

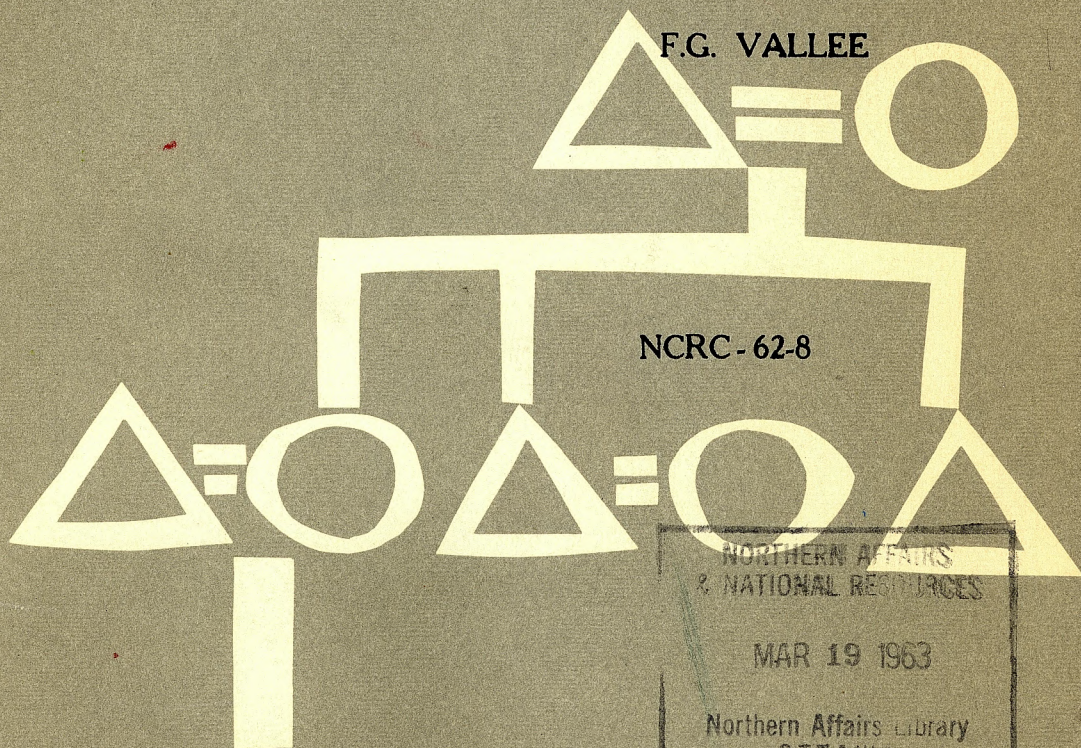
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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE ARCTIC

F.G. VALLEE

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE ARCTIC

by

F.G. Vallee

I

A Comparative Study in the Organization of Work in the Arctic.

II

Differentiation Among the Eskimos in Some Canadian Arctic Settlements.

These papers are based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre during the summer of 1961. They are reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the north. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

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December, 1962.

PREFACE

These papers, in a slightly different form were delivered at meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association. The first was given at the 1962 meeting in Hamilton, the second at the 1961 meeting in Montreal.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN THE ARCTIC

This research note deals briefly with a project which I have launched under the auspices of the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, the main purpose of which is to study recent innovations in a number of communities in the Canadian Arctic. From previous research in the Arctic I have become convinced that it is possible, profitable and desirable to supplement the conventional community study by comparing structures and process outside their community contexts for specific purposes. One set of structures and processes has to do with work as a patterned activity. It is because so many innovations are being implemented in the field of work in the Arctic that I focus on that activity for purposes of comparison.

In recent years there has been much interest shown by anthropologists and sociologists in the subject of work. We are all familiar, for instance, with the many studies of work units--such as factories--as partial social systems, concentrating on the spelling out of how the different parts and processes in the units are related to one another.

Our studies within a single culture area trace out the significance of work organization for the whole social setting and culture--for instance, Firth's studies of Malay Fishermen. (Firth, 1946) From a different discipline, we have such studies as that carried out in the Detroit Area by Miller and Swanson, (Miller and Swanson, 1958) in which they showed that the kind of work organization to which a household head is committed has important implications for families. For instance, they claim that knowledge of the size of organization in which a person works is of more predictive power than knowledge of his social class, ethnic origin, or religion as far as such matters as methods of child rearing and husband-wife interaction are concerned.

Then there are a few recent studies that concentrate on the organization of work using the cross-cultural comparative method. For instance, in perhaps the best known study of the organization of work in 150 societies, Udy shows how the characteristics of production units (work teams, hunting parties, fishing crews, etc.) are linked with other features of the social system, such as the technology and reward systems. On the basis of his study he advances 64 propositions dealing with the determinants of authority structure, division of labour, solidarity, proprietorship and recruitment. Some of these propositions are not culturally relative, others are. In any case he does show that it is profitable to single out production organization and study it cross-culturally.

In my own study, I cover only the one general culture area--the Canadian Arctic--but I carry out extensive comparisons within that area. Within the field of study of work, I pay special attention to production organizations. I am using Udy's definitions here, according to which production is the purposeful alteration and combination of physical material until it reaches some desired empirical state. Physical activities performed in connection with production constitute work...A production organization is any group engaged in carrying on (production) at least some of the time. (Udy, 1959: 2 and 3) Such a group may or may not have other functions as well. For instance, a family is a production organization in certain kinds of farming and cottage industry.

