

LORDS OF THE ARCTIC : WARDS OF THE STATE

THE GROWING INUIT POPULATION, ARCTIC RESETTLEMENT AND
THEIR EFFECTS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

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PREFACE

When I was given permission to do this research by the Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet the people had to weigh the potential benefits of having yet another study done that just might make some difference in their lives and having yet another study done that would do little more than advance the career of the academic who held the research contract. This concern was expressed to me in very clear terms. In an effort to overcome this problem I first pointed out that this contract was unusual in as much as I had a free hand to say what I wished and all that I said would be on the public record. If this had not been the case I do not believe the Inuit would, or should, have given me permission to do this research.

In an effort to further deal with this very real concern I undertook to make my report readily available to the Inuit. This has been done by having a summary of the report translated into Inuktitut and then using that summary as the basis for this more lengthy report that must attempt to deal with some of the problems of method and scholarship (see Notes and Technical Appendix). Only time will tell if this experiment in report writing style is a real benefit to having reports, like this one, read and acted upon.

The budget and time allowed me to do this research was very limited (not more than \$50,000 and one year, see Technical Appendix). Clearly I could not visit all the communities in the Arctic, and do detailed research there, with the money and time available. I therefore decided, rather than not do the research at all, to do detailed studies in just two communities (house to house interviews take a lot of time) and then combine the results of this work with information collected by other researchers and agencies such as Statistics Canada. The alternative available to me was to say that this report was only true for Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet, in which case, it could be argued, that dealing with the problems described in this report was only something that had to be done in Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet! I could of course now make the suggestion that my research should be repeated across the Arctic. But researchers like myself often make recommendations like this to create more work for themselves and their colleagues. So such a suggestion should not come from me but from the Inuit, and only then, if the Inuit are sure more studies like this are needed and will really help. Of course some of the details in this report do only apply to particular places, such as the opening and closing of the mine in Rankin Inlet. However I am persuaded that the basic problems of high population growth, high unemployment, low levels of education attainment, the decline of traditional language and culture, dependence on welfare and increasing rates of crime are problems faced by all native Northerners to some degree so that the central conclusions of this report will, to some degree, apply to all Arctic communities. But, of course, the reader is free to disagree with me as the findings of my research are on the public record.

My report has now been divided into two parts although neither part has been changed so that the Inuktitut translation does not require revisions. This division has been made to

better discriminate between what is now called Part 1, Description, that tries to describe the emergent social and economic reality in the Arctic, that all agencies, both Inuit and government, must, in my view, come to terms with as they develop their policies. The second half of the report, Part 2, Discussion, attempts to explore some of the difficulties that seem to have prevented the development of policies that adequately deal with the problems faced by both the current and future generations of Inuit. Inevitably this second section is more speculative so I have deliberately focused on what I consider to be two of the central long term social and economic issues namely, appropriate quality education and opportunities for productive activity.

When I wrote the original draft of my report "Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State" I decided not to review the effects new programs might have on the future well being of the Inuit as I regard such reviews to be even more speculative than my "Discussion" as well as being potentially political. Inevitably interested parties, such as the Government of the Northwest Territories, have criticized me for not saying how their programs will, in their view, deal positively and effectively with the problems that are to be faced by future generations of Inuit. Of course I hope that the G.N.W.T. and other organizations who are able to bring about constructive social and economic change in the Arctic will be successful but I can not say they will be successful when many of the programs I have been asked to review are in their infancy or are still at the proposal stage. Here are some examples:

Hamlet and Regional Councils

Although Hamlet Councils have been established across the Arctic the Mayors I have interviewed have told me they wish to have more powers given to them from the G.N.W.T. As for the Regional Councils they are little more than advisory bodies, with no real powers at all. The G.N.W.T. are well aware of this situation and have prepared research papers and reports that discuss the possibilities of expanding the powers of both Hamlet (the "Prime Body" concept) and Regional Councils. Unfortunately these reports are not on the public record and I was not allowed to read them so I am not able to comment further on this important issue.

Regional Boards of Health and Education

Regional Boards of Health and Education have only been established in the past few years and although in principle they have considerable power the Keewatin Board of Education complained to the Minister of Education that budget restraints, established priorities and formula funding made the development of new policies and programs almost impossible. In time these boards may develop more control over their programs but if their budgets are ever cut, as the Hamlet Councils had their budgets cut by 10% this year, then any "room" for developing new policies and programs may be lost.

