Proposals for an

Eskimo Relocation Project

By

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NORTHERN SCIENCE RESEARCH GROUP: DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS AND NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT

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ESKIMO RELOCATION PROJECT

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A report submitted to the Vocational Education Section, Northern Services Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

This report is based on research carried out while the author was employed by the Northern Science Research Group. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department.

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This report represents the findings of field-work carried out by the author and three field assistants during the summers of 1967 and 1968.

The dates and areas from which data were gathered were:

1967. Roma Junction-Hay River, Yellowknife, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Lynn Lake; field-worker - D. Stevenson - 10 weeks.

1968. Roma Junction on-Hay River, Yellowknife, Coppermine, Edmonton; field-worker - J. Armour - 14 weeks.

Lynn Lake, Churchill, Rankin Inlet, Winnipeg; field -worker - H. Schatz - 14 weeks.

Ottawa, Guelph, Churchill, Rankin Inlet; field-worker - A. Fish - 14 weeks.

Abstract

The problem of relocating Eskimo families into wage-earning situations, not always towns or like communities, represents a major problem for the Federal Government. A preliminary investigation and report on this was completed and submitted in 1968.

The findings and conclusions of that report encouraged the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Affairs Branch, to support further research into this problem. The 1968 summer research was essentially a check to confirm or refute some of the interim conclusions of the earlier work. The major conclusions of this latest report support those of the first; namely, that any relocation project must look beyond the economic factor in order to alleviate existing conditions. That is, a relocation project should be concerned primarily with those social and administrative factors that will most likely lead to the successful incorporation of the Eskimo migrants into the socio-economic spheres of Canadian life. Furthermore, it is concluded that relocation efforts will benefit by the emergence of a more efficient system of cooperation and communication between the government agencies involved. In connection with this it is stressed that Eskimo migrants be prepared for their move in terms of the real rather than the ideal world with which they will have to cope. Lastly, it is asserted that although the costs of such a program may be high, the longer the delay in implementation and/or reorganization then the higher the costs will become.

INTRODUCTION

The Federal Government's interest in a project designed to provide the indigenous northern labour force with feasible income alternatives has been prompted by a combination of economic and social factors. It is recognized that, for the most part, the hunting/subsistence mode of life is untenable at a time when game populations are being depleted and the human population is increasing. Similarly, trapping has declined in importance and remains a viable economic activity in only a few areas.

Efforts to bolster the declining economic situation have had some limited success. The importance of the handicraft industry cannot be denied, but only so long as a market is available for the produce. Co-ops also seem to have been able to provide short-term relief at the local level, but again the problems of marketing persist. There is little likelihood that mineral finds will be found in situ at every existing settlement in the north, and even if they were, the government would still have to become involved with a program ensuring that properly trained men and women were provided with the capacity to take up local employment or move to more profitable jobs in other areas.

There are, of course, many social factors prompting interest in the possibilities of further relocation programs. An obvious one relates to the demographic changes that have taken place in various localities, for example, the growth of the town of Frobisher Bay, the construction of Inuvik and resultant population shifts, the concentration of Eskimos about Broughton Island and Rankin Inlet, to name only a few. Population pressures are mounting as the birth rate remains high, infant mortality declines, and

adults tend to live longer. In communities like Frobisher Bay we detect a growing 'generation gap' within the Eskimo population, and an increase in so-called delinquent behaviour among both adults and juveniles. Honigmann (1965) shows some of the difficulties faced by Eskimos moving to Frobisher Bay.

Another important social factor has been the development of educational and vocational training programs. Already these programs have served to upgrade the occupational skills of a significant proportion of the Eskimo population. However, there is an abundance of evidence indicating that graduated trainees find little opportunity to practise their acquired skills. Indeed, it is not unusual to find Eskimo males who have taken up to four different kinds of trade training but have made minimal use of any of them. It is of crucial importance that in future, the nature of education and training be such that it will provide better possibilities for movement directly into the wage-earning system, and for migration to any part of Canada.

