northern co-ordination and research centre department of northern affairs and national resources

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE ESKIMO CO-OPERATIVE AT GEORGE RIVER QUEBEC

SAUL E. ARBESS

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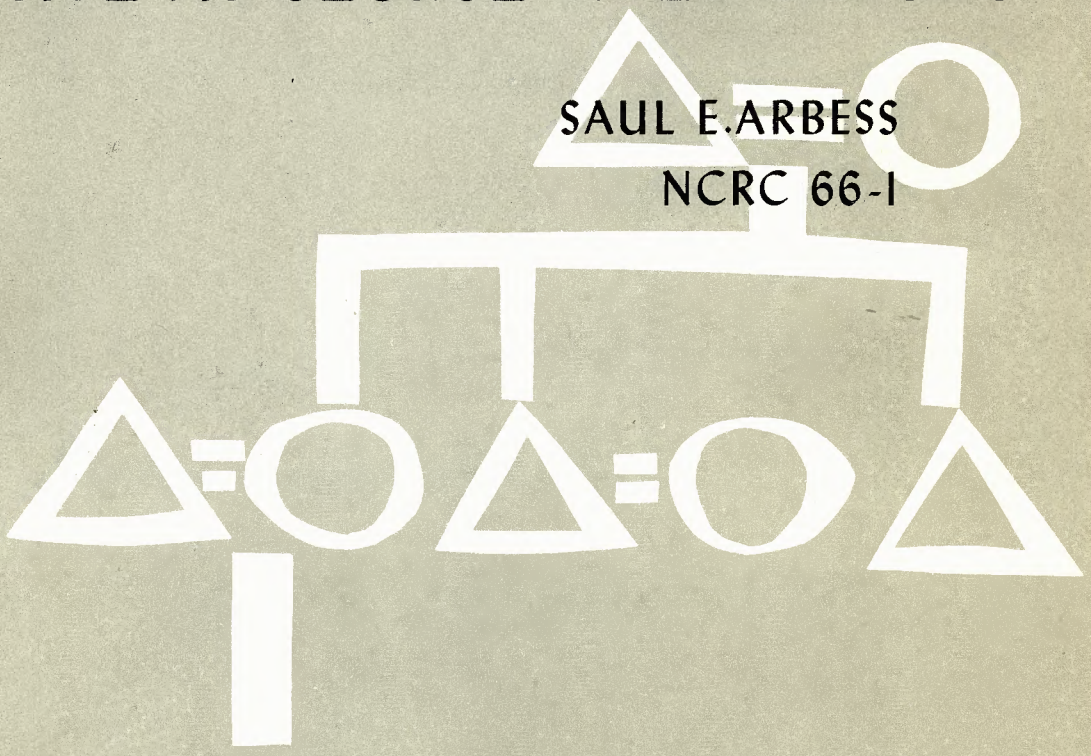

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE ESKIMO

CO-OPERATIVE AT GEORGE RIVER, QUEBEC

by

Saul E. Arbess

This report was originally submitted as a thesis at McGill University, and is being reproduced in its present form 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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PREFACE

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Miss Eva Varkony drew both the map and the table, for which I wish to thank her.

To the people of George River, Quebec, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for having taken me in with such warmth, friendliness and helpfulness, most particularly Mr. and Mrs. Don B. Pruden, the former being the Department of Northern Affairs' Projects Officer at George

River. An extraordinary man of the north, he imparted to me during my brief stay, some small part of his great knowledge of the land and the people. To old Sam Annanak, and his sons, Josepie Sam, and Elijah Sam, among whom I lived, my gratitude for being such wonderful hosts and valuable teachers.

S.E.A.
McGill University
August, 1965

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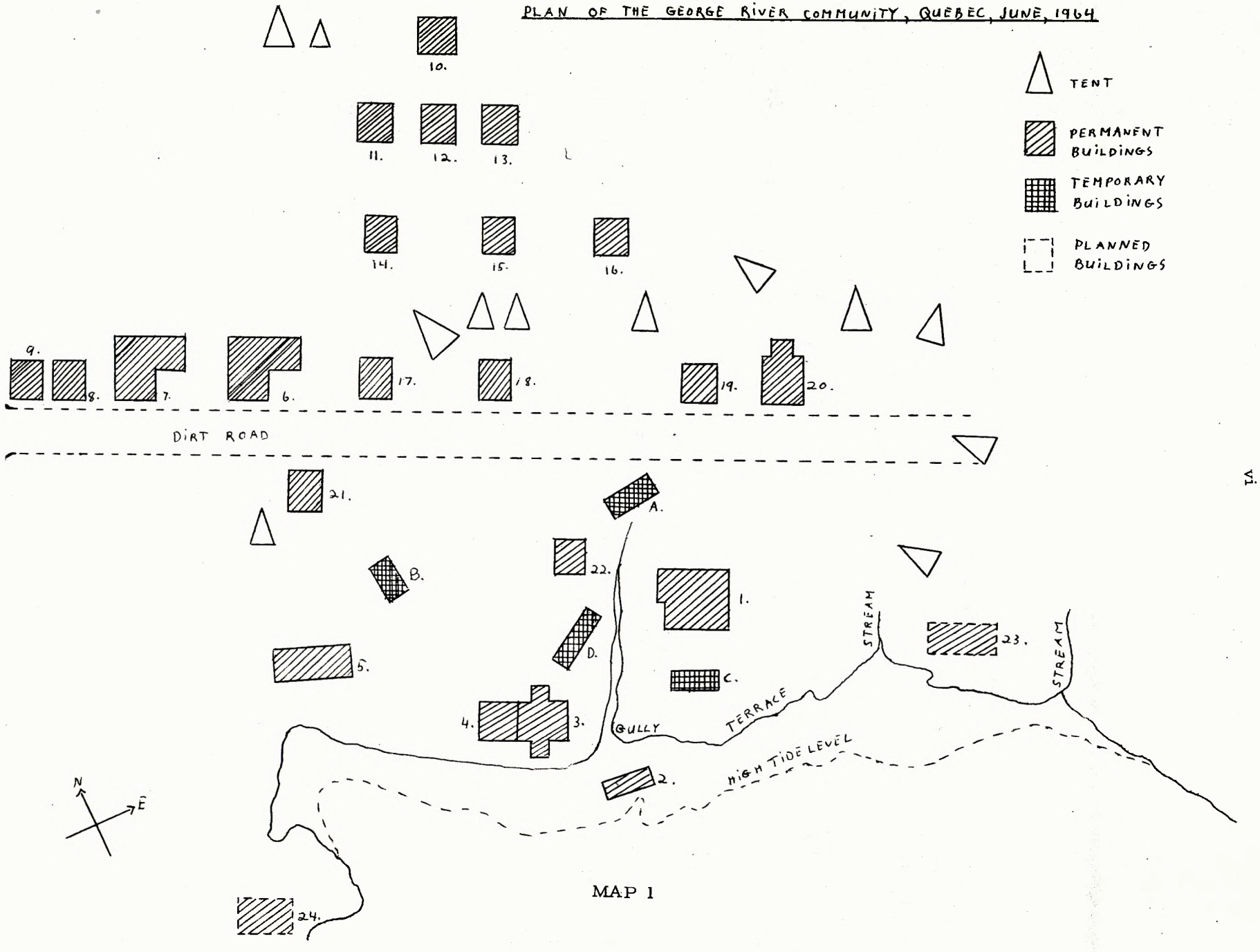
PLAN OF THE GEORGE RIVER COMMUNITY, QUEBEC, JUNE, 1964
TENT
PERMANENT BUILDINGS
TEMPORARY BUILDINGS
PLANNED BUILDINGS
DIRT ROAD
STREAM
STREAM
GULLY
TERRACE
HIGH TIDE LEVEL
N
E

MAP 1

TABLE 1

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Plate 1 - A part of the village of George River, showing the school (right centre).

INTRODUCTION

George River, Quebec, is a small Eskimo community of 151 people located on the southeast side of Ungava Bay 16 miles up the George River from the coast itself. This population includes one Qadloona (white) transient family which represents the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) of the Government of Canada, which is responsible for the administration of Eskimo affairs in Northern Quebec.[1] Beginning in 1959, the people of George River went through an intensive period of social change, the results of which the present author studied in the summer of 1964, which will be taken as the ethnographic present. The impetus for change came from the Government of Canada's program of social and economic development and had two main objectives; first, to gather the scattered Eskimo people together in settlements for administrative efficiency and to implement social services already existing in the rest of Canada, and second, to improve and organize the economy based upon the formation of Eskimo cooperatives. George River, in 1959, became the first of these communities.

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[1] At the present time, jurisdiction over the Eskimo people of Northern Quebec is being petitioned for by the Province of Quebec.

Yet all of the accelerated changes that have come about since 1959 have not led to social disorganization but rather to a relatively smooth adaptation to new conditions. It has been continually suggested in the literature that rapid social change leads to social disorganization and disintegration (Linton 1940; Keesing 1953; Barnett et al. 1954; Mair 1957; Hagen 1962). Keesing (1953:84) in his review of studies of culture change, states that, "under dynamic conditions of change cultural systems tend to become disorganized." Leighton and Smith (1955:88) present the following generalization based upon their comparative study of several village communities, "Although the seven communities all show alteration..... it was noticed that the groups which showed the higher rates and greater extent of change were also apparently the most disorganized and demoralized." The central concern of this monograph is to account for the ease of transition made by the George River people, and the nature of their responses to new challenges.

This problem has already been considered in other writings on the Eastern Arctic. Thus, Vallee (1962a) in a discussion of factors favouring the emergence of Eskimo organizations which are likely to be viable under conditions of change gave the following:

1. Where Eskimos have command over resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable or scarce or both;
2. Where, in the pre-settlement period, defined leadership in a strong band organization existed;

3. Where there is no formal segregation between Eskimos and Qadloonas;

4. Where no Qadloona institution is overwhelmingly dominant in the community.

Balikci (1959) has contributed another factor:

5. Where external catalytic agents exist to stimulate organizational response to changes which are task-specific and desired by native people.

This study would like to contribute three factors tending to favour the successful development of Eskimo social organizations.[1]

6. Where the organizational elements required to respond to new conditions already exist in the traditional social system so that an internal reworking of that system permits a viable response;

7. Where, on the individual level, favourable personal and ideological attributes exist both among the intrusive and native leadership;

8. Where the pace of change is controlled by the native population which is motivated to change.

Each of these factors will be considered in relation to the George River situation.

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[1]Redfield et al.; 1936, Keesing 1953, among others, refer to these factors as general considerations in culture change.

Chapter 1 gives a description of the environment of George River. In Chapter 2, "traditional" social organization is discussed with an emphasis on the period immediately preceding intensive government activity. Chapter 3 is concerned with the immediate post-1959 period. Following these descriptive chapters, chapter 4 turns to an analysis of social change in organizational terms, and chapter 5 analyzes, in detail, leadership change. Chapter 6 is a summing up of the study.