My sole concern in this study is not simply the comparison of production organization, for I am also interested in work roles as such and, of course, there are some work roles which occur outside of production organizations as defined earlier--for instance, interpreter, guide. Finally, in comparing units of production and work roles, I focus attention on people of Eskimo origin. For one thing, this should permit us to make statements about the variations to be found in structurally and functionally similar units, variations which may be attributable to culture. I have in mind here, of course, the eventual comparison of such units as co-operatives in different cultural settings. I hope that this study will not be simply another description of certain structures and processes among the Eskimos, but will have significance for the study of social organization as such and, in particular, for the sociology of work, of administration, and of bureaucracy.

I already have some data for this study from my own field work and that of others in the Canadian Arctic, (Vallee, 1962) but the great bulk of what I need in order to make conclusive statements will be gathered between now and June, 1963, during which period I shall spend at least nine months in the Arctic.

In the brief time remaining I cannot go into detail about the methods and techniques of research, the typologies of work roles and production organization to be used and so on. I think the remaining time can be used most profitably by discussing a few key concepts and their application in the Arctic setting.

As I have said, one of the chief interests of the study will be that of comparing different types of production organization. At the moment in the Arctic there are three types of special interest. There is the co-operative, in which the people employed are members of an association of equals--at least in theory; two kinds of co-operatives will be studied closely, the fishing and the 'artistic' in which carvings and prints are produced.

Groups of artisans are now linked up in associations in which they work not so much as employees but as members. In at least one place, they have some command over the output of their labours--unlike employees--and, indeed considerable say in marketing policies, in how rewards are to be distributed, and so on. Incidentally, a momentous first was recorded among the group in question when they fired their White manager. As far as I know this would have to be the first time in all history that Eskimos have fired a White person. There is some evidence that it is this kind of work organization which is most likely to take on functions in the larger social setting as an organization, so that, e.g., we find production co-operatives making representations on matters which have little to do with their work operations.

Another type of unit is the work team in which people are recruited as employees--such as the miners at Rankin Inlet. Then there is the type, in some ways similar to the co-operative, in which the people work in large units to produce primarily for their own consumption, for instance, the relocation community at Whale Cove. These differ from the co-operatives primarily in recruitment and how they relate to the social setting in which they are embedded. For instance, they are not so much concerned with markets as are the co-operatives.

We compare these different types of production organization in terms of how decision making and authority are handled; in terms of how they relate to the social setting in which they are found; in terms of the structure of rewards within them; in terms of the control over facilities and output they have; in terms of the particular kinds of uncertainty they face and how they come to terms with this uncertainty.

In the previous paragraph I mentioned the word facilities, a key concept in this kind of study, which is defined by Johnson as follows: "Anything that is valued primarily as a means is a facility." (Johnson, 1960:57) A facility may be tangible or intangible; for instance, information can be a facility, or the possession of some skill, such as ability to speak a certain language; literacy and numeracy are examples of intangible facilities. It is generally agreed that in the Arctic the kinds of facilities which permit optimum control of environments are different from those of former days for large numbers of people. In a recent article in Human Organization, Voget (Voget, 1961-62: 245) stresses the point that native peoples in Canada realize they need formal education because the number of unskilled jobs available is declining rapidly while the payoff from traditional exploitation of wildlife diminishes. In a previous report (Vallee 1962) I discussed the emergence of a stratum of people in Arctic communities who are increasingly acting as mediators between the more traditionalistic Eskimos and the Whites. These are people with command over the facilities (language, education, social skills, etc.) required to get into key positions in the work and community systems.

Now in most societies known to me, access to facilities is not equally distributed and some sections of any society are more advantaged than others in terms of access facilities. I think this is generally true of access to education and certain kinds of special training. In other words, I believe that in most societies, access to valued training in skills permitting control over the environment is weighted in favour of those who are born into the healthiest, wealthiest, most respected families in the community. One peculiarity of the Arctic situation is that a large proportion of those who have had access to formal training and education are those who happened to get seriously sick during early periods of their lives--i.e., those sent out to institutions for long periods; those who are deviant¹ from the traditional point of view--for example, those whose parents were the first to embrace Christianity and to live in settlements; and indeed for some kinds of training, deviant from the point of view of the commanding society also. On the latter point I am not on sure ground, but from the evidence I have gathered so far there is a tendency to recommend for special training in such lines as mechanics, repair, vehicle handling, etc., certain youths who are misfits in settlements, youths who have had perhaps a few years of formal schooling and who are troublesome to Eskimos and Whites alike. This does not imply that the majority are like this. I regard this pattern of misfit selection as a peculiarity of the Arctic situation, and one which deserves special consideration in terms of its implications for work and community organization there.

Among other non-material facilities which are of increasing relevance in the Arctic is the possession of artisan skills, such as those used in carving. It should be of considerable interest to discover what the pattern of recruitment is in this line of work.

1 The word "deviant" is not used in a pejorative sense here.

The whole subject of recruitment into different work roles and different production organizations will receive attention. In traditional times, of course, recruitment was a simple matter: if one were able-bodied, male, and competent, one became a hunter and/or trapper. We still find hundreds of Eskimos depending primarily on hunting, trapping, and fishing, but as we all know, their numbers decline steadily. However, there has emerged a work role directly connected to the past and that is the entrepreneur, which we define as a person in effective control of a commercial undertaking. It is among the trappers who are consistently successful and some sea mammal hunters that we find entrepreneurs, although I have met a few men branching out into carpentry, the servicing of vehicles, etc., on their own, as independent operators. What characteristics do the new entrepreneurial roles share with the old ones? How are new and old entrepreneurs 'recruited'? These are some questions I shall be looking into.