Beyond the realm of formal and vocational training, any relocation program will have to include as part of its curriculum 'social training'. By this I mean training in behaviour that Whites, as part of their cultural heritage, engage in, and carry out, automatically. It is precisely at this point in a relocation program that a distinction must be made between adult education and child education. It appears to me that adult education will prove to be the most difficult and also the most important for success. As I have stated previously (1968) technical training and grade-school education are necessary for relocation but, by themselves, are insufficient for appropriate or adequate social adjustment to southern or wage-labour life styles.

There can be little doubt that a vocational training

cum relocation program of a much higher calibre than the present one is essential for the well-being, not only of the Eskimos, but of the Canadian Arctic as a whole. The program to be outlined here has grown, so to speak, out of my own fieldwork, the fieldwork of my students during 1968, and from discussions between myself and numerous government officials over a period of two to three years.

Following are some of the questions which can be asked about a vocational training program and its objectives: What does the government envisage as to the kinds of training most beneficial to the northern (or southern) economy, to the well-being of the population, and for the efficiency of governing? To what extent is the government willing to underwrite such programs? What do the Eskimos think would be the most appropriate kinds of training enabling them to take up relatively consistent participation in the labour market? What sector of the labour market appeals to their sense of worthwhileness? In other words, within the labour or wage system how does an Eskimo achieve self-satisfaction and what skills and training does he require to succeed? The point I am trying to make here is that the government's viewpoint may not always coincide with that of the people it serves.

Ultimately, I assume that a major goal of the government is to provide the northern populations with the skills permitting them the choice of engaging in wage-labour and to reduce wherever possible dependence upon such sources as welfare or trapping.[1] I assume further that a reduction in the costs of administering to the scattered northern

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[1]As Usher has pointed out, there are a few areas in which trapping is still a viable and important activity. I contend that this is rare and becoming even more rare as time passes and markets wane. Both Usher and Smith regard the Mackenzie delta as viable economic areas. I must point out that the contact, history, resources, and exploitation of these is signigicantly different from, for example, Iglulik.

population in terms of health services, welfare, schooling, law enforcement, and so forth would be welcome. I suggest here that a careful scrutiny of the kinds of training and the possibilities for their practical application, in either the north or the south, be initiated. This would require the assistance of economists, industrialists, and concerned government agencies in both Ottawa and the Northwest Territories. I have suggested in the past (1968: p. 21ff) that the possibility of demographic changes within the Arctic itself is quite high but even this kind of migration will require careful supervision. In short, what is required is a comprehensive survey of job opportunities in both northern and southern localities and, if possible, a projection of this for the next ten years. I would like to emphasize that this is probably crucial for the relocation project, particularly in the proposed host areas.

At the moment, and through no fault of my research team, I have still only a general (and vague) idea as to the range of training now being offered to either male or female Eskimos. Some things are fairly clear. For example, I am quite nonplussed that prospector training is lacking. This requires knowledge, but minimal grade school education. Similarly, the west coast fishing industry is a vigorous (at the moment) source of employment for men who might not fit the basic requirements set out previously, but who have ambitions for betterment of their socio-economic situations. Another possibility that might be explored is the west coast logging industry where, again, grade level of education is considered less important than the ability to avoid being killed by falling trees.[1] In any event, it seems clear that, except for the rare areas such as the Delta there is a desperate need for a more tightly

[1] I am not excluding the possibility that some Eskimos might well be directed into the so-called academic stream leading to higher (university) education.

integrated program of training leading to a higher probability of possible relocation. This brings us to a consideration of the population with which we have to deal; naturally, these are the people who will feel the most immediate impact of any program that is initiated.

The program, if it is to be maximally effective, must consider the characteristics of the population involved. Our data show that it is possible to break the contemporary Eskimo population into four major groups[1], or categories, each of which exhibit sub-characteristics that are relevant for our analysis. I wish to briefly describe these and then to provide more extensive detail and comment on each one. By way of introduction the following, but not exhaustive list, will give some indication of the indices with which we are concerned: age, sex, marital status, grade level of education, vocational training completed, past work, or other experience (including experiences in southern communities, i.e., army camp or household exposure), degree of expressed satisfaction/dissatisfaction, with a) settlement life and opportunities and b) wage earning, or other activities in either northern or southern communities.

