office within the organization should be filled by an English-speaking Eskimo to serve as an intermediary between the whites and the council itself. This individual would be a buffer between Eskimos and whites. It is suggested that a special representative of this nature be elected

in order to channel formally contacts with outsiders into the village council. If this is not done, and perhaps even if it is, the council *per se* may become a buffer organization in dealing with whites and actual community leadership would be as amorphous as ever. Since the control of information gives power, the position of this individual within the organizational structure should be clearly defined.

The council should have some physical locus which would be symbolic of the organization and functional for the community. Such a locus could be a council or community building in which meetings and village social events could be held. A community hall of this nature need not be a large or elaborate structure, but it would seem to be another step necessary for drawing the villagers together. Every effort should be made to have the community hall constructed at the time the council is organized.

The means by which village social and economic life at Eskimo Point is dominated and controlled by non-Eskimo agents has already been discussed. The removal of this condition appears to be essential from the standpoint of developing local autonomy, and the eventual stationing of a Northern Service Officer in the community will doubtless mean that the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources will become increasingly involved with these matters.

Although it is doubtless essential that the distribution of relief be handled through a government agency, the distribution of other forms of unearned income should be placed in the hand of the villagers themselves. In Alaska, for instance, the United States Department of Public Welfare has found it advisable to appoint a welfare agent for each village, and while in some cases a local resident of European extraction holds the position, whenever possible it is given to a villager. This system has worked well in the majority of cases. The family allowance payments at Eskimo Point, which are at present handled by the police and distributed as credit at the Hudson's Bay Company, should be made by cheque to the individual recipients. Since the majority of payments in Canada are made in this manner, it seems only a matter of time before control of this

aspect of the economy passes into the hands of the villagers. Although the money will still be spent at the Hudson's Bay Company, the Eskimos are sure to gain from the experience of handling cash and determining their own purchases.

Many regulatory functions at present being carried out by the police could be satisfactorily handled by the villagers, particularly after a village council organization becomes operative. Once local self-government has been established and a sense of community cohesiveness begins to develop, the representatives of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources will find that they can most usefully serve the community by acting in an advisory capacity in matters affecting the welfare of the villagers. In this way, they will avoid substituting one from of paternalism and authoritarianism for another.

EDUCATION

Since the federal school, newly established at Eskimo Point in the fall of 1959, is certain to be a factor in increasing and stabilizing the coastal population, it should be one focal point for developing concepts of community integration. The advantages and difficulties of making children literate in the Eskimo language have already been mentioned. Although the problems involved in following a program of this kind appear presently to be insurmountable, it should be kept in mind that when education in the Canadian arctic has advanced to a certain point, it may be possible to train local individuals who are native speakers as "teacher aides" who could begin a program of literacy in the local dialect and at the same time work toward the eventual indigenization of the educational process.

If the school is to be a truly dynamic force in village life educational opportunities should be made available to adults as well as children. This might take the form of guidance and instruction in adequate diet, hygiene, infant and maternal care. Guidance and help in problems of community organization could be provided by the school teacher in cooperation with emerging village leaders. A school-centered recreational program for

adults would also help considerably in establishing community cohesiveness.

For educative devices to be fully meaningful to the villagers, they should at least in part be linked with the local subsistence activities. For example, it is readily acknowledged that most men at Eskimo Point are not proficient sea mammal hunters. This is fully understandable with their previous inland orientation. However, if they are to live permanently at Eskimo Point, they must rapidly acquire proficiency in exploiting the resources of the sea. The school representatives could attempt to introduce more efficient hunting and fishing techniques drawn from the experience of more long-established coastal dwellers. Training as sea mammal hunters should also be a part of the school curriculum since young boys will no longer have the same opportunity to accompany elders on hunting trips as they could prior to the establishment of the school.

Another example of a manner in which the school could increase the economic potential of the hunters would be to encourage and oversee the construction of lighweight sea-going dories. Relatively few persons in the community today own sea-worthy round-bottom canoes of the type common to Hudson Bay. These are expensive to buy and rather difficult to repair. Lightweight plywood dories could be built locally and serve as more efficient sea craft.

The new school at Eskimo Point faces some problems that would not emerge in more settled communities. Significant in this regard is the fact that regular school attendance conflicts with the type of semi-sedentary existence that is associated with caribou hunting and is still practiced by a number of village families. Even families who make only occasional excursions into the interior to hunt desire to take their children with them, and this may mean an absence from school for as much as two or three weeks. There is probably no ideal solution to this problem, but it is very doubtful whether enforced attendance regulations would be effective. Prepared lessons to be completed by the child while away from the village might be a partial answer, particularly on an advanced grade level, and there is

some indication that this plan may be carried out at Eskimo Point.

Schools are being established at Eskimo Point and other arctic communities on the principle that government-subsidized education should be made available to the Eskimos as it is to other citizens of Canada. In accordance with this principle, the emphasis should be on convincing the Eskimos that the school is being operated for them as an integral part of their community life. They should be encouraged to feel that the school facilities are for their benefit and use, and that the interests and goals of the school teachers are their interests and goals. At Eskimo Point, the task of instilling the values and objectives of education will be a slow and difficult one, and because of this, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, as well as the local school teacher, should be satisfied with slow progress during the first few years. It is the opinion of the authors that if as many as half of the eligible children attend school regularly during the first two or even three years of its existence, the educational authorities should have reason to be satisfied. As the residents gain in understanding of educational goals and a sense of community develops, school attendance will increase and it will be possible for adult members of the community to participate in some administrative aspects of the educational process with the teacher acting in an advisory capacity. When this point is reached, the school will then be fully integrated into the community fabric.