In a previous paper I described recruitment into a kind of employee role variously described in settlements as chore-boy, general help, servant, and other similar terms. The common feature of this role (whatever it may be labelled) is service to some White individual or family who represents some outside agency and the tendency for the employee to become a kind of client and the employer a kind of patron. The patron-client relationship is a diffuse one in which the actual work carried out is of small moment, the person showing much interest in the family life of the client, their general behavior, their living conditions, and so on. In the paper mentioned I described the histories of several such relationships of patron-client and showed how many outstanding hunters and trappers, were enticed into this kind of position. Recruitment into other kinds of employee roles--in which the person employed does not become a 'client'--has still to be studied in the field, as has recruitment into what we can call for the moment 'member' work roles, such as those connected with co-operatives.

These are only scattered samples of the kinds of questions I am investigating. I bring them out to show that research in the north is not necessarily a purely ethnographic enterprise and that conventional anthropological concepts and methods can be blended with concepts and methods from such other fields as the sociology of work.

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II

DIFFERENTIATION AMONG THE ESKIMO IN SOME CANADIAN ARCTIC SETTLEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

This report is based on the author's fieldwork at Baker Lake, with supplementary and comparative data from seven other Arctic locations in Canada. It is limited to documenting new forms of differentiation and grouping among Eskimos in settlements, and offers some hypotheses concerning the conditions under which these new forms of differentiation and grouping arise.

Indicative of the mounting interest in the present-day situation of the Canadian Eskimo, as distinct from an interest in traditional Eskimo culture, is the increasing number of publications which deal with social and cultural change.

TRADITIONAL ESKIMO GROUPINGS

Traditionally, the main forms of grouping among the Eskimos were according to band, extended family, and household. The literature often refers to tribes, but the Eskimos did not have tribes in the sense used by modern anthropologists. In a given region, a number of camps would share a dialect of the Eskimo language, certain stylistic forms, such as in tattooing, dress, and so on, and a vague sense of identity. We might describe such groupings as regional sub-cultures, but they were not tribes, for they had no encapsulating kinship or political structure. Because of selective interaction with other camps in such a grouping, most marriages would occur within it, but the Eskimo did not objectify this grouping as an endogamous unit of social structure. Examples of such groupings are: the Aivilikjuarmiut, the Padlermiut, the Quernermiut, the Harvaquormiut, the Metsilikmiut, the Kidlinermiut, the Taqa(k)miut.

Comprising these gross groupings were social units variously called bands and camps, made up of families which normally camped and moved together most of the year. Such bands or camps varied considerably in size. After the introduction of the rifle and individualized hunting techniques, the size of camps devoted to hunting the caribou dwindled appreciably, especially in those areas where trapping assumed a significant part of the economy. In some places the average camp, during the 'thirties, numbered about three nuclear families, usually related by kinship within the second degree and comprising about twelve to fifteen persons. In other areas, where getting a livelihood required concerted group effort and where important facilities, such as whale boats, were controlled by a headman, the bands numbered between forty and sixty persons on the average. Within such camps or bands authority lines were much clearer and more highly structured than in the smaller, more nomadic bands mentioned earlier. Much systematic research remains to be done on the kinship structure and other features of social organization in groups living in bands of different sizes, and constituted in different manners in the Canadian Arctic. The literature indicates that there were important variations, particularly between people who spent all or most of their time inland, and those who spent all or most of their time in sea-mammal hunting.

In all areas, role and status differentiation were according to sex, age, birth order, domestic or camp leadership, and relations to supernatural beings. Besides, a number of dyadic relationships were institutionalized, such as between song cousins, wife exchange partners, rivals or duellists. There were, of course, non-structured, personal friendships, animosities and symbiotic relations. But apart from these, the patterned grouping and differentiation just named are virtually an exhaustive list of the forms of traditional social organization among Canadian Eskimo groups.

THE COMING OF THE KABLOONA¹

With the establishment of trading posts, police stations and missions during the early part of this century, a number of new roles were assumed by small numbers of Eskimos: namely, the trader's helper, the catechist, and the special constable. These people did not realize it, but they were the forerunners of new kinds of groupings, for Eskimo society.

In some places, these outposts of Kabloona society have been established for about fifty years, and in most places for at least twenty-five. This means that the settlement consisting of one or all of the institutions mentioned--the trading post, the police post, the mission--has become by now a vital part of Arctic social life.

In recent years, still other roles, familiar to our society but without precedent among the Eskimos, have become commonplace in many Arctic localities: day labourer, student, artisan, skilled worker, interpreter and clerk, to mention some from the world of work.

They have become commonplace because of a very significant development in the Canadian Arctic since the late 'forties and early 'fifties, the proliferation of settlements. New settlements have been created and old settlements transformed in response to pressures of technology, ecology, politics and defence. To these new settlements are being attracted an ever-growing number of Eskimos from hinterland areas, many of whom take up permanent residence.

In all these communities there is a growing dependence on income derived from wages and from government funds of various kinds. In some, such as Rankin Inlet and Great Whale River, a very large proportion of the total source of livelihood comes from these sources; in others, such as Baker Lake and Port Harrison, the Eskimo population is dependent on these sources for about half of their subsistence; in still others, such as Povungnituk, Sugluk, and Tuktoyaktuk, a substantial proportion of the income is still derived from wildlife which is both trapped and hunted, although in these places too this proportion is decreasing.