In reading this thesis it would be well to keep in mind that we are dealing with a situation of dramatic change. In 1959 the village of George River did not in fact exist. The construction of the physical community did not begin until 1962. Yet in the autumn of 1964, all of the people of George River lived in government-designed wood-frame houses, there was a one-room school house, a cooperative store, a row of government buildings comprising 3 houses and an office, and a small saw-mill. Thus in three years a permanent village had been constructed, a radical innovation for a traditionally nomadic people.

Furthermore, in 1959, the only activity carried out by the George River Eskimo Fishermen's Cooperative was commercial production of Arctic Char, a species of fish found in these waters. In 1964, the cooperative was engaged in the following projects besides char fishing: logging and milling of timber, arts and crafts production, trapping and sealing,

and a cooperative store. To carry out such diversified and sometimes complex activity requires organization of a kind non-existent in traditional times. How then did the George River people react to the new organizational needs? How were new organizations developed? How was community integration achieved? How did leadership emerge? These questions we will attempt to answer below.

CHAPTER 1

THE ENVIRONMENT

Location

George River is located on the southeast side of Ungava Bay 16 miles up the George River. It is about 125 miles from the regional government administrative center of Fort Chimo to the southwest. Situated near the northern limit of the trees, good, small stands of merchantable timber are found along the shores of the George River about 60-70 miles upstream from the village. Communication with the outside is by radio-transmitter which links the various settlements of Ungava Bay to the Chimo settlement. George River is also linked to other places in the Bay via small water-craft. Heavy supplies and building materials are brought by an annual supply ship. Emergency and charter air-service from Fort Chimo also are available as needed to bring the sick to the Chimo nursing station or hospitals in the south, to bring supplies and mail. There is no post-office or regular mail-service to George River. It should be noted that during the period of freeze-up, October 15 - December 15, and break-up of the ice in the river, June 1 - July 1, approximately, there is no air-service, nor water-transportation.

In the summer of 1961, a representative of DNA went to the George River region to survey potential village sites for the construction program

to begin in 1962. According to his report,[1] the present site was chosen for the following reasons: (1) there was access to the already built freezer used for fish storage, located about 16 miles away on the Ungava Bay coast, and to coastal sea mammal hunting and fishing, to the Hudson's Bay Company's (HBC) camp store located 7 miles upriver, and since closed in 1963, to the exploitable stands of timber about 60-75 miles upriver, (2) the site itself had plenty of room for houses, good drainage, wood for fuel, was sheltered, had a year-round water supply, and Jeep roads could be made. On the negative side was the fact that at low-tide, it was a long distance to water (more than a mile) deep enough for boats. Still, it was considered the best site in the region. The George River people then gathered at this site. They accepted it, and a log building to serve as a community hall and living quarters for a DNANR representative and his family scheduled to arrive the following spring, was constructed at what is now George River village.

In April, 1962, at the Annual Meeting of the Cooperative,[2] the 25 members present were asked to vote for or against the present site. Before the vote, considerable unfavourable opinion was expressed against the chosen site particularly its navigation problems. It was said that not all of the members were present at the July, 1961, meeting when the site was accepted.

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[1]Report of S.J. Newcomb, DNANR, Industrial Division Files, Ottawa, 1961.

[2]DNANR, Industrial Division, Minutes.

Several men were in favour of a site at the mouth of the Korok River, about 20 miles from the mouth of the George River. DNANR representatives indicated strongly that there would be a one-year delay in beginning of the building of the community if the site was changed, since approval would have to come from Ottawa, and a new plan drawn up. On the strength of this information, the 25 members cast their secret ballots, 22 voting for, and 3 against, the present site, and construction began that spring.

In discussion with the government representative at George River in 1964, several disadvantages of the present site were enumerated:

1. Lack of suitable water supply. George River is located on a salt water part of the river. The only available drinking water comes from small streams and is carried via plastic hose to the village. In winter, melted ice and snow are used as well.
2. Poor fishing at the site itself making it necessary to go to the Bay itself and to disperse along the coast.
3. The site is at least 45 miles from reliable hunting grounds.
4. The site, although giving the appearance of being sheltered with high rising hills and cliffs on two sides, is not in fact. These hills act in such a way as to funnel the winds off Ungava Bay onto the village.
5. There is a lack of fire-wood.

6. Tides on Ungava Bay are among the highest recorded tides in the world severely affecting all navigation and the loading and unloading of water-craft ranging from canoes to the annual supply-ship. A great deal of productive time is lost through the mistiming of tides and the subsequent need to hike over mud flats for distances up to better than a mile. In the case of unloading large ships, the cargo has to be offloaded to another smaller craft first. In short, it is impossible to say that all life is regulated by the unyielding tides. The important point is that it was possible to find sites less vulnerable to tidal activity.

7. Finally, there is no adequate landing-strip for aircraft.

Climate

The climate at George River is sub-arctic, rather than arctic, since the mean July temperature exceeds 50°F. The average monthly temperature in that month is 55° F. and 54° F. in August. Winter mean temperatures are -12° F. in January and -9° F. in February. These figures are from Fort Chimo but the climatic conditions there are similar enough to George River to be employed here. There are no long-range records for George River itself.

Flora

Apart from well-watered areas along the banks of rivers where small stands of timber are found which can be exploited for construction, in dry areas only thinly scattered and stunted trees are found separated by open areas of lichens, shrubs, and mosses, which becomes the only vegetation in the tundra proper.

Economically Important Fauna

The commercial production of Arctic Char constitutes the economic base of the George River community. Before 1959, Char was an important subsistence resource. Salmon is caught also but is used only locally as a subsistence resource. Among the sea mammals locally found are the harp seal, the ringed seal, and the square-flipper, of which the harp seal is by far the most important as a source of food and skins which are used partially as clothing, but mostly for the fur trade. The prices for seal-skins have been high for about the last 4 years. It should be noted that none of the varieties of seal is plentiful in the region of Ungava Bay in the vicinity of George River. Whale, notably the white whale, is occasionally killed and used exclusively as a subsistence food resource.

Among land animals, caribou provide a minor source of food since they have been declining in numbers since about the turn of the century, although herds in the region seem to be increasing at the present time (Evans 1964:20). Eider duck, geese and ptarmigan abound and are a minor source of food, notably the former. Wildfowl eggs are also used as food,

and eiderdown as an insulating material for clothing and bed covers. Several important fur-bearing animals are trapped commercially, of which the white fox is the only significant source of income.

The above outline of the resource use balance has not significantly changed since 1959, except for the commercial production of Char and the exploitation of timber resources.

Having thus outlined the non-human environment is which the George River people function and with which they interact, let us turn to a consideration of the human social environment, of social organization, both past and present.

CHAPTER 11

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION PRECEDING 1959

Vallee (1962b) provides us with a useful summary of the indigenous social organization in the Eastern Canadian Arctic. It consisted of groups of related, extended families which were joined together to form the core of what have been called bands or camps. These were co-residential, nomadic, economically-cooperative units whose membership was unstable both in terms of numbers and personnel. During the annual cycle a number of seasonal camps were inhabited as the families followed the movements of the fish and game upon which the subsistence hunting and fishing economy depended. The size of groupings was sharply delimited by ecological factors such that the membership in any group approached an optimum number which the available resources could support in a given region. For all groupings, role and status differentiation were on the basis of sex, age, birth order, domestic or camp leadership, access to the supernatural, and hunting prowess. The nearest traditional organization approaching any form of institutionalized leadership backed up by formal sanctions was in the role of shaman whose authority was supported by supernatural sanctions. He would protect the band's members, cure disease and locate and summon the animals through control of supernatural spirits. The pattern of dispersed bands was continuous up until the contemporary period, although variations in resources and seasonal factors affected the size and location of

particular bands.

Contact with Europeans and Canadians falls roughly into 3 historical periods (Balikci, 1959 and Findlay, 1955). The period from 1866 to about the turn of the century was the first period of intensive Hudson's Bay Company activity with a trading post at Chimo and an outpost at George River. It was in this period that the importance of Chimo as the regional center of Ungava Bay began to be evident. The major activities in this period were seal hunting, salmon fishing, and to a lesser extent wood-cutting. Trapping had not yet become a major activity. It was in this period that the rifle came into use together with a dependence upon the trading post for certain staple foods and articles of clothing. In the 1890's there was a great depletion in the caribou herds with attendant starvation and decline of population. The scarcity of caribou led to an increasing dependence upon the trade store for foodstuffs.

Two new basic factors heralded in the second historic contact period. These were the increasing demand in Western society for white fox and the establishment, in 1903, of another trading company rivalling the HBC, called Revillon Freres. Trading posts were established throughout the Bay area. These included a full-fledged trading post at George River at which location the HBC was to remain in some capacity until 1963. This post became the center of the George River people's trading activities. Chimo remained the regional center. These factors created an economic boom for the Eskimos through the 1920's and permitted them to buy canvas for tents and, most important, Peterhead boats. This boom period ended in 1930-31 with a sudden drop in prices. It should be mentioned here that the Anglican Mission established itself at Chimo in 1900, and successfully missionized virtually

all of Ungava Bay in the next several years including the George River people.

The period of depression of the 1930's following the collapse of the fur market continued until about 1945 when the Government of Canada began the administration of welfare and relief measures centered at Fort Chimo. It is not known to what extent the George River people benefitted from wage-labour opportunities arising from the existence of an American Airbase at Chimo established in 1942, or from other small-scale government operations there. Due to their distance from Chimo, it is doubtful that their economy was much affected. In 1952, the HBC trading post was closed at George River, in favour of a camp store which stocked only staples and was run by an Eskimo trader. All large-scale trading was done at the HBC Chimo trading post, and Chimo again became a major focus of the George River people's activities.

The increasing interest of the Government of Canada in the welfare of the Eskimo people begun in 1945 ushered in the final historic contact period which was to last until 1959. We shall consider this period in detail to enable us to establish a base-line from which to measure change in the contemporary or post-1959 period. The most recent source dealing with the social organization of the Eskimo people of Ungava Bay generally is Findlay (1955: 88-128) who spent May to September of 1954 in the region conducting a study concerned mostly with the economy of the Ungava Bay

Eskimos. Her description will be followed closely here as an intensive study of the third historic contact period. It should be noted the pattern of life described below is essentially unchanged from the post-1930 depression period except that superimposed upon this pattern are government welfare and relief measures which increased the standard of living, health, and general economic conditions through the provision of jobs but, more importantly, capital, for the purchase of traps and ammunition, etc.

The Eskimo people lived in hunting and fishing camps located on the coast for fishing and sealing in the summer and up to thirty miles inland in the winter for purposes of shelter and wood fuel. Each camp consisted of from 2 to 6 nuclear families which together comprised a part of an extended family or a band, the average size of each nuclear unit being 4.3 persons in 1954. Camps tended to be re-occupied by the same band segment as long as it chose to return. The band segment at each camp had a Peterhead boat and all the members were dependent upon the owner for transport and for most of the sealing. Each nuclear family lived in its own tent. (N. B. Findlay, when using the term family, does not specify whether she means nuclear or extended family, so the present author has assumed that the "typical" eastern arctic tradition prevailed. Inferences from the contemporary situation indicated this to be the case. Furthermore, in a personal communication, Mr. Jon Evans characterizes the 1959 camps as composed of "extended families.")