Keewatin Chamber of Commerce

The Keewatin Chamber of Commerce have developed a set of policies for the development of businesses in the Northwest Territories. I endorse the central thrust of these policies that emphasizes the need to develop a business environment in the North in which northern businesses can better flourish. However, as pointed out in their position paper "Business Initiatives for the 90's" the expansion of northern businesses will not necessarily have a profound effect on the rate of northern unemployment unless the northern population is better educated (Keewatin Chamber of Commerce June, 1988). Even then I would still be concerned that the development of the wage economy in the Arctic will not be able to create wage employment for everyone in this fast expanding labour force. Imaginative social policies, such as a hunters assistance program, will probably continue to remain a necessity in the Arctic for many years.

Government of the Northwest Territories

The Government of the Northwest Territories has proposed many fine policies in their paper "Direction for the 1990's" (N.W.T. Culture and Communications 1988). If these policies are ever implemented then they will do much to solve the problems described in my report that relate to high levels of welfare dependency. The G.N.W.T. wish to get the northern population off welfare and support northern hunters. My report strongly endorses such an initiative and makes some suggestions as to how such an initiative can be implemented. However the G.N.W.T. have attempted to bring such programs into being in the past and failed. I can not be sure that the G.N.W.T. possesses the institutional imagination and will to bring such a program into being now but I genuinely hope that I might be proven wrong on this point.

Tungavik Federation of Nunavut

There is no lack of institutional imagination and will at the offices of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut. They have a very clearly set out agenda of social policies that they wish to implement in an effort to deal with the problems described in my report (letter to Minister of Indian Affairs from the President of T.F.N., November 18th. 1987). These policies range from language rights to hunters assistance programs. Unfortunately the history of land claims settlements in Canada and the current unwillingness of the Federal government to use land claims as a mechanism for native social development make the implementation of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut social agenda very difficult. Again I hope I might be proven wrong.

Federal Government

The latest thinking from the Federal government, with respect to the problems raised in my report, are probably to be found in their recent publication "A Northern Political and Economic Framework" (Indian Affairs and Northern Development, June, 1988). The frank realism with which this report discusses the problems of high native unemployment, low levels of native education, demographic pressure, declining major resource activity and rising government expenditures is truly welcome. Unfortunately the solutions offered to

deal with these problems are, for the most part, the continuation of current policies which may not be adequate to the task at hand. I hope my report, and the debate it has precipitated, will help the Federal government develop new policies that will be able to deal more effectively with the social and economic problems faced by Canada's northern native population.

Given the speculative and political nature of the discussion of these kinds of topics the proper place for the continuation of this kind of discussion is probably a public forum. With this point in mind I welcome the efforts of the Keewatin Inuit Association and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut to publish my report, so that a public debate can take place, and I deplore the efforts of the Government of the Northwest Territories to have my report suppressed (letter from the Government Leader of the G.N.W.T. to the Minister of Health and Welfare Canada, September 20th. 1988).

The public response to my summary report "Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State" was a total surprise to me. As I did not believe I was saying anything particularly new I thought a great deal of effort would have to be put into creating public awareness and public debate. In order to do this the report was written for a general audience and translated into Inuktitut for circulation in the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories. A public meeting was scheduled to be held in Rankin Inlet in September at which I expected one of the main topics for discussion, in addition to a discussion of the contents of the report, would be "Where do we go from here?" I had expected the recommendations of that meeting to form the concluding section of this report but two events changed this careful schedule. Firstly the public meeting was postponed to next year and secondly the report was leaked to the press after which a public debate took place in the news media and that debate seems to show no signs of slacking and may well keep going until the postponed public meeting is held.

Although I, and my report, have been the subject of both criticism and praise I welcome this public debate as I believe such a debate is an essential prelude to the creation of new policies. I doubt if there can be one without the other when conflicts of interest are in question. For this reason the debate is far more important than my report and every effort should be made to keep the debate going until effective solutions are found to deal with the problems described in this report. In this context I fully endorse the recommendation of the Globe and Mail editorial to place the problems of the native peoples of Canada before a royal commission ("To Confront a Crisis," Globe and Mail Sat. Oct. 15th.). So in a sense this report is far from being "final" as the final word, I hope, is far from being said.