Briefly, then, the following 'types' must be considered:

1. Eskimos who have never expressed a desire to take training or to relocate away from their 'home' settlement.

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[1] It is recognized that there will be a significantly large but finite number of combinations and permutations deriving from these simply because of the large number of indices impinging upon individuals, e.g., kinship ties and the strength of these over other considerations.

[2] At a higher level of abstraction (not always particularly useful) we are dealing with an equation of the type: $S=C+W$ where S=Success however defined; C=Capacity (knowledge, skills, language training, education and so on); W=willingness or desire as well as an awareness of possibilities for obtaining maximum satisfaction; obviously C or $W \rightarrow 0$ then S also $\rightarrow 0$.

2. Those who have expressed a desire to take training or to enter into a relocation program but only under certain (here unspecified) conditions, e.g., concern for kin, or immediate family, guarantee for housing, jobs, etc.
3. Those who have been involved in either training or relocation programs but who have returned to their settlements with various grievances, real or imagined, or for other reasons (commonly housing problems).
4. Those who have taken training and/or relocated and who express their relative satisfaction with the new way of life.

The selection of recruits must be made in the terms outlined. It may appear redundant but the methods chosen for selection of candidates and the implementation of recruitment procedures are crucial aspects of the proposed program. The time is past when the local authorities should be permitted to, on the one hand, recommend 'favourites' and, on the other hand, recommend locally defined 'troublemakers' who, in the view of the local authorities, should be 'removed' from the settlement and dropped into the lap of someone else.[1] We are less concerned with subjective (or idiosyncratic) evaluations than we are with efficient recruitment of 'best possible choices' of families for the program.

To anticipate a number of points, types 1 and 4 are of less concern to us while types 2 and 3 appear to contain the most probable and fruitful source of recruits for relocation. For example, individuals of type 1 are very often established 'personages' in their settlements and provide a degree of stability and protection necessary for their communities.

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[1] During the course of this fieldwork it has been evident that the so-called 'troublemakers' are highly discontented individuals and if we follow past research finding these may be the major source of successful recruits. That is, they are aware of the futility of being 'Eskimo' and therefore are probably more readily adaptable to a new life. This can, of course, be argued (should be argued) but for our research should be investigated more thoroughly.

Since they already occupy positions of prestige and their status is established, not only should they be left unbadgered but should be encouraged to continue, if for no other reason than that there will be an expected turnover of individuals in the training and relocation program. This means, of course, that these persons should be informed about the suggested program, indeed, they should have full knowledge of what it entails. I say this simply because the program will be viewed in different ways by different individuals and this type of person can very well act as a mediator between the people and the training/relocation situation. In short, they will have to be involved at least in a potentially advisory or consulting capacity.

If my assertion regarding type 4 is correct,[1] then we can sum this up by stating that this group is comprised of a highly motivated and readily adjustable class of individuals capable of assimilating both technological and sociological innovations with little or no effort. This, however, is not enough to explain their success. All field-workers, including myself, have discerned well-controlled but readily apparent anxiety in many of these persons. In this regard the following factors appear to be involved in the anxiety complex: type of schooling (government, separate, on site, off site, etc.), strength of kin ties, impressions of earliest contact with Whites. All such factors appear to have had significant impact upon behaviour and performance in adulthood. Much of the anxiety seems to stem from an internalized, i.e., accepted, idea that they (the Eskimos) are <u>not capable</u> of

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[1] To date, not more than a score of individuals can be considered to fit into this group. Since we did not survey the entire Eskimo population this figure is possibly too low.

carrying out certain jobs,[1] and that they, as 'foreigners' must prove their worth endlessly. Unfortunately, none of us had the necessary background in psychology to offer final judgements, and so our observations are to be handled with care. In any event, and to all external appearances, the individuals in this group seem to have made 'successful' adjustments in terms of the usual definitions employed. However, such people will need counselling and help in maintaining their resolve to participate in a relocation scheme.