The annual cycle saw the George River people gathered at Fort Chimo in September collecting stores, food, clothing, and equipment for the winter, all obtained through the medium of credit. "Debt", the local expression for credit financing, was incurred for traps, ammunition, and essential foods, in that order. Family Allowances were picked up at the R.C.M.P. post. It was not paid in cash but in goods; usually clothing, tent material, needles, thread, and ammunition. The same R.C.M.P. officer would also give each head of family a slip for relief rations and with this staples were procured: flour, lard, tea, salt, matches, and soap. The group then left by Peterhead boat to their winter camps, returning during the winter via dog sled to trade their fox skins and to collect Family Allowances and relief rations.

In October and November parties of caribou hunters were organized but these were sporadic and concentrated in the George River valley. In winter some sealing took place at the mouth of the George River, but again, this was a limited activity. Arctic Char was taken in nets placed under the ice of lakes and rivers, and ptarmigan were hunted. Infrequent caribou hunts again took place between February and April. In winter, trapping was the sole source of cash income and white fox was the major crop.

Winter camps were abandoned at the end of April or early May and the groups moved back to the coastal waters and camps from which trips to Chimo began again under suitable navigational conditions. This was generally towards the end of June or early July. In summer Arctic char

was caught and formed a staple in the diet. Salmon was also taken in August during the annual run and used as a dog food. Both of these species of fish were caught in nets the people made of gilling twine. Sealing was carried on through the summer, but seals were plentiful only during about 3 weeks in June and July when trips were made by Peterhead to various offshore islands. In June wildfowl eggs and eiderdown were collected. Wildfowl, notably eider duck were shot throughout the summer during the season of June and early July. At the end of the summer, everyone gathered at Chimo, those at the camps joining those who had been in Chimo all summer doing odd jobs, to earn wages as stevedores unloading the annual H.B.C. supply ship. In September the annual cycle began again.

It was the considered opinion of both Findlay (1955), a geographer, and Dunbar (1952), a zoologist, that the Eskimos were not harvesting nearly the potential of sea resources available to them.

From the above account, it is evident that given a severe shortage of cash income with which to purchase essential staples and store goods, various forms of social assistance amounted to a very high percentage of the total income, in fact over 50%. The average household income for 1954 was broken down by Findlay (1955:119) as follows:

Trapping.....	$250.00 (1954 was a peak year)
Family Allowance.....	124.00
Relief.....	167.00
	$541.00 (Total for a peak year)

This figure excludes summer employment income which varied considerably from family to family, but two month summer employment could have brought up to $300 for a man employed by resident concerns of Ungava Bay. It also excludes the proportion of the diet attained by subsistence hunting and fishing which would vary from year to year but probably did not exceed 50%.

Generally the picture painted by Findlay (1955), Evans (1964), and Dunbar (1952) is one of a depressed, demoralised, parasitic people, with reference to southern Canadian values. Evans (1964:11) said of the situation in 1958, "the original native economy has become completely disrupted.... The general standard of health is poor and initiative is correspondingly low. The low state of energy and initiative results in reduced hunting and fishing activity. This combined with the feeling that 'the government owes us a living,' forms a depressing picture."

The foregoing description serves to furnish a base-line against which the induced changes of an intrusive society begun in 1959 with the implementation of the new government development program, will be measured. This base-line is seen to be that of an already partially "acculturated" and partially traditional social situation in economic and technological terms, which is much removed from a purely aboriginal pattern.

CHAPTER 111

THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD:

FOUNDING THE COOPERATIVE-BASED COMMUNITY

As a result of an economic survey of Ungava Bay carried out by Evans (1964) in 1958 under the sponsorship of the Government of Canada's Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), a social and economic program was drawn up for the George River people and implementation began in 1959. Critical for our purposes was the following statement of policy: "It is important that any industries established be under Eskimo ownership at a very early phase in their development.... the successful development of these industries would require a good deal of initiative, hard work, and determination on the part of participants. Each project would have a much better chance of success if the Eskimo participants have a financial and emotional stake in its development... this department (DNANR) would make money available for the capital investment on a loan basis and provide technical and advisory assistance until such time as the Eskimo people can manage the industry by themselves (page 36)." Projects involving considerable risk would go through a proving stage which would be financed outright by DNANR.

The key organization was conceived to be a community cooperative and an educational program for "the development of village and group leaders who would be able to assume the responsibility for the management and

administration of the local industries, within the framework of the cooperative" was to be launched. The key figure in the field was to be a Government Civil Service Cooperative Projects officer. It is significant that the position bore this title and not that of "administrator". The terms of reference of this position were to assist the Eskimo people in the organization and carrying out of cooperative projects which would be economically feasible, to initiate new projects, and to train native personnel to handle all aspects of these operations from technical problems to leadership. The ideal role was to be one of guidance with a view to eventually doing himself out of a job by developing native self-sufficiency. The first and present Projects Officer did not arrive in George River until the spring of 1962. This event ushered in the period of intensive building of the George River village and development of cooperative activities.

Other government personnel of a more transient nature were also to come to George River as technical advisors. For example, in the spring of 1964 an Arts and Crafts Development Officer came to initiate a program of craft production which would be marketed in the south. This person left in July, 1964.

Formal education was also envisaged as part of the development program. In 1960 a summer school was set up in a tent for a period of six weeks in which English, arithmetic, reading and writing were taught by two transient teachers who left at the end of the six week period. In 1962, the wife of the Projects Officer who holds First Class Teaching

Certificates from the provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, first held classes from September to December in a tent, and from then on in the new school house which was completed in January 1963. It has a single spacious classroom in a bright, modern structure which has plumbing facilities and central heating.

All of the children of compulsory school ages from 6-16 attend school as well as several older children. Attendance is very high, averaging about 96% in 1963-64. Since all of the children began at the same time, there is not much difference between the older and younger children's curriculum except that the former is somewhat accelerated. For the academic year 1963-64, it consisted of grade 1 level reading, basic English, and grade 3 arithmetic. English is the exclusive language of instruction. During the summer of 1964, an adult summer school was held for those adults remaining in the village.

The arrival of the second teacher who was to double as principal was to coincide with the construction of another class-room in 1964. Since construction materials did not arrive, there are at present two shifts in the single class-room.

Construction of the Community

On April 15, 1959, the George River Eskimo Fishermen's Cooperative was incorporated, each member purchasing a share for $1.00. The first President and Board of Directors was elected by the membership.

In August of that year, a freezer-locker with a capacity of 18,000 pounds of fish was erected at a site on Ungava Bay, by DNANR, for which a rental of $2250.00 per annum was to be charged to the Co-op, about 16 miles from the future site of George River village. That year the first commercial harvest of Arctic Char was made and marketed in the south, the DNANR acting as agent for the cooperative. After the fishing season, the annual dispersal of the individual small bands to their winter camps took place, as in pre-1959 times. This pattern was to continue through 1961. In 1961, the last cooperative elections were held bringing into office a new President, a hallmark in George River history as we shall see later.

With the coming of the Projects Officer in 1962, construction of the permanent community got underway. The plan was as follows. For each housing unit, the Government provided a $1000.00 grant to purchase the imported plywood external siding and the necessary hardware, and locally cut and milled timber would be used for the frames, the whole unit to be erected with cooperative, voluntary labour. Public buildings such as the school, the office and radio station, and warehouses, were to be provided by the Government employing paid native labour in large part.

All of the Eskimo housing was provided for in the above manner with the exception of two houses constructed by the Department of Health and Welfare for Eskimo families on the basis of need. Eskimo houses are of government design, the dimensions of which are $12' \times 24'$ divided into 2 rooms

by a moveable partition. Most families sleep together in a single room in the traditional fashion, although makeshift beds have replaced the sleeping-platform. The other room sometimes houses the kitchen and/or is used as a storage room. Houses are equipped with simple wood-burning stove-heaters without ovens and each has a portable toilet and bucket arrangement. There are no plumbing facilities, no sinks, no bath-tubs, and no hot water. Water is hauled or snow melted. There are no refrigerators, but refrigeration is not a problem in this climate and with the condition of permafrost.

In the spring of 1962 the first four houses were constructed, and three others were built that Fall. A vigorous building program saw the erection of the Projects Officer's house, 38' x 38' in size, owned by DNANR and rented by him, the school, the powerhouse to provide electricity for the community, and the saw-mill.

In 1963, six more Eskimo houses were constructed, along with a large 30' x 38' DNANR house now rented by the School Principal, another DNANR house for transient government personnel, and an office which houses the radio transmitter. A mere glance at the dimensions of the School Principal's and Project Officers's houses reveals a marked contrast to those of the Eskimo houses. These houses have two and three bedrooms respectively and are designed in southern Canadian bungalow style. They are equipped with most of the amenities of southern Canadian life including well-appointed rooms, internal plumbing systems with hot water, refrigerators, washing

machines, and oil heating. These houses are serviced by a salaried Eskimo who also functions as school janitor.

By September of 1964 a major goal had been achieved: all Eskimo families were living in wood-frame houses and none in tents. This was accomplished through the erection of nine houses. No other building was done in 1964.

The Eskimo people clearly differentiate between the village of George River and the total area of their movements of their territorial limits. The village of George River is called "Akilasakudluk" and the territory, "Kanikjualukjuak." Thus whereas the Qadloonas mean by George River people, the people inhabiting the village of George River; the Eskimo meaning of the term embraces the whole territory. So, within the territory they refer to "Akilasakudluk" as merely one site among many, whereas when speaking to people of other territories, e.g. Port Burwell, they refer to themselves as the people of "Kanikjualukjuak." This distinction is very significant since it permits us to see the illusory aspects of the apparently sedentary life of the George River people today arising from the creation of a permanent village site. When we consider the present annual cycle it will be seen that almost every family spends at least three months of the year outside the village and many men are away on work-parties without their families for better than 50% of the time. This problem will be further considered anon.

Economic Activity and Development

From the beginning in 1959 solely as a fishermen's producer cooperative for the harvesting of Arctic Char, there has been much diversification of economic activity.

Because of its unique location in the vicinity of merchantable timber, a logging and milling industry on a small scale has developed at George River. Timber is cut along the banks of the George River about 60-75 miles upriver from the village, driven down the river in the spring where it is milled at the George River saw-mill. The dressed lumber is used for local construction as discussed above, and also to support a small boat building industry which has supplied other Ungava Bay communities with small boats. Some lumber is also sold to other communities.

Furs of land animals, of which the most important is white fox, and sealskins, form an important part of the economy and are traded through the cooperative store.

In 1963, a cooperative store was established to provide the village with staple goods and also to serve as an outlet for some of the members' produce, notably arts and crafts and furs. Major purchases, as well, such as boats and motors can be purchased through the store on long-term credit arrangements. Transactions are conducted through the credit system, a man being given credit at the store to the value of his produce. The expression used is that a man is "given a debt" at the store. The limit of debt for all co-op members at any time is $100.00. Cash is seldom used as a medium of exchange. The co-op store is run by an Eskimo manager.