INTRODUCTION

On May 26, 1986, the Minister of National Health and Welfare, the Honourable Jake Epp, announced the creation of the Review of Demography and its Implications for Economic and Social Policy. The Review was directed to report by March 31, 1989, on possible changes in the size, structure and distribution of the population of Canada to 2025, and on how these changes might affect Canada's economic and social life.

As part of this research effort scholars from across Canada were invited to submit research proposals to the Review Secretariat in 1986. In 1987 I participated in a 3 day workshop to discuss regional issues and later that year 21 of a possible 96 proposals were accepted for funding. This proposal, that attempts to describe the social and economic changes brought about by the resettlement of the Inuit into villages and the growth of the Inuit population in the Canadian Arctic, was included.

Since the Inuit were moved into permanent settlements in the late 50's and early 60's a new generation has now grown up in the social and cultural environment of houses, villages, schools, hospitals, jobs and television etc. Some of the changes brought about by resettlement have been neutral with respect to demographic, social and economic change, others have had positive effects (e.g. lower death rates) and yet others may have been detrimental (e.g. higher unemployment). In the absence of a reversal of this resettlement process the Inuit living in Arctic communities in the year 2025 will be made up of individuals that have almost no personal recollections of a life lived independently "out on the land".² Given the almost compelling certainty of this conclusion a sense of the direction in which social and economic change is moving is essential if the social and economic expectations, desired by the Inuit, are to be realized.

Looking almost half a century into the future is very difficult. This is probably especially true of the Arctic, where resettlement and a clash of cultures has produced very rapid social, cultural and economic change. During the past half century this change has been marked most notably by an abandonment of the aboriginal life style. At best this research can only attempt to predict the directions of change into the future by working from the assumption that there will be no change in current government policies for regional development in the Arctic. Inevitably this assumption will be false, but hopefully, by making this assumption, a picture of some future existence for the Inuit will emerge that will stand as a bench mark from which desired futures might be better drawn and systematically planned.³

If it is found that Inuit hopes and expectations closely match the social and economic reality, that is emergent in their communities, then there may be little cause for concern, or need for new government policies. However, if it is found that the most modest expectations, particularly for the young, are not in keeping with the emergent reality then hopefully this research will be able to identify the specific areas of policy that may require revision.

RESEARCH PROGRAM⁴

Although structured interviews were the main source of the new data required for this project open ended discussion and my continued living in the Arctic were also important elements of the research. I first moved to the Arctic in 1971 and completed research for my masters and doctoral degrees in the Keewatin region of the Northwest Territories in 1981 and 1984. In 1986 I completed a study in Chesterfield Inlet for the Hamlet Council entitled Chesterfield Inlet: A Discussion Paper On Some Demographic, Social and Economic Problems Facing The New Generation. This research surveyed 229 individuals out of a possible 278 on 63 topics. In September of 1987, at meetings of the Hamlet Councils of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet, I was given permission to conduct further research in these two municipalities for the Review Secretariat.⁵ Many surveys are completed by sending out questionnaires. Unfortunately the low return rate of these kinds of surveys can render their results unreliable. This problem is made more difficult in the Arctic where many elderly people only read and write Inuktitut and certain segments of the population, such as those who are employed and formally educated, are more likely to respond to the questionnaire than others, thereby introducing biases into the data. This problem was overcome by using face to face interviews which were completed in Chesterfield Inlet at the end of 1987 and in Rankin Inlet in the spring of 1988. Approximately 100 interviews were completed in Chesterfield Inlet where the total population is about 294 living in 55 households. In Rankin Inlet 383 interviews were completed of which 42 interviews were from the grade 11 and grade 12 classes at the Rankin Inlet High School. These students came from all over the Keewatin Region. The total population of Rankin Inlet is probably in excess of 1,374 made up of about 330 households (Statistics Canada 1987).