Another striking feature of many settlements in the Arctic today is the comparatively large number of Whites and the wide variety of the institutions and social types represented by these Whites, compared to White representation even ten years ago. As has already been noted, in many Arctic locations the Eskimos have been in contact for generations with limited aspects

1 For a definition of this term see Vallee (1962)

of outside society, and with a few of its representatives. Now in many locations, they confront substantial numbers of outsiders and are exposed to a much greater variety of stimuli than was formerly the case. Needless to say, the Eskimos have developed patterned ways of dealing with some of these stimuli, and with the outsiders in face-to-face contact, but the sharing of space with substantial numbers of non-Eskimo peoples raises new problems in social arrangements which one can study as though in a large small-group laboratory.

The communities for which relevant data is available to one or all of the interests pursued in this paper are as follows. Published reports and manuscripts only are cited.

Great Whale River:--Until the 'fifties this was an established trading post and mission station, with only a small number of permanent inhabitants. During the 1950's, it became a key point in the Mid-Canada defense line. During the past few years a school, nursing station, and Department of Northern Affairs Office have been added. Great Whale Settlement is the centre of dominance for about 450 Eskimos, about 200 of whom live there permanently. It has also become an important centre for Indians in the region, serving about 200 of them. There are about 70 Whites in the settlement and nearby defense installation. Information about this settlement is derived from published articles and reports of Honigmann, (1952, 1959) Balikci (1959 a and b), and Johnson, (1961).

Port Harrison:--Although the Eskimos in this settlement have been in contact with Whites for over two hundred years, the period of continuous contact and White settlement began about fifty years ago and the principal influx of White population into the area has been in the last two decades. Port Harrison is a centre of dominance for about 350 Eskimos, about 75 of whom are permanent residents of the settlement; the other 270 live in camps along the coast. Institutions from the South represented there are the missions and trading post, and R.C.M.P. post, a weather and radio station operated by Department of Transport, a nursing station and a school. There are about 30 Whites in the community. Data on Port Harrison are from Willmott, (1961).

Povungnituk:--Usually known as POV for short, this is a long-established trading post, serving an Eskimo population of about 400, of whom about 110 live permanently at the settlement. Lately POV has become a renowned centre for Eskimo carving. It has a small White population of a dozen or so. Information on this community comes from an article and manuscript by Balikci, (1959).

Sugluk:--Like Povungnituk, Sugluk has a small White population of a dozen or so, made up of missionaries, a H.B.C. trader, a school teacher and a Department of Northern Affairs Officer. The Eskimo population is about 260, most of whom reside in the settlement. Data on Sugluk are from an unpublished manuscript by Graburn, (n.d.).

Eskimo Point:--This has long been a trading and mission centre, and is now becoming something of an administrative centre for the Southern Keewatin.

In recent years a school and nursing station have been added. In the community are about 15 Whites. Four hundred and thirty-five Eskimos trade into Eskimo Point; of these about 200 are permanent residents. Information on Eskimo Point is derived from VanStone and Oswalt (1959).

Rankin Inlet:--This place was until recently a small camping site and a satellite of Chesterfield Inlet. A large influx of population occurred when the North Rankin Inlet mining company began operations in 1957. Since then Rankin has become also an administrative and rehabilitation centre. More than 100 Whites are resident there as well as about 450 Eskimos, the great majority of whom live in the settlement. Information on this settlement is from Dailey (1961), who spent three months there in 1958, and from my own observations during a short visit there in 1960.

Baker Lake:--Like most of the other places listed, Baker Lake was a small Eskimo settlement, of no particular significance, until the fur companies established a post there during the '20s. The 'thirties was a period of further White penetration, with the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions getting established and the R.C.M.P. opening a post at the settlement. But the great swelling of population and activity came during the late 'forties and the 'fifties with the successive establishment at the settlement of Department of Transport Radio and Weather stations, a nursing station, and a Department of Northern Affairs Office. The settlement serves an Eskimo population of about 400, about 170 of whom live permanently at Baker Lake itself. There are about 40 Whites at the settlement. Information on Baker Lake is from my own field work, in 1959 and 1960.

Tuktoyaktuk:--Sometimes called Tuktuk or simply Tuk, this is the only ship harbour of the Mackenzie River Delta. Like so many communities in the Arctic, its population has soared in the past ten years or so. In fact, in 1939 only one camp, made up of four families related by kinship, lived there permanently. From 1939 to 1954 when the DEW Line came, Tuk was only a trading centre with a small resident population. Now most of the 57 families centered on Tuk live there permanently. It has become a trading and administrative centre, as well as a locus of activity for people connected with the DEW line. In the settlement and its vicinity there are about 50 Whites and 350 Eskimos. Information on this community is taken from Ferguson (1961).

THE EMERGING RE-GROUPINGS AND RE-ALIGNMENTS AMONG THE ESKIMOS

The first kind of sorting-out to note is that between settlement and land people, a division which resembles somewhat the rural-urban one familiar to all of us. In two communities, Port Harrison and Baker Lake, this distinction is already quite marked. For Port Harrison, Willmott remarks,

"The differentiation between camp and settlement results directly from the intrusion of the white establishment into Eskimo society, has nothing to do with functional differentiation with Eskimo society itself. In almost every area of social life differences are apparent between these two groups. We shall refer to those who live in the settlement as settlement Eskimos, those in the camp as camp Eskimos." (1961:4)

He then proceeds to spell out this differentiation in considerable detail.