In the spring of 1964, a Crafts Development Officer of DNANR initiated a program of arts and craft production. The produce was priced by a committee of three Eskimos and then purchased by the co-op store and sent to southern markets, the co-op paying for shipment. The DNANR acted as both shipping and marketing agent with no fee being charged to the co-op.

With the proliferation of new activities and modification of the old, the annual cycle has been considerably altered. To facilitate comparison with the annual cycle during the 1950's (page 14,) we shall begin with the fall. These figures should be borne in mind: in 1964 there were 29 nuclear families comprising five extended family groupings or bands who lived in 21 households with a total of 38 producers (male) or, on the average, two per household.

The current annual cycle is as follows:

August	Towards the end of August the people gather together again in the village after the summer char fishing season. There is milling of lumber at the saw-mill for use in construction during this period. The annual visit of the supply ship takes place and all are employed as stevedores.
September	Milling and construction continue. There is continuous sealing up to freeze-up time, about October 15. Caribou hunting parties go out.
October	Freeze-up occurs about October 15 and water travel ends. Land travel by dog sled and mechanized sled begins about the end of the month. Construction ends. Caribou hunting is undertaken.
November	Extensive caribou hunting is carried on.

December — Laying of fish-nets under the ice for winter lake and river fishing for local consumption. Period of feasting and ceremony at the end of the month - Christmas and New Year.

January — Floe-edge seal hunting involving 6-8 men without their families. In 1964, 6 men, some with, some with parts of, and some without their families, went to the Labrador Coast returning towards the end of August. The project netted 150 sealskins. The other men trap white fox mainly, and hunt caribou for subsistence use.

February — About 8 men go 60-75 miles up the George River to cut timber and haul it to the river bank in preparation for the spring log-drive, and then return to the village. Trapping continues.

March — The logging operation is completed and the men return. This is the month of concentrated caribou hunting when most caribou are bagged. Trapping continues.

April — Construction begins again and there are some boats built, the number varying from year to year. Some of the boats may be sold to other communities. April, 1964, saw the beginning of an arts and craft program for men and women. The products were stone-cut graphics and soapstone carvings.

May — This is the month of preparation for the summer fishing season - nets are repaired, boats, motors, and tents are readied for use.

June — The ice breaks up on the river and bays of Ungava Bay permitting the log-drive to take place. The men go upriver, about 10 in all, for this purpose, returning towards the end of the month. The end of June is the time of the annual dispersal to the summer fishing camps, in which all the families leave the village with the exception of 4 men with permanent village jobs, and those employed in summer construction.

July and August — This is the Arctic Char fishing season, char production being the economic base of the George River people. There are 6 camps in all which in general correspond to extended families, at least their cores. Five of these camps are for fishing, the sixth is located at the freezer-site where the fish is processed and frozen in the freezer locker to await the arrival of the pick-up ship to transport the fish to southern markets. Fish statistics and income records are kept at this camp. The various camps are linked by a large 50 foot boat which picks up their fish and transport it to the freezer-site on continual 48 hour rounds during the season. Towards the end of August the people gather again in the village where some salmon is caught and smoked for local consumption. And thus the annual cycle is completed.

If we compare the pre-1959 annual cycle with that of the current period, it becomes immediately apparent that many changes have taken place in the pattern of movement, in the activities undertaken and resources harvested, in the allocation of time and labour, in technology, and in social organization. In the next chapter, an attempt is made to view these changes in terms of the process which has permitted the George River people to accommodate and adapt to change within the framework of the ongoing social system.

For the year ending March 31, 1963, the average income per household (17 productive households), had risen to about $1730.00, based upon the following figures (made up of my own estimates in conjunction with available data) for the community as a whole:

Arctic Char Fishing.....	$ 7000.00
Logging and milling operation.....	3650.00
Miscellaneous wages.....	2000.00
Family Allowances.....	2000.00
Trapping.....	3000.00
DNANR Employment and relief.....	10000.00
Net surplus on cooperative activities.....	1763.00
TOTAL	$ 29413.00

This income in 1963, as compared with 1953-54 (page 18) shows an increase of about three times.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In 1959, a blueprint for social and economic development of George River was introduced by the intrusive southern Canadian society. Two institutional types were introduced to organize and implement this program - a permanent community and a cooperative. Central to this plan was the policy that the Eskimo people should, utilizing their own human and material resources, recover their former self-sufficiency with the assistance and guidance of the intrusive society, and have control over their own destiny. To this end, financial assistance, the free loan of equipment (including the salaries of the operators of that equipment), education, and leadership guidance were to be provided by the agents of change. There follows an intensive analysis of the two critical institutions and their impact upon the indigenous social organization.

The Cooperative

The cooperative was incorporated under the laws of the Province of Quebec, namely the Quebec Syndicates Act. The Act requires that there be a Board of Management consisting of five members, elected at the Annual General Meeting. These officers are President, Vice-President, and three Directors. There is a Secretary-Treasurer, the DNANR's representative, who is appointed by DNANR, and non-voting. The Board has the responsibility

for running the cooperative's affairs, making decisions regarding expenditures, and all other areas of activity, subject to review and approval by the membership at the General Meetings, held within 60 days of the close of the fiscal year. The George River Eskimo Fishermen's Cooperative was incorporated in April, 1959, with 20 members, each member purchasing a share of $1.00. The present membership has grown to 32 with the inclusion of several younger men who have moved into the active, producers generation, usually above 15 years of age.

Financial assistance is provided for by the DNANR in the form of direct grants (e.g. housing), the construction of public buildings (e.g. the school and cooperative), the free loan of equipment (the saw-mill and two boats, a 40 foot "Longliner", and a smaller boat), including the salaries of the men who operate it, vocational training personnel, direct relief, and the Eskimo Loan Fund, which provides long-term, low-interest loans for the purchase of capital equipment by the cooperative and individuals (e.g. boats and motors), and to finance cooperative projects (e.g. purchasing the cooperative store's original inventory).

The cooperative was conceived by DNANR as an institution which would favour systematic, efficient exploitation of resources to produce money income. They saw it as a means of replacing a simple technology of water craft with one using boats and outboard motors to harvest Arctic Char. The

cooperative was viewed as a means of buying these items of very expensive equipment which no single nuclear family could afford alone. But the cooperative entailed changes including attitudinal change.

Since the new economy was to be a money-based one, there was a need to maximize production to generate income for the purchase of capital goods, gasoline, and store goods such as food and clothing, upon which the Eskimo had become dependent. In traditional times, the harvesting of char was a subsistence activity so that attitudes towards production were to produce just enough to live on. In the new situation, Arctic Char was to provide the economic base of the community, so that there was no such thing as "just enough." There was a need for an attitudinal change which favoured the maximization of production; such a change could not be decreed by DNANR. How was this to come about among the George River people?

Now the cooperative provided a mechanism for purchasing, but how did the George River people actually use this mechanism? How did they organize themselves for the efficient use of the equipment in production?

In the first case, where there was a need for larger capital resources to purchase capital goods, the following has occurred. No nuclear family head alone could make large capital purchases, but several producers together could. Now, these joint purchasing groups tended to be members of a single extended family. Consequently, there has been a shift

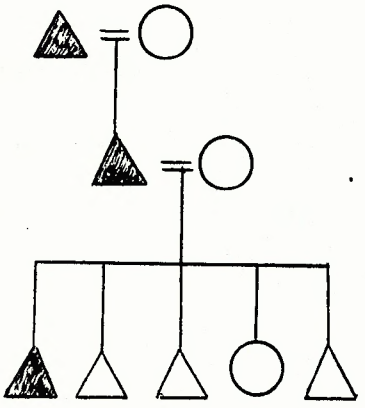
in emphasis in the social system towards the increasing importance of the extended family over the nuclear family. Thus, a father and his sons, who were also producers, could pool their capital resources and a boat and motor could be purchased. Similarly, two or three brothers could make such a purchase. The stress on the extended family versus the nuclear family is favoured by the factor of propinquity. (See Table 1). Whereas before the development of the permanent community, members of the extended family group were scattered in different camps, they are now together for much of the year which greatly increases the frequency of interaction among extended family members. It is possible to see this phenomenon of extended family solidarity and cooperation as an actualization of a latent tendency in the social structure whose expression was restricted by ecological factors which prohibited large groupings of people (See Dunning, 1959). Furthermore it follows the precedent set in the extended family purchase of Peterhead boats in the 1920's (Page 15).

There is a chain of events here. The cooperative being committed to the efficient harvesting of resources creates a need for more efficient harvesting equipment which is expensive and cannot be purchased by individual family heads. This leads to a solution whereby expensive items of technology are purchased collectively by the extended family group which produces a strengthening of extended family ties which was a latent tendency in the social structure.

TABLE 1

Examples illustrating the way in which the extended family structure is used in large capital purchases (boats and motors).

Case 1.

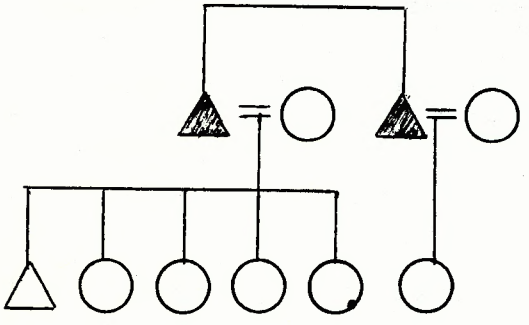


contributors to purchases

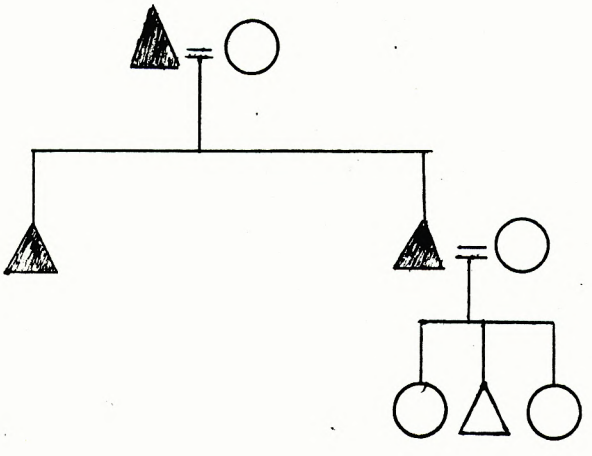
same household

Case 2.

separate households



Case 3.



same household

Purchases are not made on the basis of economic rationality, i.e. by groups of productive young men of different kinship ties who happened to have the wherewithal, but within the framework of kinship. But there arises the problem of organizing the use of the collectively purchased equipment. Who is to use it and when? Here again the solution is within the framework of the traditional system. A boat is considered "owned" by the senior kin member, usually the father, or an elder brother, who has command over its allocation even though he may have been only a minor contributor to its purchase.