In an effort to get up-to-date background information from agencies working in the Arctic I met with representatives of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (I.T.C.), The Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (T.F.N.), The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (I.B.C.), Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.), Department of Communications, the Inuit Women's Association, and Health and Welfare Canada, in Ottawa, and the Inuit Cultural Institute (I.C.I.) in Eskimo Point, in February. I then met with representatives of different Government of the Northwest Territories (G.N.W.T.) departments in Rankin Inlet and Yellowknife in April.⁶

In May I wrote a brief report on AIDS⁷ which has been translated and sent to the Councils of Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet, the G.N.W.T., Federal Government, Keewatin Regional Council (K.R.C.), Keewatin Regional Health Board and Inuit organizations including The Keewatin Inuit Association (K.I.A.), I.T.C. and the Inuit Women's Association. I wrote this report in Chesterfield Inlet in July.⁸ After revisions the final report will be sent to the Federal Government, Rankin Inlet Council, Chesterfield Inlet Council, the G.N.W.T., K.R.C. and Inuit organizations at the end of October 1988.⁹

PART 1, DESCRIPTION

INUIT DEMOGRAPHICS

The Inuit Population: Past¹⁰

The fundamental unit of traditional Inuit social structure was the nuclear family comprised of parents and children (perhaps 5 or 6 individuals). Depending on seasonal hunting activities a number of nuclear families, representing one or more extended families (parents, children, grandparents and relatives by marriage), made up a hunting camp or band (perhaps 25 individuals). These groups shared relatives with other members of the same dialect group, or tribe, that would typically number some 500 individuals. These Inuit were often spread across thousands of square miles of land, sea and ice with population densities as low as 1 person per 200 square miles. Change in the fortunes and misfortunes of groups were sometimes accompanied by distant migrations. For example the Netsilingmiut, who now dominate the population of Chesterfield Inlet, moved there in the 1920's from their traditional hunting grounds some 500 miles to the north. Part of the reasons for this migration were the new opportunities for fur trade, with the Hudson Bay Company, which had been established in Chesterfield Inlet in the early nineteen hundreds, along with an R.C.M.P. post and Mission. In the 1950's two events encouraged many Inuit in the region to move off the land and into settlements, illness (principally polio and tuberculosis) and the opening of a nickel mine in Rankin Inlet. In an effort to avoid the high death rates of the early 1950's this resettlement process was completed in the 1960's with promises of health care, free housing, welfare and education.

The Inuit Population: Present

The settlements established across the Arctic in the 1960's have steadily grown. In 1981 the total Inuit population of Canada was 25,871 having doubled in the previous 20 years (Robitaille and Choinière 1986). This high growth rate is a product of both lowered rates of infant mortality brought about by resettlement, and associated health and social services, and traditional values that favoured large families.¹¹ As a consequence of these factors the present Inuit population is, on average, much younger than the traditional population in which many more children died.¹²

Although there is very little migration of Inuit in and out of the Arctic there is considerable migration north of the tree line. Between the communities of the Keewatin many young people migrate when they get married¹³ and the migration of families to Rankin Inlet, in search of better economic and educational opportunities, is probably only limited by the acute housing shortage.¹⁴ Although the older Inuit identify with the tribe or dialect group they and their parents came from the younger Inuit tend to identify with their community.¹⁵ In Rankin Inlet a new dialect (Keevaliqmiutitut) is emerging that is a mixture of perhaps 5 dialects from other parts of the region.¹⁶

The young Inuit are marrying at a slightly older age than their parents and are having much smaller families (approximately 3 or 4 children as opposed to 10 or more).¹⁷ In traditional times single parent families were very rare as Inuit men and women could not survive without the Arctic clothing or meat provided by their partner. Today the welfare state and wage economy make single parent families possible and they are increasing in number. These families take two forms, young mothers with children and elderly widows and widowers with children that are often adopted.¹⁸

The Inuit Population: Future

At the present time all calculations made to estimate the future size of the Inuit population predict very high rates of growth. Robitaille and Choinière (1986)¹⁹ believe that the national Inuit population of 25,871 in 1981 will increase by 60% to approximately 41,000 by the turn of the century. The growth rate in the Northwest Territories is expected to be higher than the Inuit national average so that the Territorial population is predicted to increase from 15,905 to 25,757 during the same 1981 to 2001 period. As Inuit now wish to have smaller families²⁰ the average age of the Inuit population will begin to increase. This change will place an increasing proportion of the Inuit population into the age group of those looking for work. Robitaille and Choinière (1986) predict that this age group (20-64) will double from 10,648 in 1981 to 21,206 in 2001.²¹ But the Review Secretariat's mandate is to look forward to the year 2025 so it may be reasonable to assume that the Inuit population will at least double or possibly triple by that date, however, even this speculation may be low.