Categories 2 and 3 are, as has been suggested, the most likely to provide acceptable recruits for a training/relocation program and it is toward these groups that the actual recruiting program should be aimed.

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[1] This may relate directly to the unwritten rule that 'natives' are 'naturally' inherently capable of operating within a very narrow range of economic activities, as defined by whites. This is a moot point that must be explored in the new program; it may or may not be true but we require evidence either way.

A PLAN FOR RELOCATION

Having reviewed some of the factors which indicate a need for an expanded or revised relocation program, we turn now to detailed consideration of how such a program might be undertaken.

Administration & Personnel

No program of this nature, dealing with a complex interaction of variables, can possibly succeed without an adequate administrative sub-structure within which authority and responsibility have been unambiguously defined and adhered to by all persons concerned. The program might, therefore, be structured along the lines described below. As a first requisite, there should be a co-ordinating officer who, aided by an adequate supporting staff, is responsible for overseeing every phase of the program. This officer should be a qualified adult educator[1] with a thorough understanding of government procedures, aware of the degrees of co-operation to be expected from other interested agencies, and capable of eliciting maximum co-operation from all concerned. He would function solely as co-ordinator of the relocation program and should not be expected to assume other duties of any kind.

The co-ordinator should be given as much freedom of action as possible within the existing bureaucratic structure. It follows that he and his staff should be governed by a working policy which restricts them to the actual problems of relocation. If these conditions are not met, then no program can be expected to produce the kinds of results that are held to be essential for success.

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[1] Both the 1967 and 1968 field data indicate quite clearly that if the adults in the program are in agreement with the program itself and, importantly, with the utility of general education then the children function more efficiently in the grade school setting. Conversely, if the parents are either indifferent or hostile to such things then the children apparently malfunction in the grade-school situation; this observation has led me to emphasize the focus on adults.

Counsellors

An important first assignment of the co-ordinator would be to recruit two competent counsellors, one man and one woman.[1] These counsellors should have qualifications in the field of adult education, and an acquaintance with the elements of applied psychology. They should attempt to learn at least rudimentary Eskimo, for some knowledge of the language would enhance their empathy and their rapport with the migrant group chosen for the project.

Preferably, the counsellors would be involved in all phases and aspects of the program, including initial planning, assessment of applicants, and selection of the southern relocation site. It is imperative that the counsellors acquire an adequate knowledge of the settlements and life-styles from which recruits are drawn as well as accurate knowledge of the selected relocation sites in the south. By this I mean that they should make themselves familiar with such things as the local housing situation, alternative job possibilities in the area, and the transportation, communications, health, welfare, and recreational facilities which the migrants will be required to use.

To obtain this necessary familiarity with the "home" and "host" communities, it may be necessary for the counsellors to undertake fairly comprehensive community surveys, but such efforts should serve to maximize both their opportunities and their capabilities for furnishing help and guidance to the migrants.

It would seem a wise move for the program to employ one or two junior counsellors who in time could take over some of the duties of the senior counsellors, and be available as replacements or additions should the program

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[1] Selection of a female counsellor will have important consequences in terms of the need for contact with the wives, or with single women being relocated.

be expanded. All counsellors, senior or junior, should be in close and continuous contact with those government personnel involved in the vocational training programs. In this way, counsellors would gather first-hand knowledge about kinds of training and the numbers of trainees, and would be better able to confer with prospective employers or job placement officers. Above all, the counsellors should have absolute guarantee of co-operation from all local government agencies such as Manpower or the Unemployment Insurance Commission, as well as having direct and ready access to the program co-ordinator, whether in Ottawa or Yellowknife.