Writers on the other communities listed are not as explicit about this distinction as Willmott is, although in most of these reports references to settlement people imply that the distinction between them and the non-settlement people is recognized. For Great Whale River, Balikci mentions that settlement dwellers developed from a core of trader's helpers and groups from poor game areas; he notes also that there are tensions between those who continue to hunt and trap and those who work for the Whites. For Povungnituk Balikci notes that,

"...a small number of Eskimo helpers to the trader settled permanently near the store and act also as middlemen between the trader and the coastal camps. They become increasingly attracted to Euro-Canadian culture as a global way of life and constitute the first step towards the appearance of culturally divergent sections within a larger Eskimo settlement." (Balikci, 1960:9)

At Baker Lake, distinctions between settlement and non-settlement people have crystallized to the extent that some people objectify and label two types of Eskimos, calling one group Nunamiut (people of the land) and Kabloonamiut (people of the White Man). By Nunamiut they mean simply those Eskimos who live outside the Baker Lake settlement and derive the largest proportion of their livelihood from hunting, fishing, and trapping. The denotation of Kabloonamiut is not very clear-cut at present and is applied in a loose fashion. In its most specific sense, Kabloonamiut denotes those Eskimos who are employed by Kabloona and who live in the settlement. In a slightly more general sense, it refers to anyone who lives permanently at the settlement, whether employed by Kabloona or not, and parallels the English usage of 'urban' as distinct from 'rural'. In its most general sense it denotes those Eskimos who are at ease with the Kabloona and who are more conspicuously imitative of Kabloona ways than are the majority of Eskimos.

For purposes of this report, Nunamiut are classified as those who:

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

Kabloonamiut are those who:

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

For Baker Lake region we attempted to place all family heads somewhere along a continuum at one end of which is 'confirmed Kabloonamiut', at the other end of which is 'confirmed Nunamiut'. As a basis for judgment we depended primarily on our own observation of behaviour, checking this with the opinions of key informants in both land camps and in the settlement as to where each household head stood with reference to these criteria. It is realized of course, that a household head may have a different 'score' from his spouse or his offspring and that this raises interesting problems, but for present purposes we consider only the rating of household heads and the classification of them on this crude scale, the weakness of which we are the first to acknowledge.

On the basis of the criteria mentioned, we estimate that eleven of the eighty household heads in the Baker Lake region or 14% are clearly Kabloonamiut, and that twenty-six of the eighty household heads or 33% are clearly Nunamiut. In our judgment, twenty-five household heads, or 31% are 'marginal Kabloonamiut' in the sense that they are not markedly Kabloonamiut Nunamiut in outlook, style of living, and so forth. We placed eighteen household heads or 22% as 'marginal Nunamiut', regarding them as not markedly Nunamiut, but as closer to the latter than to the Kabloonamiut. Expressed in terms of percentages of household heads in each category, the crude and tentative picture looks like this:

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

At the risk of complicating things unduly for purposes of this report, let us say that not all settlement people are Kabloonamiut according to our classification, for there are some who live in the settlement but remain oriented to the land. Furthermore, not all hinterland or camp people are Nunamiut in our classification, for there are some who would like to live in the settlement but are discouraged from doing so by the authorities or for some other reason.

In this report we give prominent place to the description of the Kabloonamiut because of their special significance in the process of acculturation. Their significance has two obvious features. First, they are Eskimos who are 'carrying' the Euro-Canadian culture to the Nunamiut, in the sense that they are becoming stylistic and behavioural models, particularly for the younger generation; second, they are becoming key figures in the networks of inter-action between the Kabloona and the Nunamiut.

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

Another characteristic in the histories of some Kabloonamut families in the Baker Lake region is the existence of something like a patron-client relationship with a Kabloona person. By this we mean something more than simply an employer-employee relationship. Traditionally the Kabloona patron, whether H.B.C. trader, missionary, or R.C.M.P., showed diffuse interest in their Eskimo employee and his family, doing special favours for them, offering them advice, scolding them for untoward behaviour, even where this had nothing

In none of the other works consulted are the mobility patterns in the family histories of settlement dwellers spelled out, but we can infer from references made to settlement dwellers in at least two other communities that at least some of them come from afar. For instance, the Hudson's Bay Interpreter and Clerk at Fort Harrison is from Labrador; traders, helpers and special constables at Eskimo Point are Avlilkjarmut from distant locations up the west coast of Hudson Bay. It seems reasonable to suggest that Kabloonamut with the histories of pronounced mobility will not identify strongly with a particular region and with a sub-culture within a particular region. This does not mean, however, that they have only a weak identification with the settlement they live in.

As a result of this mobility, people in this grouping are part of rather far-flung networks of friends and relatives, in contrast to the Nunamut whose networks are more concentrated and localized in a particular area. To illustrate, Louis Tapati, a prominent Kabloonamut who was born in Repulse Bay, has relatives who remain there; he also has relatives and close friends in the settlements at Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet. To the latter place, his daughter and her husband have recently moved. This man and his family try to visit at least two of these other settlements every summer, travelling by boat down Chesterfield Inlet and into Hudson Bay. Illustrations of similar networks of friendship and kinship (extending far outside the region under discussion) could be given for five other Kabloonamut households.

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

to do with the job. In five of the eleven confirmed Kabloonamiut households, the heads are the offspring of parents who were themselves linked with some Kabloona person, such as missionary, Hudson's Bay Company manager, the R.C.M.P., in a patron-client relationship. We can envisage the acculturation process as being mediated originally through the Kabloona patrons or sponsors. Today the clients themselves are the mediators between the Kabloona society and the Nunamiut.