A COMMUNITY STORE

The innovation of a community-owned and managed store is no doubt outside the realm of possibility at present but it should be considered in future planning. Current Hudson's Bay Company control over the economy of Eskimo Point residents is not dissimilar to "company store" in mining towns, with all the accompanying abuses. If community members are to receive full measure for their labour, then it is necessary to introduce competitive trading establishments or perhaps still better, to introduce a community-operated trading establishment.

In Alaska, a non-profit cooperative purchasing agency operated through the Department of the Interior enables villages to borrow money for starting stores. The debt is paid according to a repayment schedule that is set up at the time the loan is made and occasionally modified depending upon the success of the undertaking. Merchandise and equipment are purchased through the government agency, and profits are applied toward repayment in increasing the purchasing power of the stores. When the debt is paid the stores then become cooperatives, owned and operated by village residents, and profits are usually used to institute civic improvements that benefit the village as a whole.

Most of the cooperative stores in Alaska do a strictly cash business, but also handle furs and products of local manufacture in exchange for merchandise. The storekeeper is always a villager, and the people come to feel that the store has their own interests at heart and is not an outside agency with which they have a dependency relationship. At Eskimo Point, the establishment of such a store, in addition to its value as an intergrative force, would familiarize the people with some of the problems of operating within a money economy, a concept that is completely foreign to them at the present time.

It is rather striking that the Eskimo Point store inventory comprises items of short-term utility. This type of stock was probably the most satisfactory when the Caribou Eskimos were highly mobile, but with increasing community stability, it would be desirable for any local store to begin stocking goods with greater durability. It is startling to visit Eskimo Point families and see their material poverty while knowing at the same time that the head of the family may have sold the store as much as $4,000.00 worth of furs in a single year.

These suggestions with regard to a community store are doubtless unrealistic in light of current Hudson's Bay Company control and current village awareness of the value and uses of money. However, a village-owned and managed store would be in line with the acknowledged aim of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources to help the Eskimos

to participate in their own future after the manner of other Canadians.

POST OFFICE

All communities in Canada's eastern arctic would benefit by more regular mail service. However, until post offices are established in the villages, mail delivery will continue to be erratic. As far as Eskimo Point is concerned the establishment of regular postal service would not only facilitate the carrying out of a number of governmental activities, but would be an important acculturative factor from the standpoint of the villagers. Of particular importance in this regard would be the opportunity for the Eskimos to receive mail order catalogues and make purchases of various kinds through the mail. Although this is theoretically possible at present, the delays and difficulties involved make it virtually impossible. Letters from friends and relatives in hospitals or other villages would surely increase with regular mail service and form an important connecting link between Eskimo Point and the outside world. The broadening of village purchasing power through the extensive use of mail order catalogues would be another important factor in learning to operate within the framework of a money economy.

RELOCATION

As has been previously mentioned, the population of Eskimo Point undoubtedly will continue to grow as more families leave the interior to take up permanent residence on the coast. The general level of economic resources in the region suggests that an increase in population may result in subsistence hardship for at least some of the villagers, and this fact, together with the growing awareness of advantages of wage labour, makes some resettlement program essential for those who desire to leave the area. Resettlement in the arctic is already a part of government policy, and numerous families have taken advantage of the opportunity to resettle at Rankin Inlet and work in its nickel mine.

Although resettlement in the arctic has solved and will continue to solve a number of economic and social problems, consideration should be given to the fact that some individuals might be able to make a better adjustment in the more urban areas of Canada. The goal of any relocation program should concern itself with more than the physical aspects of moving people from one place to another. Primarily, it should strive to make it possible for those who wish to leave the village to *make an adjustment* to life outside. As a part of any such program at Eskimo Point, the Eskimos should be fully informed of the problems involved in relocation and the types of adjustment they would have to make. This is conceived of as being largely an educative process rather than a selling process, and should be begun before and carried on long after the actual relocation has taken place. Careful guidance in the problems and pitfalls of urban re-adjustment should make it possible for many Eskimos to become integrated into urban Canadian communities. It should be emphasized that the federal school can play an important part in this process through its adult education program. Education for life outside the village can be combined with guidance programs aimed at developing community leadership, organization and self-government.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

No matter how well conceived the government policies toward the Eskimos may be, the values held by the top administrators must be effectively disseminated to the field representatives or else the specifics of the policies will be doomed to failure. This necessitates a "mobility of ideas" through the bureaucratic hierarchy. A superficial evaluation indicates that such mobility exists, and this organizational feature clearly should be maintained. The field representatives must not only have the same values as the top administrators, but they must be able to convert them into the solution of day to day village problems.

It is apparent that capable field personnel must be recruited. Since the prevailing policy is to encourage villagers to handle their own affairs, it would be a mistake to hire representatives that are authoritarian in their dealings with the people. This is precisely what the police and Hudson's Bay Company agents have done for years. In the village setting, it would be tempting for the field representative to assume an authoritarian attitude, for this is the course that has proven effective in the past, and the one to which the Eskimos have become accustomed. This must be avoided except in extenuating circumstances.

Ideal field representatives would be individuals with some northern experience, together with training in the social sciences. Unfortunately, this particular combination of experience and education is not common, and doubtless compromises will have to be made. At any rate, all individuals applying for teaching and administrative jobs in the north should be expected to hold the same values as do the top administrators of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

SUMMARY

An acknowledged aim of federal administration in the Northwest Territories is to bring the benefits of Canadian citizenship to the Eskimo population within the framework of local cultures and environment. To aid in achieving this goal at Eskimo Point, a number of suggestions have been advanced, the purposes of which are to create a feeling of village solidarity by developing leadership and a sense of community awareness. Once this point of view has been instilled, it should be possible for the community itself to be responsible for most aspects of its administration.

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