It appears to me than an important difficulty in past programs related to a lack of communication and co-operation between the variously involved government agencies. I make this claim for non-communication within the Indian Affairs Branch, within the Territorial Government, and between the Federal Government and the Territorial Government.[1] An extreme example came to light in the course of field work. Two officials in the same office gave greatly disparate views of a single situation. One said that he did not know whose "pet project" this relocation was, and that he saw no reason for resident counsellors. The other, equally dependable official insisted that a resident counsellor be available for consultation in all and any matters. I suggest, therefore, that if a revamped relocation program is approved, that there be a more than ordinary attempt at communication between the relevant agencies in all departments, branches, and divisions. I should add here that employers (potential and actual) as well as local Manpower and Indian Affairs offices be made aware of any relocated people in their area.

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[1] I am completely unconcerned with which agencies may be right or wrong, but only with the effects upon the relocation attempts.

Advertising the Program

Having established the administrative and counselling network outlined above, the next step would be for the co-ordinator and the counsellors, in consultation with vocational training personnel and potential employers, to plan an "advertising" campaign aimed at prospective recruits.[1] Publicity materials might be printed in English or in Eskimo, using syllabics or Roman script as appropriate.

To avoid possible misunderstandings, any advertisement should state very clearly the conditions which applicants must meet, and the qualifications they must possess. A first qualification should be that applicants and their wives speak, read and write at least comprehensible English.[2] It is obvious from this that I am advocating that only married couples (with or without children) be considered for the program. All family members should be in good health. Another prerequisite for acceptance should be possession of a saleable skill or trade. Some flexibility should be permitted with respect to possession of skills. For example, the applicant

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[1] As I recall from the September 4-5, 1968 meetings in Ottawa two recruiting areas were suggested. First choice was Baffin Island but a later suggestion was the east side of Hudson Bay. I have not yet heard of any firm decision although either one seems acceptable. At the same meeting the relocation centre was to be in southern Ontario in the small-industries belt where a greater variety of occupations were presumed to be available.

[2] Field observations show that if the wife does not understand English this drastically reduces her social life as well as her efficiency in shopping and operating her household. Although there are cases where migrants having only minimal verbal command of English are apparently successfully 'adjusted' to wage-earning positions, the 1968 field-work uncovered a great many disadvantages for these people.

might require only a term in mathematics to qualify for employment or acceptance into a trade. If he demonstrates willingness and capacity to undertake the requisite additional training and already possesses the other necessary qualifications, then he might be accepted into the program. An acceptable age range for candidates might be from twenty to thirty-five years, but once again some flexibility could be allowed in cases where all other qualifications are met.

Once the ground conditions have been agreed upon, a statement for circulation should be drawn up in English, syllabics, and script, and distributed to those settlements that are most likely to produce the greatest response, e.g., Baffin Island and the areas surrounding Hudson Bay. This initial circular should stipulate with absolute clarity that it is soliciting APPLICATIONS ONLY, and that the submission of an application for participation DOES NOT constitute acceptance. In short, the circular should be imbued with an air of competition and should indicate very clearly that all applications received will be scrutinized before any acceptances are made.

Apart from the basic qualifications outlined above, the circular should contain the following information: where application forms are obtainable and to whom they should be returned; kinds of jobs available; kinds of short up-grading courses available; average salaries to be expected for each kind of job (local boards of trade in host areas might supply these); location of the host communities vis-a-vis the home settlements; travel routes connecting the home and host communities[1] (a map might accompany the circular); possibilities for communicating

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[1] I am assuming that the Guelph-London area of southern Ontario is still being considered as a most likely host area and that the range of employment possibilities has been carefully assessed as well as the ubiquitous housing problem that has destroyed so many past projects.

by mail with friends and relatives remaining at home; financial and counselling services available in the host communities.

It is very important to make clear to all potential applicants, and indeed to the people of the North generally, that participation in the relocation program is in all respects entirely voluntary. In the past, such projects have been tainted by explicit and implicit charges of variably subtle forms of coercion.