Do the people classified as Kabloonamiut form a distinct stratum in the community? At Baker Lake they do. Numerous social bounds link Kabloonamiut with one another. With the exception of two household heads in this group, the Kabloonamiut are more linked with one another by kinship and by affinal ties than they are with the Nunamiut in the surrounding hinterland. Thus interaction based on shared membership in kinship groups and on in-law relationships tend to set off the Kabloonamiut from other Eskimos for certain kinds of social action. Besides, there is a pronounced tendency for the Kabloonamiut to arrange and encourage marriage of their offspring with the offspring of other settlement dwellers rather than with land dwellers. It is interesting to note that the practice of arranging marriages from birth or even before is still carried on by Kabloonamiut families in the settlement, whereas it has been abandoned among many people in hinterland camps. We know of nine pairs of children from 12 Kabloonamiut families in Baker Lake who are promised to each other. We know also of four Kabloonamiut children at Baker Lake who are promised to settlement dwellers at Chesterfield and Rankin Inlet. Future marriages of this nature, both within the settlement and between settlements, will serve to crystallize the now rather amorphous stratum of Kabloonamiut, setting it off as an even more distinctive grouping that it is at present.

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

Growing economic disparities within Eskimo communities are noted by several of the authors consulted. Of Port Harrison, Willmott writes,

"...discrepancies in the standard of living that characterize Canadian society...are barely visible between camp households, but are beginning to appear in the settlement. They are particularly evident in comparing settlement and camp households, where it exhibits itself not only in total cash income, but also in manner of dress, number of luxury goods owned, and the nature of the diet of the settlement Eskimos." (43)

Reports from Great Whale River (Balikci), Tuktoyaktuk, (Ferguson: 59), Eskimo Point (VanStone and Oswald) and Rankin Inlet (Dailey: 174), speak of the growing discrepancies between those who work permanently for the Kabloona and the others.

Between settlement and land there is differential access, not only to cash income, but to other class-linked facilities as well. For instance, the basic education required to manipulate the changing social and economic environment is distributed unevenly among settlement and land people. At Baker Lake, all eligible children in the settlement attend the new federal school full-time. Although all the camp people consulted want their children to attend school, only about half of those eligible are able to attend because of shortages of school space, teachers, and living accommodation for land children. From Port Harrison, Willmott reports that only settlement children go to school (43). Thus, the ground-work for future increases in differentiation between settlement and hinterland people is being laid now.

Status-wise a class system exists when a stratum of people who interact and intermarry much with one another receive more prestige than others and where people in that stratum exert a larger measure of influence and leadership than others in the community. It is difficult to make conclusive statements about prestige allocation among the modern Eskimos, first, because of the confusion in the literature on the modern Eskimos between prestige, esteem and liking; and second, because there is a lack of general consensus as to who among them and outside their own kinsfolk are most deserving of deference and respect.

We use prestige here to mean the deference and respect received in face-to-face relations, and esteem to mean the admiration and applause received. To cite a distinction which has become familiar in anthropology and sociology, prestige goes with certain statuses in a society, while esteem attaches to role performances. For instance, the position of doctor is a prestigious one in our society. A person can be an average or perhaps slightly below average doctor and still receive the deference and respect, not to mention the material rewards, allocated to doctors as compared to, say, carpenters. Esteem, on the other hand, is accorded someone who performs well at some task. For instance, a good carpenter, a good football player, indeed a good pick-pocket, are admired and in some cases applauded for their above-average performance, without the positions they occupy in the social system being particularly prestigious. We realize that this is not an entirely satisfactory distinction, but feel that it is useful in trying to sort out what is happening in the re-ordering of relationships and the normative system among the Eskimos.

As to the confusion between prestige and liking, this is less excusable. We find in three reports consulted the claim or the implication that Eskimos who work for the Kabloona are unpopular with the other Eskimos, that the latter

do not like the former. One is led to believe that the authors of these reports share this dislike, for they apparently conclude that those who work for the Kabloona are insignificant in the social system and so can be dismissed from further consideration. This is, of course, a methodological faux pas, because the Kabloonamiut have a key role to play in the process of social change, a role which is discussed later in this report.

This question of liking leads us to consider another aspect of current Eskimo attitudes which has something to do with status distinction but which is partly independent of it. This is a distaste expressed for a way of life different from one's own. Some Eskimos at the Baker Lake settlement refer to land people as backward and behind the times, in the same way as some city people might refer to those from remote regions of the countryside as 'hicks'. This bias on the part of settlement dwellers is reported from Port Harrison, Great Whale River, and Rankin Inlet. The reverse attitude, that is, the distaste for those who live in settlements and work for wages or live on government funds, is reported from Great Whale, Sugluk, and has been expressed by a number of confirmed Nunamiut in the Baker Lake region.

If we leave aside this matter of liking and distaste and consider the allocation of prestige and esteem, we are on surer ground and a higher degree of consensus can be detected. There appears to be general consensus among the Eskimos that people who live in poverty are to be pitied and looked down upon, whether they live in settlements or not. In the traditional society, both prestige and esteem were given to those who had mastered the skills of living off the land and sea. These people were also the wealthiest in terms of equipment, food, dress, and symbols of status, although the disparities between them and their fellowmen may not have been wide by our standards. New criteria of evaluation are entering the scene: the mastery of such skills as those required to mix easily with both the Kabloona and the 'traditional' Eskimos; command of the English language; ability to perform work which is highly valued by the Kabloona, such as the operation, maintenance, and repair of machinery-- in short, criteria pertaining to the mastery of both the social and physical environment. Persons who are high on these criteria and who are comparatively wealthy certainly receive deference and respect from fellow-Eskimos in the Baker Lake region--although some of them are not liked.