But no such adaptive response has taken place in attitudes towards production. Attitudes of the people have generally not changed from the period when char fishing was merely a subsistence activity. Nets are left "high and dry" out of the water at low tide, considerably reducing their productivity, or are left untended during the frequent quests for seal, out of season, an activity which also causes much costly waste of gasoline.

While it is true that the George River people were engaged in a money economy before as trappers, there was not the same need for productivity since the standard of living was lower. Also, during the period of extensive relief payments between 1945 and 1959, parasitism was becoming a way of life and attitude towards production must have sunk to a low ebb.

People speak of better times now in terms of food, shelter, health care, general security, and the chances for survival. It is felt that the

Government would not allow the people to starve - that people have the protection of a benevolent benefactor. But there appears not be a noticeable increase in the level of aspiration because of this recent rise in standard of living and survival value of the community. These gains are still being consolidated and a general satisfaction prevails. Furthermore, the model of a higher standard of living, namely the DNANR personnel, is so remote from the Eskimo (See pages 23-24), as to be considered unattainable by the people.

Attitudinal changes towards production are unlikely to occur in the absence of a crisis threatening the existing standard of living or a rise in the level of aspiration. The latter seems to be occurring at the present time which should have some effect on attitudes. More and more people desire larger boats and motors and additions to their homes, for example. It will be interesting to see how long it is before attitudes towards production substantially change.

The Permanent Community

In pre-1959 times, small groups of 10 -20 people, representing band segments, lived together in a series of seasonal camps. The basis of organization, solidarity, and integration was kinship, a camp consisting of a father and eldest son and their families or two brothers and their families, for example. The creation of a permanent community bringing together 140 odd Eskimos representing five separate bands was a radically new social situation. How was this new community to be organized? How

were the various kin groups to be integrated into a single community - how was solidarity and cohesion to be achieved? What are the social and economic advantages to remaining in the community? These are the concerns of the present section.

First of all, there was an overwhelming desire of the George River people to come together in a permanent community. This is exemplified by a dramatic event in the early spring of 1962. In February of that year, the present Projects Officer of DNANR came to the future site of George River to live in a log dwelling built for the purpose in the summer of 1961, when the site was selected and the Eskimos' tentative acceptance secured. (See pages 6 and 7). Within the next week or so, an Eskimo on his way upriver to the now closed Hudson's Bay Company Camp Store (in 1963), spotted the camp and dropped in. It was explained to him that construction of the village would commence that spring. Within a period of weeks virtually all of the present members of the community of George River were gathered together, a meeting was held to ratify DNANR's chosen site (see pages 7 and 8), and building began soon after. None of the community's members have left it since that time. Besides natural increase and deaths, there has been no change of membership.

Of crucial interest in a consideration of the basis of organization and integration of the community is the cooperative itself. It was the prior experience of working together for three years through the cooperative which permitted the people to make such a smooth adaptation to living

together in a permanent community. It was the cooperative which provided the framework within which the economic activity was organized and projects were carried out. It also provided the framework within which leadership on a community-wide basis was organized and institutionalized. Leadership will be considered separately in the following chapter.

Now the cooperative is the only means available as an outlet for the produce of the people that is practical. Arctic char fishing is wholly organized by the cooperative and there is no other way of selling it. This is mostly true of arts and crafts with the exception of the occasional private sale. Furs and sealskins could be sold to the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Chimo, but there would be considerable expense incurred in travelling the 125 miles each way. Furthermore, the HBC pays a fixed price for furs and skins whereas the cooperative pays a certain amount immediately and a supplement depending on the final market price. Staple foods, ammunition and gasoline, and large capital purchases are most easily and most cheaply purchased through the cooperative store. These economic facts have several repercussions for the community.

All producers which includes all nuclear family heads are members of the cooperative with the exception of six young, unmarried, teen-aged men, and since they are completely dependent upon it as outlined above, it is a powerful force of cohesion. All these men have a serious stake in the successful economic functioning of the cooperative. Not only do they depend on the co-op store for staples, they also have an interest in paying

off a debt to the government incurred by a loan to provide the store's inventory, a loan of $25,000.00, made to purchase the original inventory.

Furthermore, it is cooperative labour which has permitted the logging and milling operation to be carried out, which, in turn, allows for the construction of the physical community. Cooperative and community are mutually interdependent and mutually supportive.

Another mechanism of cohesion is the conceptualization, by the DNANR, of George River as being a coherent administrative unit. Thus, since 1962, all welfare and relief payments for those people considered by the Government to be George River Eskimos, have been made through the George River office and are issued as credit at the cooperative store.

Finally, since all families are nominally Anglican, and participation at services is high, this is a mechanism of integration at the ideological level and a means of common identity. This is seen in the village's plan to construct a chapel with voluntary labour and materials provided by the cooperative. Moreover, this chapel will be served by an Eskimo religious leader, the people having no desire for an outside Qadloona official. This feeling was expressed to me by the Eskimo Lay-reader, Armak, and several others. There is also an emerging sense of "we", the Eskimos, versus "them", the Qadloonas, which will be considered in the next chapter on leadership.

It is interesting to note that problems of community living such as sanitation and control of dogs do not exist as yet at George River.

It would seem that these problems are only so perceived by Qadloonas, and not by Eskimos, and since there is little attempt by the Projects Officer to alter conditions, no problem has arisen.

In the beginning of this chapter, we posed the question of how would the George River people organize themselves for work within the framework of the co-op. The answer is that there has been a strengthening - patrilaterally - of extended family bonds to cope with changed conditions.

Patterns of Movement

In pre-1959 times, the George River people were semi-nomadic occupying a series of seasonal camps with no permanent base. The development of a permanent community created a need to adjust the desire to live in the village with the requirements of the economy for considerable movement. Here again it is seen that nuclear family bonds are weakened and extended family bonds are strengthened. First of all, to consider only the nuclear family, the necessity for children to remain in the village about 9 months of the year to attend school, established only since 1962, and their need for maternal care means that the family provider or providers are constantly leaving the village alone in pursuit of economic activity. This situation is accentuated by the woman's desire to remain in the settlement to benefit from its amenities and companionship, and to avoid the hardship of life on the land (c.f. Vallee 1962a). This situation causes the disruption of the family unit. In pre-1959 times, the nuclear family virtually always cohered

Plate 2 - Moving camp in the summer.

as a unit and migrated together. In the current period, the fishing season is the only time when the family is together outside the village. It has been estimated by the Projects Officer that of a labour force of 38, three men spend about 7 months, six men 4 months, and twelve men 2 months outside the village without their families. This time is spent in work groups carrying out economic activities. It should be stressed that these men are not "commuters" who return home in the evening, but remain away for long periods.

Two factors tend to increase the importance of the extended family versus the nuclear family arising from movement patterns. The first is that, when a work group in traditional times would consist of two hunting partners, the contemporary work group is at times six to eight men, perhaps members of two or more extended families. In January of 1964, for example, a party of six men with their wives (an exception to the above), some with, and some without, their children, went from George River across the Ungava Peninsula to the Labrador Coast for seal hunting. They were to be gone several months and the children not taken were left in the custody of kin. The twin factors of increased size of work groups and entrusting the custody of children to those beyond the nuclear family but within the extended family tended to strengthen extended family ties. The fact that the caring for a relative's children meant more work for the custodians as well as aggravation might be expected to cause inter-family conflict, but this is attenuated by reciprocity.

These changes are the result of the creation of a permanent community superimposed on a semi-nomadic people. The permanent community is an organizational intrusion upon Eskimo society which had never developed spontaneously in that society, but had evolved in an entirely different set of ecological circumstances, namely where there was a stable and renewable source of food. In the past, a series of seasonal camps capitalizing upon the migratory habits of the animals they hunted and fished - the "open-wheel" pattern existed. Now we have a pattern of movement in which men, sometimes with, and sometimes without, their families, leave the village for long periods in the same and also some new activities, but instead of continuing on to the next camp, return to the village, only later setting off on the next part of the annual cycle. This we shall call the "wheel-hub" pattern, the village constituting the hub to which the people return after each part of the annual cycle. The "open-wheel" pattern is economically efficient but means the households must be completely portable, precluding any permanent community site. The "wheel-hub" pattern is inefficient in an economic sense as time is lost going to and from the village and part of the potential harvest of each season is lost, but it allows for the establishment of a permanent community site.

Solien (1961) in a discussion of the relationship between family organizations and five different types of migratory wage labour speaks of a "recurrent migration" type (Type 111), in which "men make irregular journeys of varying lengths of time.... throughout their productive years....

the migrants have wives and families who are left behind in the native villages". This closely parallels the George River situation, and following Smith (1956), Solien suggests that in this case, family organization tends towards matrifocality. It is too early as yet to see if this phenomenon is emerging at George River.

In an economic sense, the developments of arts and crafts as a cottage industry which was begun in 1964, and the projected development of a furniture and small boat-building industry for regional markets, would seem to be the two immediate possibilities allowing for a more sedentary population and a greater viability of the permanent community. But the question arises; would Eskimo men accept such an occupational definition of themselves - that of sedentary artisans and craftsmen?

When considered from a non-economic point of view, the permanent community takes on an entirely different perspective. That the idea was popularly received is evidenced by the almost meteoric rise of settlements as virtually all of the scattered Eskimo groups in the Eastern Arctic gathered together at one place or another and abandoned their isolated camps. The history of George River is one dramatic example of this phenomenon. The permanent community meant government social services, welfare and relief, and thus freedom from freezing and starvation which had been a stark reality of Eskimo existence, the opportunity to live in a wood-frame house, education for one's children, and access to church. It meant that

a man could realize his desire to live side by side with all of his kinfolk, a father could live together with all of his sons instead of perhaps just with the eldest. Powerful lures indeed!

In this chapter, the effects of the cooperative and the permanent community upon the pre-1959 social structure have been considered in detail. In the next chapter, we shall examine the effects of these organizations upon native leadership.

CHAPTER V

LEADERSHIP CHANGE

Before considering leadership change, it is advisable to review the pre-1959 situations. At that time leadership did not extend beyond a given camp and was vested in the owner of the Peterhead boat upon which all the members of the camp depended for transportation, hunting, and fishing. The boat-captain, having control over a scarce resource, i.e. the Peterhead boat, was the camp leader. The camp coincided with part of, or a complete extended family or band, and the boat-captain was a senior family member. A camp was composed of a band segment, e.g. a father, his eldest son, and their families, or two brothers and their families. Thus leadership was legitimized by both kinship and command over scarce resources.

In most cases, formal leadership backed up by sanctions did not exist beyond the use of criticism and persuasion by men of prestige and/or seniority. The value-system stressed the equality and autonomy of all peers in relation to one another. Vallee (1962a:197) speaking of Eskimo leadership in general and Baker Lake in particular, states that, "what authority there is among the Eskimos is domestic and informal and not backed by the ultimate use of force. Authority is exercised in a muted fashion, for the Eskimos are averse to giving orders, ...the basis for decision-making.... is informal consultation, with the domestic leader exercising slightly

more influence than others, ...domestic authority is limited to one camp." In other words, the leader was merely a primus inter parea.