The G.N.W.T. have produced growth figures for individual Inuit communities based on zero migration (N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics 1988.06.08).²² For Chesterfield Inlet the growth for the 20 year period from 1986 to 2006 is from a population of 294 to 509 and in Rankin Inlet the same calculation produces a growth from 1,374 to 2,057. However, when effects of immigration are taken into account, due to the establishment of a CF-18 operating base, college campus, cottage hospital, more tourist and administrative facilities, then Rankin Inlet is expected to grow from 1,374 to 2,383 during the same 20 year period (Uma Engineering 1988). Conversely, Chesterfield Inlet, due to out-migration, may not grow as fast as predicted, but it will still grow and, all other things being equal, double in size long before the year 2025. As for Rankin Inlet, it can be expected to become a small town, like Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay).

As the size of Inuit families is on the decline a doubling of the population will produce more than a doubling of the number of Inuit households. This fact will in turn create greater need for expanded housing construction and community services than a simple doubling of the population would at first indicate.²³ Although extended families still exist they are increasingly spread out across the Keewatin Region as a result of increased migration.²⁴ This fact, and the increase in the importance of the wage economy and social services, will continue to undermine the importance of the extended family as a unit of social action.²⁵ Increasingly nuclear families, particularly unmarried mothers and their children, will come to rely on the state for social support.

However this description of Arctic communities growing and becoming more regionally centralized is dependent on several important assumptions. Firstly, it is assumed that AIDS will not have a devastating effect on the Inuit population. Although the Inuit are a sexually active and partially isolated population no special policies or programs have been developed to either prevent this disease from reaching the Arctic or for monitoring the progress of this disease in the Arctic.²⁶ Given this situation and lack of reliable epidemiological data I am not able to say, with any confidence, that AIDS will not have a devastating effect on the Inuit population. Secondly, I have assumed that government policies will not be changed so that those Inuit who wish to establish new communities, away from current population centers, will continue to find it very difficult to do so as housing, social assistance, health care and education are, for most practical purposes, only available in the established communities.²⁷ Thirdly, more Inuit may migrate to southern Canadian cities or Yellowknife. But I am inclined to believe such a trend will not have a significant effect on the size of the Inuit population in the Arctic because Inuit migration out of the Arctic is and always has been low. Well educated Inuit will probably continue to be able to get a better job in the Arctic than in the south and the migration of poorly educated Inuit will only transport social problems from the Arctic to "Main Street - Big Southern Canadian City" where the social problems will become more acute.²⁸

INUIT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The Inuit Economy: Past

My mother-in-law, who was born around 1904, never met a white man until she was a teenager. When she was a girl the economy of her people, the Arvilikjuarmiut, was still centered on hunting rather than the fur trade. Before the domestication of animals and agriculture the world was populated by Hunter Gatherers. Unlike the rest of the Hunter Gatherers throughout the world the Inuit relied almost totally on hunting for all their needs. This necessity of the Arctic environment produced a society with a strong division of labour by sex. The men were skilled at hunting and making the tools of their livelihood while the women were expert sewers and child rearers, which, like everything else, was not an easy task in the Arctic. The fur trade and introduction of the rifle allowed the Inuit to raise more children, keep larger dog teams and be more mobile. Some Inuit who were not able, or chose not to maintain the strenuous life of hunting and trapping, entered the wage economy by working for the Hudson Bay Company, R.C.M.P. or Mission. These job opportunities were very limited until the establishment of the nickel mine in Rankin Inlet in the mid 1950's. The mine closed in the 1960's but the creation of the Arctic settlements, at about the same time, generated a few new opportunities for wage employment. Two factors brought about the decline of the fur trade in the 70's and 80's. Firstly trapping and hunting activities became more costly as they became mechanized²⁹ and secondly the activity of the anti-fur lobby depressed fur prices. For example the Northwest Territorial harvest for white fox has dropped from a 1980-81 high of 37,315 pelts to 4,438 pelts in 1985-86 and the Hair Seal harvest has dropped from 42,120 skins in 1980-81 to 3,602 in 1985-86 (N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics 1987). Where the seal harvest was the largest, the Baffin Region, the decline in this trade correlates with increases in welfare³⁰ (G.N.W.T. Dept. of Social Services 1985).