We would venture the following generalization on the basis of our own field-work and the perusal of the literature. The highest ranking Eskimo in the community is probably that person who has the highest income and who gains it as an entrepreneur. Where this is feasible, such as in those places where sea-mammal hunting with Peterheads or other large boats is profitable, the boat-owner is probably the highest ranking person in the group. This position is enhanced if he also lives in the settlement and is regarded by the Kabloona as a spokesman and leader of his group. Such appears to be the case at Sugluk and Povungnituk and, perhaps, at Tuktoyaktuk. However, where entrepreneuring is not feasible, we appear to have two systems of ranking: one for the settlement and one for the land.

There is some support for this suggestion from Baker Lake. It should be pointed out that in this region there are few opportunities for people on the land to amass objects, food, income and other status differentia because of the relative paucity of caribou and the instability of the fur market. However, a few of the twenty land camps usually have a satisfactory year and periodically enjoy a year of abundance. The heads of these camps enjoy considerable prestige.

It is interesting to observe that in the most successful camp the leader keeps well abreast of modern technology. In 1959 he purchased a motor toboggan, which he uses to great effect in patrolling his fox traps. When this man comes to the settlement, he is treated with considerable respect, although he is not particularly well liked. At the settlement he interacts with some of the marginal Kabloonamiut but rarely with the highest ranking Kabloonamiut. The wealthiest Eskimo at the settlement is also much respected and imitated, his innovations have mainly to do with style.

While it may be true that there are currently two systems of prestige ranking, we have the firm impression of a trend towards the ranking of settlement people on a prestige scale, the ranking of land people on an esteem scale. Successful land people may be admired, but they are finding it increasingly difficult to find spouses for their sons, there being a tendency for girls on the land to seek a settlement living, and a definite tendency for girls in the settlement to refuse to marry young men on the land, no matter how admired are the families of the young men. We may expect this trend to gain momentum, the more young people are exposed to the settlement and particularly to the education which will soon be universal.

Given the system of ranking statuses by whatever criteria, there still remains the question of the extent to which people who are equal in rank form strata which cut across the community. We have already mentioned the tendency for settlement people to form a stratum in Baker Lake and to channel marriage within the settlement or between settlements. Within the settlement patterns of interaction in sociability tend to go along status lines. Moreover, most of the marriage arrangements noted were between families of roughly equal rank. To illustrate, two of the children of one special constable are betrothed to two of the children of the other special constable. The son of the wealthiest Kabloonamiut, a skilled worker for the Department of Transport is promised to the daughter of the maintenance foreman of the Department of Northern Affairs installation. The adopted son of the Anglican catechist, who is also an independent building contractor of some means, is promised to the daughter of the only Eskimo minister in the Arctic, at Rankin Inlet. The latter case, and others like it which could be cited, foreshadow an extension of strata across community lines and the emergence of status groupings which are pan-Eskimo rather than specific to given communities and sub-cultures.

It may be that the emergence of such community-transcending status groups is most likely to occur in those areas where band and extended family solidarity is weakest or non-existent. In these areas a condition of organic solidarity or integration should more quickly replace a condition of mechanical solidarity or integration.

Until very recently in many Arctic localities where people depended on sea-mammal hunting, a group of extended families making up a hunting camp, band, or deme, numbering from 30 to 60 people, formed a corporate group for many purposes. These groups more or less duplicated one another in economic and social function, although some might be more highly regarded than others. These groups were differentiated internally, of course. For instance, within a band rights over scarce large boats were vested in the leaders of certain families, rights which were inherited. For the Canadian Arctic, this pattern has been reported as traditional for Tuktoyaktuk, Sugluk, and Povungnituk.

In these places, segmentation into relatively large, similarly structured groups, implies that solidarity is channeled at the level of the band, camp, or deme. The more autonomous and solid the band, the less likely it is that horizontal stratification cutting across the boundaries of bands will emerge.

The evidence from studies consulted points to a lessening of band autonomy and a definite tendency for bands and extended families to become economically differentiated or specialized. Thus, at Tuk, one extended family group is now specializing in boat building, another in hunting, another in reindeer herding. In Sugluk, two bands specialize in sea-mammal hunting, owning their own Peterheads, another specializes in working for wages at the Kabloona installations; another tends to specialize in trapping. This kind of specialization is going on within settlements, and is a process well worth observing, step-by-step, as it develops.

In the Baker Lake region and in other parts of the Arctic where, at least in recent times, the band system was not prevalent, and where camps were smaller, and extended families less demarcated than in the regions mentioned above, there is no traditional grouping into large units beyond the simple extended family which might form the basis of ordering relations in the settlement.

As far as we can discover, at no time since the history of sustained contact began did the Eskimos in such settlements as Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, and Eskimo Point divide into sizeable segments, each more or less duplicating the other in social and economic function. As suggested earlier, the absence of a previous band structure, as described for some sea-mammal hunting locations, is a condition favourable to the rapid development of socio-economic strata which cut horizontally across the whole Eskimo community at a settlement. However, even where this band structure exists, the tendency is towards a condition of organic solidarity.

Another interesting development which accompanies the movement into settlements is the working out of relationships between Eskimos of different regional origins. As pointed out earlier, the Eskimos were traditionally differentiated into sub-cultures which some earlier authors referred to as tribes. Let us for the sake of convenience refer to these sub-cultural groupings as ethnic groups. In many settlements there is considerable ethnic mixing. At Baker Lake, one finds among the permanent residents Utkuhisalingmiut, Harvaqtormiut, Quernermiut. At Rankin Inlet, Aivilikjuarmiut from the North rub shoulders with Ahialmiut and Padlermiut from the South.