The DNANR program of social and economic development envisaged the growth of a permanent community and a cooperative as the mode of economic organization. The official policy was that the Eskimo people should, with all deliberate haste, have control over these organizations in all of their aspects, and should regain their self-sufficiency. To establish a viable economy many projects were planned within the framework of the cooperative. Now, the cooperative was an organization of a radically new kind for it was community-wide and cut across kin lines. It required assertive leaders who would allocate men and resources and make decisions binding across the community. It required that leadership be vested in formal offices having a defined status with role rights and responsibilities, regardless of the person occupying the office at any given time. In other words, authority was to be vested in the leadership position and not in the particular individual who happened to occupy that position. A man had to lead in the interests of the community, not in those of his kin. Conversely, members of the community had to accept a leader's authority regardless of his kinship affiliations. Furthermore, decisions which were binding for all were to be made by a small fraction of the community's members, i.e. by the five elected cooperative board members. The vital problem, given the pre - 1959 leadership organization and the existing ideology of leadership, was where were such leaders to come from? A system-need was created for leaders who would be chosen on the basis of competence for the new kind of leadership role, who would lead on the basis

of rationalism and impersonalism. How could the traditional system produce such a leader? How could you get a change in the ideology of leadership such that a leader of this type would be recognized and elected by the community? These are the questions which concern us here.

The first leadership election occurred in April, 1959, when there was a secret ballot for the first cooperative President. Predictably, Armak, the man chosen, was a traditional-type leader ne plus ultra. He was a great hunter, a senior member of the dominant kin group among the George River people, the owner of a Peterhead boat as well as a boat maker, and the Anglican lay-reader and sole religious official. Consistent with his traditional concept of leadership, he was loathe to allocate men and resources to various tasks, he was non-assertive, and confined his leadership to its traditional sphere, that of his own camp and other members of his kin group. In cooperative discussions, he functioned only as a primus inter pares. Nor was he vigorous in his representations to government officials.

In electing this man as the first cooperative president, the George River people reflected a leadership ideology upon traditional, particularistic criteria. It was hardly to be expected otherwise, since the whole idea of a "bureaucratic" type of organization, the cooperative, was new to them, something outside the range of their social experience. Thus, they reacted in a traditional manner.

Armak's leadership was non-assertive and non-directive. He failed to make vigorous representations to government expressing the people's opinions, and deferred to the Qadloona leaders. In this period, he was moving out of the active age group to the more inactive senior generation, being in his late fifties. Armak ran for re-election, but he was defeated by another, younger man, called Hilak. A third man called Oopat came second behind Hilak by a margin of three votes. Both of these men were in the most active age-group, being 43 and 37 respectively, while Armak was 58, an old man in Eskimo terms. In traditional thought both Armak and Oopat were greater prestige figures than Hilak. Armak's career has already been described above. Oopat was at the time the greatest hunter of George River. As well, he was the captain of the 40 foot government-owned diesel-powered boat on which he was able to make minor repairs, and he was the senior brother of the largest sib group. Further, he was a member of the dominant kin group, and a nephew of Armak, the first president.

On the other hand, Hilak was, in a traditional sense, one of the least successful Eskimos at George River. He was one of the poorest providers and neither owned nor had any command over any of the prestige possessions, e.g. boat and motor, of the society. He was also a nephew of Armak, and a member of the dominant kin group.

Now on the basis of kinship alone, there is no advantage to either man. On the basis of traditionally derived prestige, Oopat should have been chosen by a large margin over Hilak as should have Armak who, aside from his age, was still an active man of very high prestige in terms of traditional and particularistic criteria.

In cooperative participation, none of these three men could be said to have had an advantage. All were active in cooperative activities. Secret ballot tended to obviate feelings of intimidation among the electorate and to allow for a free expression of preferences. Finally, the advisors' role was one of detached impartiality as far as the writer is able to ascertain. How then can we account for the "upset" of Hilak in the elections of 1961?

Hilak, as opposed to Oopat, was willing and eager to speak out at meetings, was assertive, had ideas, and was willing to give orders to other government officials. He was a capable organizer on a community-wide scale and was willing to allocate men and resources beyond his own kin group.

Oopat, on the other hand, was a leader in much more of a traditional sense. He was an individualist, adverse to giving orders to others particularly across kin lines. Thus he was generally non-directive and non-assertive at meetings or in the general affairs of the cooperatives.

That the people of George River chose Hilak over Oopat, given the above facts, indicates the beginning of a basic change in the criteria of leadership choice, of the ideology of leadership. The election of Hilak

reveals the beginning of a realization of the radically different leadership needs created by the cooperative and the community in terms of strong, assertive leadership, community-wide organization, and the need to make strong representations to government officials. Particularly in the last instance, Hilak was perhaps the only Eskimo at George River who articulated clearly the desires of the people including that of the sovereignty of the Eskimo of the north.

The election of Hilak as cooperative president marks the beginning of a shift in the criteria of choice of leaders at the community level from traditional, particularistic criteria to rational, i.e. based upon competence, and universalistic ones. The rise of Hilak, a man of low prestige in traditional Eskimo society, is seen as the emergence of a "latent" leader, a man who always had those qualities of leadership which won him the presidency of the George River cooperative, but which were negatively-valued or devalued in the pre-1959 social situation. Consequently, Hilak felt "status-deprivation" before the contemporary period, which, when the opportunity presented itself, led to his vigorous assertion of just those negatively-valued qualities which had become positively-valued by the requirements of the new social situation. "History makes the man."

This is the phenomenon described by Hagen (1962: 185, 186) as "withdrawal of status respect," or more precisely, his earlier concept, "denial of expected status." Barnett's (1953: 378-410) discussion of personality types who accept innovations, notably "the dissident," and "the resentful," illustrate Hilak's case.

Several examples taken from the minutes of cooperative meetings illustrate the nature of Hilak's leadership, and his relationship to the Qadloona leader, other members of the Board, and the rank-and-file:

1. In the organization of the cooperative store, an agreement was made regarding days and hours of business, and store rules... Three days a week were decided upon, but people were demanding service at all times of the week and after hours. Furthermore, these was considerable "hanging around" and people were going behind counters. At a cooperative meeting, Hilak reminded the people quite firmly of the store rules and hours of business, "laying down the law".
2. In a discussion of dwindling Arctic char catches, Hilak established a frame of reference for the meeting by systematically reviewing the harvests over the preceding four seasons, to reveal the trend.
3. As a result of extensive loss and damage to cooperative equipment (e.g. fish nets and tools), Hilak made a strong plea for greater care and cited the example of Fort Chimo's much better record.
4. Hilak, in front of the DNANR Projects Officer, and a superior of his, complained about the Officer's administration of relief, saying that people were afraid that they would not receive any when they requested it.

5. During deliberations on the store manager's salary (see below), Hilak suggested that the manager work for nothing as had the manager of Port Burwell store for three years. This was an extremely contentious and hard position since the manager had had several years of experience with the HBC, where he had received a salary of $230.00 a month with a free two-storey house and an insurance plan.

Hilak's ability to organize, to allocate men, is revealed in the following examples:

1. During the fishing season, and in anticipation of the ship transporting the fish in the freezer to Montreal markets, several tasks have to be performed. Boxes have to be made to pack the fish into, these boxes have to be packed and carried from the freezer to a nearby scale where they are weighed and graded as to size, and the information recorded. the boxes have to be closed and bound, and then returned to the freezer. This is the kind of operation that is best carried out by some form of production line wherein each person has a certain clearly defined and repetitive task to do. Hilak did exactly this in organizing the people, so that each of the above tasks was performed by a separate person or group. That this conception of organization was uniquely his was dramatically

revealed when Hilak left the freezer-site in the middle of this operation to return to the village upriver. The whole operation completely broke down with each young man trying to outdo the others in the number of boxes of fish carried at one time, the periodic result being to drop one's load. People tried to carry out several tasks at once, and chaos was the order of the day. It was clear that none of the other crew at the freezer-site had Hilak's conception of an organizational system.

2. Similarly, Hilak organized construction crews by assigning men to do the various jobs, and acting in a supervisory capacity.

In 1963 there took place an even more graphic event illustrating this ideological change. In April of that year, the five cooperative directors met to elect a manager for the newly created cooperative store which was to provide the George River people with staple goods as well as costly capital goods on long-term credit, such as boats and motors. Nominated for this job were two men, Itok, and Angak.

Itok was 40 years old and his was the only family at George River with no network of kinship extended beyond the nuclear family. In kinship terms, then, Itok was an isolate. This fact was spatially represented at George River by the location of Itok's house which is apart from the other Eskimo houses and nearer the Projects Officer's house (house No. 21, Map 1), Itok had been, for the last eight years or so, the native trader at

the George River Hudson's Bay Company's Camp Store, since closed and was fully in charge of it. Thus he was competent in the management of the type of store the George River village was to have, including the requisite mathematics and book-keeping skills. With the decision to close the HBC camp store having been made, the company offered Itok his choice of three other locations to work in, and to continue at the same salary level which (as mentioned above) was $230.00 a month with a two-storey house provided, and an insurance scheme. Itok chose to remain in George River which he considered as his home, and to send his children to the George River school. He was one of the most enthusiastic and forceful proponents of the cooperative and the store, and had expressed his willingness to work for a much reduced salary, and no other benefits (Itok had to build his own house with his own funds, which was much inferior to the HBC-provided one). On the basis of rational, universalistic criteria of leadership, Itok should have been chosen manager since he was the only man at George River with such experience.

Angak was a young man of 23 and the only fluent English-speaker at George River, a valuable skill in the dealings with the Qadloonas. Furthermore, he also had the necessary mathematics for the job. Most important here is that Angak was the younger brother of Hilak, the cooperative president. Also two of the other voting directors were uncles of Angak,

another was a close personal friend of Hilak, while the fifth was no relation to either nominee and therefore an "independent."

The role of the advisor, the Projects Officer, as well as other government personnel, should be mentioned here. In order for the George River people to get a cooperative store it was necessary to make application to the Eskimo Loan Fund of the DNANR for a loan to provide the original inventory for the store. Before the Projects Officer would have been able to recommend the loan which was obligatory for it to be granted, it was essential to have a competent Eskimo manager. It was believed by government personnel that Itok was the right man for the job and this feeling was made quite evident to the Board of Directors and the cooperative membership. Nevertheless, Angak had been vigorously sponsored by his brother and others among the membership.

So we still have an excellent test of the relative importance of traditional, particularistic versus rational, universalistic criteria in the choice of leaders. Given the composition of the Board, the victory of Itok would reflect the application of the latter criteria, and the choice of Angak the application of the former criteria. In the election, Itok won on a split vote 3 - 2 which permits us only to say that there was a definite trend in the direction of using rational criteria in voting behavior. What adds great strength to this trend, though, was the fact that Angak's two uncles jumped kinship lines and voted for Itok, showing a clear choice in terms of rational, impersonalistic criteria of leadership.