Our experience in the field leads us to think that the most likely persons to apply will be those most disenchanted with settlement life and who have had either experience in the south or who have been exposed to tales (often exaggerated) of the "good" life to be had outside the settlement. Unfortunately, our interviews with some government representatives and non-Eskimos in the north, show that these types are often considered "trouble makers" and are seldom the first to be considered as migrant material by the local authorities. However, in the past this has sometimes worked the other way, and local "troublemakers" were "shipped out" on the least pretense, but without attempting to assess their chances for successful adaptation in the south. It seems possible that such discontented individuals may be precisely those most likely to adapt, but of course this would have to be verified by research.

Assessment and Selection

Having distributed the required information to the selected recruiting areas, the next important step will be the assessment of applications. All applications should be acknowledged as soon as they are received, and the applicants told that they will later be informed whether or not they have been accepted. Where applications are turned down, the reasons for rejection should be given.

Assessment of applications should be made by the co-ordinator in conjunction with the counsellors. I suggest that the maximum number of acceptances be limited to between twenty and twenty-five for the initial training phase. The reasons for this are twofold. First, I would expect four or five candidates to withdraw early in the program for reasons outside the control of the selecting committee. For example, kin objections are likely to appear or, if the person applying is highly qualified he might, in the interim, find equally acceptable employment by himself or with the co-operation of former employers. The second reason relates to the question of manageability in terms of numbers of families that the counsellors would have to deal with during the period of initial instruction and orientation (when still more candidates will almost certainly be eliminated), and also during the period of final relocation. If the group which is finally accepted is too small, then the Yellowknife type of situation could easily arise: that is, there could develop a sense of isolation. If the group is too large then the danger of factionalism within it would, in our experience, emerge as a negative factor. Bearing this in mind then, I suggest that when attrition has been completed, a group of between 10 and fifteen family units should prove ideal for relocation.

It appears that there is an essential need for a sense of cohesion within the group that is based upon more than simple propinquity and cultural affinity.

Our field investigations indicate that groups of kin tend to provide moral and other support for each other, particularly during periods of crisis from which the counsellors are excluded, i.e., family disputes, marital affairs, and the like.[1]

It seems then that wherever possible the Eskimo couples chosen for the program should ideally have kinship connections of some kind. Pairs and trios of related families have, in past situations, shown a relatively higher degree of satisfaction when relocated together, as a group.

Counselling and Instruction

After assisting in the assessment and selection of candidates for the first stage of the program, the counsellors should commence initial training in the home settlements of the families chosen.

Instruction should consist of a realistic and detailed explanation of the goals of the program and of the living and working conditions to be faced by the migrants. The counsellors' job here would be to point out that community living in the south is not like community living in a northern settlement. The emphasis that Whites put upon regulated working, sleeping, and eating practices should be a major focus,[2] and should be realistic rather than idealistic.

The instruction should on no account be couched in idealistic terms, although the gap that exists

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[1] For evidence of this see Stevenson's (1968) description of relocation situations, which have been further substantiated by subsequent field work in 1968, in the same geographic areas.

[2] This should be placed in the context of necessary behaviour for successful participation in any wage-earning system.

between the ideal and the actual state of affairs in White society should be made clear. In other words, it should be pointed out that a person may strive toward the ideal but will most often have to settle for less, often much less. This type of instruction should be given to both spouses, either separately or together as the counsellors, as adult educators, see fit. It has been noted in other previous reports that men and children require least pre-briefing, and that women seem to have the greatest problem in adjusting to life styles in southern communities. Therefore, the counsellors should concentrate upon impressing the women with the need for accepting a regulated day to day schedule, and should stress this aspect of southern living. While the female counsellor is doing this, the male counsellor should be attempting to present the men with the concomitant expectations for workers in the wage situation, e.g., punctuality, sobriety (on the job at least), and the necessity for adhering to safety regulations, union demands, taxation requirements, medical and insurance plans, and so on. Of course, in all this the counsellor should be careful to explain the particular conditions which prevail in the specific locality to which the migrants will be going.