We do not yet have adequate data on interaction among people in these different groups, intermarriage rates, and so on, but from personal observation and reports ethnic identification among the Eskimos has always been weak, compared, say, with the kinds of traditional identification characteristic of some Indian people. Many young people encountered at Baker Lake and Rankin Inlet did not know the ethnic origin of their parents and themselves showed little interest in this matter.

One way in which ethnicity is used should be reported, for it has some bearing on class and status differentiation. On several occasions in our experience ethnicity has been brought in as an explanation for differences

between people. For instance, at Baker Lake a person explained that one group of brothers were superior travellers and dog-handlers because they were Utkuhikhalingmiut. During a conversation about one family group which had a rather high rate of deviance in its history--such as incest, fighting, mental disorders--one Eskimo offered the explanation that they "are Harvaqtorumiut and these people are very backward and stupid." At Rankin Inlet an Eskimo informant told a joke which discredited the Netsilikmiut. When we pursued the question of just what was the matter with the Netsilikmiut, the informant finally summed it up by saying--"They don't have anything!" By this he meant that they were poor. This led us to inquire into the link between the uses of ethnicity and low rank. Our findings so far indicate people of high rank do not speak of themselves in terms of ethnic membership (except as Eskimos), and presumably do not identify strongly with a regional ethnic group; nor do they speak of people from other regions who are also of high rank in the community as being from such-and-such an ethnic group. However, when they express feelings of superiority over the people who are of low prestige, they are likely to formulate explanations of why this is in terms of ethnicity. To cite another illustration from Rankin Inlet, in 1960 we were discussing a group of people who had been relocated in 1957 from the Interior Keewatin where they had survived a famine. Even after a year and a half at the mining settlement, many of these people were on relief, were disheartened, apathetic, and so on. A prominent Kabloonamiut in the gathering pointed out to us, assuming that we did not know it already, that, of course, these people were Ahialmiut, and what can you expect of them? It suddenly occurred to us that two of the household heads from the interior migration were doing very well materially, working regularly, living in a wooden house, eating and dressing well, taking part, and in some situations a leading part, in Eskimo community activities. I asked the informant, "But aren't X and Y Ahialmiut?" From his reply I gathered that he did not think of these men and their families in ethnic terms at all.

As in the surrounding society, there is an ethnic dimension of social class, in at least some settlements. Ferguson talks of how the Mackenzie Delta Eskimos, who were the wealthiest in Tuktoyaktuk, look down upon migrants from Alaska and from the Coppermine region. In his description of Rankin Inlet community in the summer of 1958, Dailey has the following to say:

"...a class system is developing among the Eskimos in this larger community. This is a consequence of the deme and the concentration of several of these in the same place. Eskimos from Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay have inter-married for some time. They recognize one another as equals, but both 'look down' on people from Eskimo Point whom the former consider to be 'dirty'. This social cleavage has been supported by the mine, although not by design, in that Chesterfield Inlet people were the first to be hired. Further, because of a long and somewhat concerted contact with the mission, the Chesterfield Inlet Eskimos have found adjustment

easier than those people from Eskimo Point. The latter, as the most recent immigrants to Rankin Inlet, have not been able to adjust as easily nor are they in a position to seek better jobs in the mining routine. Thus they have remained remote in their identification with this project, and find themselves occupying the lower social stratum." (174)

To some extent the invidious comparisons between these regional ethnic groups have to do with recency of settlement, and the status of newcomer. It is too early to say to what extent these ethnic sub-divisions will be perpetuated, or how long ethnicity at the regional level will be used explain low status position and deviance. However, it is worth documenting what little we have been able to gather in this matter in the hope of prompting some research into this interesting form of differentiation.

Other new forms of differentiation in Eskimo society should be mentioned. There are two forms of sorting out and grouping which are familiar to us, but without precedent in Eskimo society; the division into religious denomination and the emergence of something like age sets, manifested particularly in middle and late teenage gangs in the larger settlements. These forms of grouping are not dealt with in this report because they are less directly related to status differentiation than are the settlement-land and the ethnic distinctions, and my focus of interest here has been in class and status differentiation.

On the basis of what has been documented here it appears that we are witnessing the emergence of social and economic classes which will, before long, cut across community boundaries in the Arctic, linking people in a pan-Eskimo grouping. We do not predict the rapid passage of the Eskimo into the Canadian class system. This is not the place to go into the matter of relations between the Kabloona and the Eskimos in Arctic communities. On this matter we say simply that these groups form demarcated sub-systems or sub-communities in every settlement for which we have information. Because of the barriers between sub-systems, we may expect that the Eskimos will not simply 'pass' into the larger society in any substantial numbers. Articulate Eskimos are already claiming to speak for all Eskimos vis-a-vis all Kabloona. These articulate Eskimos are Kabloonamiut by our definition and the products of either settlement living or lengthy stays in Kabloona institutions, such as hospitals and residential schools. In cultural terms they are much closer to the Kabloona than they are to the traditional Eskimos. However, for many of them, their identification with the Eskimo reference group is growing increasingly intense. Parallels from the literature on Indians are relevant here, in particular the literature on the role of and characteristics of leaders of nativistic movements. My closing suggestion is that if pan-Eskimoism does emerge and crystallize, the peculiar conditions promoting the development of Eskimo social classes will have been to a large extent the determinants.

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