We are left with a rather striking example of basic change in the ideology of leadership as a response to social organizational change, which, if viewed from the brief perspective of the whole 1959-1963 period, is all the more remarkable.

Recent Developments in Leadership

It is of the utmost importance in considering the emergence of native leadership to understand the milieu established by the "culture contact" agents, in this case notably the DNANR's Project Officer, who is the only resident Qadloona at George River. His role is to guide and assist the native community in every facet of its social and economic development, to educate, to organize and implement cooperative projects, and to stimulate the emergence of Eskimo leadership and local autonomy. He functions, at the present time, as sole liaison with the "outside", an intermediary between the community and the government, as well as other outside agencies.

It is the skilful playing of his role which, in large part, has provided the setting in which native leadership could develop. As Vallee (1964) has described it, his leadership tends to be "more avuncular than paternalistic." He has encouraged native decision-making and responsibility, he has attempted to remain in the background as a kind of "guiding spirit" of the community, and has projected a positive model of the kind of leadership needed in the native community. Of course, this is at times impossible and at other times, very difficult. First of all, there is the tendency of the community to depend upon him as a decision-maker, as a supervisor, even as a mechanic. At other

times he must exercise a veto over impractical suggestions and projects which are native-inspired and require government loans for financing. Ultimately, what happens at George River is his responsibility and he is answerable to his superiors in the DNANR. As long as government monies are involved in George River, as they are so much so at the present and will be for long into the future, the Projects Officer, as government representative in the field, will be the ultimate authority at George River exercising pre-eminence over, and the power of veto over, native leadership.

This truth places a ceiling upon the real power of the native leadership and conditions the meaning of most native decisions. The current cooperative president, Hilak, who has been in office since 1961, exhibits a certain amount of hostility towards the Projects Officer which is, in part, returned. This hostility is viewed by both parties as personal in nature, but it is also structurally and ideologically based. It is founded upon a further change in native leadership ideology which is represented by Hilak and his younger brother, Angak, and a few others, as a kind of "avant garde."

This ideology which is inferred from the data below asserts that the Eskimo people are no longer satisfied to be Qadloona assistants and aides, but wish to assert sovereignty over their own affairs in full local autonomy. It states further that Eskimo leaders are no longer satisfied to be merely native leaders lower in the leadership hierarchy than the Qadloona leaders, and answerable to them, but wish to be the real locus of power since it is their land, and the Qadloonas are there only temporarily to help them.

This ideological position naturally generates hostility between Qadloona and Eskimo leaders as the beginnings of a power struggle develop. This is the stage reached today at George River. It is one of those cases in which ideological change precedes social and economic change and is a potentially disruptive situation. Ideological preparedness for autonomy is a different thing from economic, technical, and organizational preparedness, and the George River people are a long way from achieving the latter.

This growing leadership conflict is exacerbated by the lack of clear cut definitions of the spheres of authority of Qadloona and Eskimo leaders respectively. It is not definite who has jurisdiction in a given situation, and there is often overlapping jurisdiction.

That the Eskimo cooperative president is sensitive to his position and desires proper recognition of his role on the part of the Qadloona leader is shown in the following example. As will be remembered, the freezer-site is located at the mouth of the George River so that all water traffic going upriver to the village can be seen from it. The cooperative president was at the freezer-site supervising operations there when the Qadloona leader, the Projects Officer, was seen coming from Fort Chimo to George River by canoe after having been away for several days. Being in a hurry to return to the village and probably not certain that the co-op president was at the freezer-site, he passed on without stopping in to pay his respects. This behaviour occasioned a furious reaction on the part of the cooperative president who felt roundly slighted and hurt by this.

A conversation then ensued between Hilak and Angak, his younger brother, in which it was said that the Qadloona leader would not be needed much longer at George River and the people would soon be able to take over completely. This meant of course that he, Hilak, would be the supreme and unchallenged leader of the George River community.

In this connection it is significant to note that the cooperative leadership has expanded its activities beyond the merely economic, so that it now functions as a kind of community and local government. For example, the making of "brew" is institutionalized at George River, taking place only during the festive season of Christmas and New Year. A man was found making "brew" out of season and this illicit activity was put an end to by a delegation made up largely of the co-op leadership including the President and Vice-President, who requested the man to stop, which he did with little resistance. This incident illustrates the acceptance, on the part of a community member, of the legitimacy of the political function of the cooperative. The cooperative has become the political voice of the George River Community in all things relating to the community as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

I want to explain how the cooperative started at George River. It began four years ago when the government people came to discuss how they would help the people to help themselves..... We had often been short of food and had to travel long distances to trade and buy food.... We thought of moving to another area because it was too hard to live off the land.... When government officers first spoke to us of co-ops we didn't know what's good for people - we could hardly understand - we didn't realize how good the co-op could be..... We used to go 90 miles [to Fort Chimo] by dog-team for food [i.e. relief]..... We can now make money at home.... I find it hard to tell you of this.... In winter we used to cut logs and in summer it was fishing, now things are getting better all the time. We take fish to the freezer [and] it is shipped out by boat.... We used to get nothing at George River for fish.... The people were planning to leave to go somewhere to live better. The idea of the cooperative <u>came from the white people</u>, but as long as we think we can do this work ourselves we will be able..... <u>We never thought of this in the beginning</u> - now we are doing better every year.... We do not need as much help from the government at the present time as when the cooperative was first started.

- George River Eskimo representative's report at the 1st Conference of Arctic Cooperatives, Frobisher Bay, N.W.T., March 12-18, 1963 (translated from the Eskimo).

In the Introduction (pages 2 and 3), the writer outlined 8 factors seen as favouring the emergence of viable Eskimo organizations under conditions of change. These were:

1. Where Eskimos have command over resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable or scarce or both;
2. Where, in the pre-settlement period, defined leadership in a strong band organization, existed;
3. Where there is no formal segregation between Eskimos and Qadloonas;

4. Where no Qadloona institution is overwhelmingly dominant in the community;
5. Where external catalytic agents exist to stimulate organizational response to changes, which are task-specific and desired by the native people;
6. Where the organizational elements required to respond to new conditions already exist in the traditional social system so that an internal re-working of that system permits a viable response;
7. Where, on the individual level, favourable personal and ideological attributes exist both among the intrusive and native leadership; and,
8. Where the pace of change is controlled by the native population which is motivated to change.

Factors 1 - 4 were given by Vallee (1962a), factor 5 by Balikci (1959), and factors 6 - 8 were suggested in this study.

If now we return to Vallee's (1962a) factors, and apply them specifically to George River, we find the following situation. The George River people do have command over resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable or scarce (factor 1). In terms of natural resources, there are Arctic Char, small stands of timber, and, to a lesser extent, seal and fur-bearing animals. The human resources are growing technical and mechanical skills, and leadership skills. The facilities are such things

as boats and outboard motors, motorized sleds, and fishing nets.

In the case of strong band organization with defined leadership, (factor 2), George River was an intermediate group, as far as can be reconstructed, having neither strong nor weak band organization and leadership, but, in any case, band groupings were small.

Factor 3 seems to refer to larger communities than George River with a much bigger Qadloona population. Since George River has but one Qadloona family, it is meaningless to speak of formal segregation.

But George River does have but a single Qadloona institution, the DNANR, which is "overwhelmingly dominant" in the community which, according to factor 4, is detrimental to the emergence of viable Eskimo organizations.

On the basis of these four factors alone, the prognosis for viable Eskimo organizations would be only fair over-all. How then can we account for the successful emergence and functioning of the cooperative at George River? Balikci's (1959) factor 5 (page 61) provides us with part of the answer. An external, catalytic agent, the Projects Officer, did exist to stimulate organizational response to changes which were task-specific - organization of economic life through a cooperative form of organization with specific projects, which were desired by the Eskimo people.

This study, then, confirms Vallee on factor 1, but suggests that factors 2, 3 and 4 need not exist for viable organizations, providing that factor 5 does exist. Factor 5 is crucial, Factors 3 and 4 seem to operate only in larger, multi-ethnic community situations.

Now, an external, catalytic agent may exist and the native population may wish certain changes, but the pace of induced change may be too great, leading to social disorganization. Thus, the pace of desired change must be, in large part, in native hands (our factor 8). It is here that the importance of the government policy to refer constantly to the cooperative membership and to pass the decision making function to the native leadership as soon as feasible, is critical to the successful timing, thus the smooth adaptation, to change.

The DNANR development ideology is based upon guidance and "enlightenment", not imperialism and exploitation. It is this factor which explains why the presence of an institution which is "overwhelmingly dominant" is not detrimental to the growth of Eskimo organizations.

This policy is carried into action by the DNANR personnel in the field, in the case of George River, a Projects Officer. Personal factors, therefore, play upon this policy and become crucial in the contact situation. Where a person can commit himself to the goals of transferring authority and power to the native community, of educating the native population in organizational, technical, and clerical skills to this end, the possibilities of the emergence of Eskimo organizations and leadership are enhanced (our factor 7).

Again, on factor 7, since the kind of native leadership necessary for the cooperative executive was negatively-valued and de-emphasized in the indigenous social system, in conditions of rapid change, individual variables are crucial. That Hilak, the current cooperative president

was a member of the George River community was a question of good fortune. Native leadership which is assertive and community-wide is vital under conditions of rapid change.

In the traditional social system some of the elements or institutions which could permit a viable response under changed conditions already existed (our factor 6). Thus the changing emphasis upon the extended family over the nuclear family, both of which forms already existed in the traditional system, allowed large capital purchases to be made, and the custody of children whose parents were away on work-parties. It is possible to perceive the stressing of the extended family as the actualization of the "latent" or ideal social structure which was prohibited by ecological consideration before the contemporary village period. (Dunning 1959)

Autonomy

It is appropriate here to discuss the problem of autonomy which can be extended from two perspectives - locally, and with reference to the "outside". As of September, 1964, the native community had achieved a high degree of local autonomy in the organization and operation of the economy. All of the separate projects were carried out fully by Eskimo personnel, including the logging and milling project, the fishery operation complete with compilation of fish and wage statistics, and the cooperative

store management and necessary book-keeping. Native mechanical skill is at the level where they can service and make minor repairs on outboard motors, the diesel-powered large boat, the freezer-locker motors, and the saw-mill. The organization of the local economy was in the hands of the Board of Directors of the cooperative, who made most of the decisions pertaining to the ongoing economy.

When the writer arrived in George River in June several men were upriver conducting the log-drive. As the logs came in, the saw-mill went into operation to prepare lumber for construction purposes. Later on the annual exodus was organized and carried off as the people left for their fish camps on the coast. At these camps nets were placed in the water and the fish caught were cleaned, placed in a preservative, and prepared in bags for the large pick-up boat to gather them and transport them to the freezer-site. There an Eskimo work-group would unload the boat, do some additional cleaning of the fish, then freeze them. Complete statistical records and income records would be kept. All of the above activities were conducted entirely by the Eskimo people.