During this period as much as possible should be learned about the motives of the migrants in entering the program and what prompted such a move. Any candidate who asserts, even obliquely, that he was coerced, cajoled or in any way interfered with, should be carefully re-assessed at this time. Some of the more disgruntled of the currently relocated Eskimos use the claim of involuntary relocation as the major reason for their discontent. This must not be allowed to happen in the proposed program. I suggest that perhaps the counsellors adopt a comparative approach.[1]

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[1] As usual, the judgement of the counsellors as to this and related aspects of adult education must be accepted. I merely suggest this as one possible approach to clarifying the essential differences between southern and northern living conditions, etc.

Probably there will be a further reduction in potential migrants at this point. I assert, however, that this is the place where withdrawal should take place rather than in the final relocation centre. The attrition rate, although at the moment not predictable, should be borne in mind and acceptances should be geared accordingly. As previously suggested, a manageable number of candidates in the initial stage of training would consist of about twenty families, and the total number finally selected should not exceed fifteen. Perhaps the most important part of the counsellors' job will be weeding out those families who seem least likely to adjust.

Once assured that the migrants are aware of what will be involved, the next move should be southward. Two possibilities are apparent at this point. First, there might be a stop-over somewhere on the periphery of the southern society, e.g., Frobisher Bay, Churchill, or some other locality. Churchill would seem a better choice than Frobisher Bay. In one sense this could be termed a 'finishing school' where the information the migrants have been given and the instructions they have received can be put into practice, i.e., shopping, using local transportation, being introduced to various recreational activities and to the different modes of behaviour that they have heard about. The other possibility is that, at the end of instruction in the home settlement, they be transported directly to the relocation centre.[1]

Whichever of these two possibilities seems most feasible to the co-ordinators, the differences in costs should not be forgotten. The migrants will need financial assistance in making the move as well as in setting up their households in the south. If a stop-over centre is contemplated this will, of course, constitute a further expenditure for the government. I cannot, certainly, make any recommendations in terms of monetary costs but

[1] It is assumed that the counsellors will accompany the group(s) all the way whether to a stop-over or to the relocation centre.

can only point out that previous stop-over situations have had unfortunate consequences, i.e., the migrants decided to stay in the stop-over situation rather than continue toward their original goal. I suggest that a scheme be devised whereby migrants who strive successfully in their new location over a period of time be exonerated from repayment of any financial aid received but that an early, abrupt demand for return to the home settlement be countered with a request for at least part repayment of such aid.

Once the migrants have reached the relocation centre, housing should have already been arranged. Housing should be rentable at a rate within reach of the household income and the question of possible home ownership should be delayed for a period long enough to ascertain whether or not the family will probably stay long enough to warrant encouragement in this direction. Advise as to buying or renting should be based on facts rather than upon, for example, the ideal that every Canadian ought to own his own house. Spatially, the migrant families should be located within walking distance of each other rather than clustered in a single block. This latter situation would probably increase the chances of the families restricting their social activities to their own circle, whereas if some space existed between them the opportunity to interact with non-Eskimo neighbours would be increased.

Having established the types and numbers of available jobs and having resolved the housing situation the counsellors, following the families through all stages of the program, should accompany them to the new situation and see that they are firmly established with regard to what southern Canadians consider to be familiar and mundane matters. I have in mind such things as the use of local laundromats, shopping centres, transportation services, medical clinics, and so forth.

The situation also calls for encouragement to assume a life regulated to the work hours as well as to shopping hours. Shopping will present a problem for the Eskimo housewife used to going down to the "Bay". Careful coaching in buying, preparing, and timing meals will all have to be undertaken. Obviously too, such things as car registration, drivers licensing, and other commonplace things have to be clearly explained, not only in terms of legal requirements, but also in terms of their practical usage. All of the foregoing should be considered a part of the training program and should be followed up by the original counsellors who, in the early stages of adjustment to the host community, undoubtedly will have their hands full. The counsellors' duties should, furthermore, extend to providing advice on moving from one locality to another or from one job to another. It is clear that such 'outside' support should be gradually lessened and that the counsellors be free to return north and begin with another group of applicants. In summation, the process should become circular and eventually new Eskimo families will be trained by established Eskimo families who have already made their commitment to the wage economy.

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