However, in any relations with the "outside", i.e. beyond Fort Chimo, the native community is completely dependent upon the government generally, and the George River Projects Officer specifically, to act as their agent in their dealings with the mysterious, indeed almost magical world of the Qadloona. In fact, the word "Qadloona" often connotes all things from

the "outside" that are little understood. The Eskimos can neither market their produce on southern markets nor make necessary purchases from these markets. They understand very little of the complexities of markets. Furthermore, they can neither compile nor decipher a financial statement of their state of affairs and thus are ignorant of their financial position until informed by government officials.

Although it is true that the average income per family head in 1963 was about $1730.00, and relief payments dwindled to a negligible amount, it is important to see that large-scale subsidies of other kinds have replaced it. Through long-term, low-interest loans, through outright grants, e.g. for home construction, through the free provision of expensive equipment and payment of the labour which operates it, e.g. the diesel-powered boat and its crew, in part, the saw-mill, etc., the government maintains the standard of living at an artificially buoyant level. The community is not paying its own way even though "hidden" subsidies and outright subsidies may give this illusion.

It was thought at one time, that Arctic char harvesting would provide a secure economic base, but catches have been dwindling both in absolute numbers and average weight over the years, so that, in 1962, 23,000 pounds were shipped out, and in 1964, only 12,000 pounds. This has nothing to do with the time spent harvesting since lower production has been a common occurrence all over the Eastern Arctic wherever a char industry has been established for a few seasons.

White fox and other furs produced by trapping will continue to be an important source of income, but production here is cyclical, and furthermore, is subject to the fickleness of the fur markets, and cannot be counted on as a stable source of income. Seal skin prices, at the present time quite high, are subject to the same market forces.

It is too early to tell if the arts and crafts industry will provide a substantial income since the first products were only put on the market in 1964. If the pattern of other communities, is duplicated here, then this industry should provide a considerable, but unstable, income, due to the nature of the art market, and the possibility of its saturation with Eskimo arts and crafts. One advantage of this industry is that both men and women are producers.

There exists the potential exploitation of the small stands of timber found in the region for the manufacturing of wood products such as boats, which has already begun, and furniture, which is projected into the future. But the size of the stands of merchantable timber would cause the rapid disappearance of this resource under systematic exploitation (Evans, 1964), even if markets existed.

Tourism has a potential of unknown magnitude, but the experience of several community attempts indicates that it could be developed into a lucrative source of income.

Finally, on the subsistence side of the economy, considerable mechanization could take place. As an example, carefully controlled caribou

hunting could be carried out with the use of aircraft to spot the herds. This would involve changes in the legislation regarding caribou. For both subsistence and commercial purposes, sealing could be made much more efficient with the use of some form of harpoongun.

Given the general bleakness of this economic prognosis and the inability of the Eskimo people to deal with the "outside", it would indeed be catastrophic if the government were to terminate its activities at George River, and the north, because of the rise of an Eskimo "independence" movement.

Of course, it is hardly surprising that the Eskimos are incapable of dealing with the "outside". The problems of purchasing and marketing, financing and financial statements, are all unprecedented in the history of the George River people. It is here that the Eskimos are totally dependent upon the intrusive society to develop a training program to fulfill the occupational requirements created by the entrance into a money economy and world markets. Thus far, it has not been forthcoming which represents a major weakness of the whole cooperative program in the north.

Other Studies

In the Eastern Canadian Arctic, we have isolated eight factors which are involved in the successful adaptation of Eskimo society to conditions of of rapid change. Factors 2, 3 and 4 seem to apply to larger, multi-ethnic

communities, and will not be considered further here.

If now we examine comparative materials on rapid social change without disorganization among Eskimos of other regions, we have the outstanding example of the village of Kaktovik, Alaska, studied by Chance (1960) in 1958.

Kaktovik is located about 400 miles northeast of Fairbanks, on the Arctic Coast. The catalyst for rapid change was the construction of a Dewline installation near the village, begun in 1953, and providing full-time employment for most of the villagers. In the summer of 1959, 75% of the men of the village were earning salaries of $600 a month.

Chance (1960:104) puts forth six paramount factors accounting for the successful adaptation to rapidly altered conditions of social and economic life:

1. The people had a predisposition to change already built into their socio-cultural system in that a greater value was placed on adaptability than on conformity;
2. They voluntarily chose to change large segments of this system to fit a Western model;
3. The majority of the goals associated with these changes were capable of realization;
4. They participated in the changes as a group;
5. Most major alterations in previous life-patterns occurred together in such a way as to preserve a total cultural balance; and,
6. The people were able to maintain control over their own internal affairs without outside coercion.

Whereas Chance's factors are largely phrased in value terms, and our own factors in organizational terms, both deal essentially with the same characteristics of desire for change, transformation of the group as a whole, preservation of local autonomy, and realization of desired goals. Thus, our factor 8 is like Chance's factor 6, factor 5 like his combined factors 1, 2 and 3. But Chance is not so concerned with the role of the external catalytic agents, which we regarded as crucial. He does explain that a favourable climate for change was established by external leaders which allowed the Eskimo "to maintain a sense of pride and self-respect... as part of the larger Western society.... (p. 1035)." However, he does not detail the ways in which the role of external, catalytic agents was played. It is this which we have stressed: how the successful emergence of Eskimo leadership and institutions depends so much on the skilful execution of the catalyst's role.

Chance's factor 5, has relevance for George River. I will consider only economic aspects of "life-patterns" here. In Kaktovik, the "major alterations in life patterns" completely transformed the economy from one of hunting and fishing subsistence to that of a money economy based upon salaries in return for labour services, mostly on construction, supplemented by a little subsistence activity. At George River occupational and economic change has not taken this radically altered form. Rather, certain traditional, subsistence activities, e.g. Arctic char fishing, has continued in the present period, but has been re-defined as a money-producing, commercial

activity. Other economic activities which are novel, e.g. lumbering, are fitted into the annual cycle and do not interfere with the traditional pattern. Thus George River has a mixed subsistence-money economy in which the traditional cycle has been largely preserved.

In this case, George River is more like Point Hope, in northernmost Alaska, than Kaktovik. Van Stone (1960) describes the economy of this village of 250 people as an example of a mixed subsistence-money one. The major orientation of the people remains subsistence sea-mammal hunting: seal in the fall (and crabs): Bowhead whales, seal and walrus in the spring. In the summer which was traditionally a relatively inactive period, the men leave the village to seek summer employment at the large urban centres or at military sites. But by early October, almost all of the men are back in the village for the fall hunting season. Both subsistence hunting and cash income are necessary for a successful economy, and this has been accomplished by interjecting into the traditional annual cycle, summer employment, without basically altering it. Therefore, in both the George River and Point Hope case, major economic change has been achieved within a traditional framework, which provides a stable frame for that change, whereas in the Kaktovik case, a radical transformation of the economy has occurred without the destruction of other aspects of Eskimo society. It would appear then that this kind of dramatic economic change can occur without social disintegration.

Looking at some comparative, cross-cultural materials, Nash (1958), in a study on Cantel, Guatemala, states that "a people's ability

to accommodate to new cultural forms is intimately related to their actual and felt control over their social circumstances." Further, the people "began to come to the factory as workers when they realized it as a means of implementing some of their goals (p. 112)..." These variables are like our factor 8 and Chance's factors 6 and 3, respectively. Moreover, Nash lists other reasons for successful rapid change, among which are: population or "ethnic" continuity; the absence of transfer of the means of social control and coercion to outsiders; and, social and cultural receptivity to change. As indicated in the above discussion, all of these factors are present and important in the George River and Kaktovik cases.

Redfield (1950) asserts that in Chan Kom, Yucatan, the most important variable in successful adaptation to rapid change was the fortuitous presence of competent and progressive leaders, which is our factor 7. This factor is referred by Mead (1956) in her restudy of the Manus people, as "a rare accident of a very gifted leader."

Thus, the present study fits in well with the other literature on rapid social change without disorganization. If now we return to our revised list of 5 factors, (having left out factors 2, 3 and 4, which refer to larger, multi-ethnic situations) favoring successful adaptations to conditions of rapid change in small communities, the following 4 factors listed in this study would seem to be crucial in every case cited above:

> Factor 1. Where the indigenous people have command over resources and facilities which are regarded as valuable or scarce or both. These may be natural resources, skilled or semi-skilled labour, for example.

Factor 5. Where external catalytic agents exist to stimulate organizational response to changes, responses which are task-specific and desired by the native people.

Factor 7. Where, on the individual level, favourable personal and ideological attributes exist among the indigenous people to provide leadership under changing conditions.

Factor 8. Where the pace of change is controlled by the native population which is motivated to change.

Factor 6 would seem to apply only in situations where the scope of change does not exceed the potential limits of the indigenous social system to cope with it, as in George River and Point Hope, Alaska. In other situations, e.g. Kaktovik, Alaska, or Cantel, Guatemala, altered conditions brought about a radical transformation of the economy which was organized quite outside the frame-work of the indigenous economic system. Successful adaptations were made nonetheless, and other aspects of the society remained intact.

To sum up, perhaps the single most critical variable in accounting for smooth adaption to rapid change, is what could be called "felt autonomy". Regardless of the objective realities of any case, each community mentioned in the above discussion felt that they had freedom of choice, that they were the masters of their own destiny. It is hypothesized that when people feel that their actions, no matter how novel they are, will not result in a loss of autonomy, irrespective of the realities of the situation, they are more inclined to undergo rapid social change, without concomitant disorganization.

The Cooperative as a Social Movement

Vallee (1964) in a paper on the cooperative movement and community organization in the Canadian Arctic, reveals a number of striking parallels between George River and other cooperative-based communities. While this paper does include George River in its analysis, it is based on study done in other communities, namely Povungnituk and Cape Dorset, and extrapolates from these to George River. Therefore it is the present study which confirms the general picture developed by Vallee (1964) for the George River situation. Furthermore, this study was done independent of Vallee's work, the results of which the writer had no prior knowledge while in the field.

Among the points of correspondence are:

1. Ultimate dependence on government support;
2. White people initiated the venture and provide sustained impetus;
3. The approach of most leaders is more "avuncular then paternalistic", and white relationships are defined as symmetrical such that an "Eskimo is defined as someone who has as much say as anyone";
4. Major decisions almost always follow the ideas of white advisors, but the day to day operation of the economy is under Eskimo control;
5. There is a core of Eskimo people in each community who espouse the ideology of the movement and seek support for its activities;

6. Leadership originally was given to those who had power or influence in the traditional system, but the trend is towards replacement by election of these people by younger, highly adaptive adults who are able to handle the new condition of life in communities with greater poise, particularly in relation to whites;

7. Leadership of the older variety was "personal", or particularistic whereas the newer kind is more "impersonal", and,

8. The cooperative is viewed not simply as an economic organization, but as the "chief all-inclusive unit of community organization".

Thus, there are a remarkable number of points of correspondence between the cooperative-based community at George River and others in the Arctic so that one may speak of a complex sequence of events set in motion through the introduction of the cooperative and the permanent community by the intrusive society, which is fairly general throughout the Eastern Arctic region. George River, then, is a typical case of this developing social movement.

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