The Inuit Economy: Present

Hunting is still an important part of the Inuit economy although the fur trade and sale of fish does not provide very much income to those engaged in these activities.³¹ When asked 88% of all the Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet said they had eaten Inuit food (meat or fish) the previous day.³² As food costs approximately twice as much to buy in Chesterfield Inlet as it does in southern Canada the value of this food is considerable.³³ Meat and fish is still shared through the network established by the extended family. This is particularly important for the elderly.³⁴ Unfortunately the high capital and operating costs of mechanized hunting (about \$10,000 per year for the fully outfitted active hunter) seriously restricts hunting to those with a cash income so that those Inuit who do have a job, and hence an income, can afford to go hunting in the little spare time that they have, and they do. On the other hand many Inuit who do not have a job and income can not afford to go hunting, although they have plenty of time to do so.³⁵ I had expected Inuit in the larger more urban community of Rankin Inlet to hunt less than the Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet but this did not prove to be the case as Rankin Inlet is the wealthiest community in the region and the Inuit there can afford to hunt.³⁶ The Inuit of Rankin Inlet rely as much on meat and

fish as the Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet and they will often go hundreds of miles in pursuit of game in order to get away from the heavy hunting activity close to their town.³⁷

Two sections of the communities of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet hunt less and eat less native food than the majority in these communities. The white members of the communities eat less native food as they have less of a taste for it. They also hunt less because they have other priorities for their disposable income and are not committed to helping to feed their extended families.³⁸ The Inuit in their early 20s, and younger, eat less Inuit food because they have developed a liking for more variety in their diet, supplied from the store, and they hunt less, in part because they can not afford to (there is more unemployment amongst the young) but also in part because some of them are genuinely not interested in hunting having grown up in the cultural, economic, social and physical environment of the community, school and television.³⁹

A number of different sources are available for rates of unemployment in the Arctic. The 1981 census (1986 data was not available from Statistics Canada at the time of writing this report)⁴⁰ gives an unemployment rate in Chesterfield Inlet of 11.1% for males and 0% for females and in Rankin Inlet 12.2% for males and 8.3% for females (Statistics Canada 1983). The average for the Keewatin Region was 12% for males and 15.2% for females. However these statistics are based on the premise that the unemployed have recently looked for work. In small Arctic communities, where everyone knows about the few jobs that occasionally become available, no one wastes their time "looking for work" with the result that the unemployed are not accurately recorded by Statistics Canada in small isolated settlements.⁴¹ The 1984 Labour Force Survey (N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics, 1985) conducted by the Government of the Northwest Territories attempted to overcome this problem by asking people who were not working if they wanted a job. Using this question as a basis for calculation the unemployment rate becomes 41% in Chesterfield Inlet, 24% in Rankin Inlet and 42% for the Keewatin Region as a whole. I conducted a similar survey in Chesterfield Inlet in 1986 with the result that 45% wanted a job. Using a slightly different calculation Robitaille and Choinière (1985) came up with a national Inuit "unemployment" rate of 48%. But all those employed in seasonal or part time jobs in Chesterfield Inlet in 1986 wanted full time jobs. If these individuals are included in the unemployment statistics then as many as 69% of the available work force could be considered unemployed in Chesterfield Inlet and if students seeking summer jobs are also added in then the unemployment rate climbs to 72% (my survey was conducted in the summer while the Labour Force Survey was conducted in the winter when students were in school).

As might be expected unemployment rates are higher amongst females, the young and the poorly educated.⁴² As the white population in the Arctic are very well educated they are rarely unemployed. In the Keewatin Region the Labour Force Survey identifies 92% of the non-native population as employed (306 out of a possible 332) as compared to 48% of the native population being employed (1,143 out of a possible 2,380). The large number of white persons in Rankin Inlet (24% of the local population) clearly account for the

unusually low level of unemployment to be found in that community. The different figures that have been suggested here for the rate of Inuit unemployment are dependent on the definition of the rate of unemployment that is used. In general terms it may be reasonable to conclude that approximately half the Inuit in the Arctic are unemployed after the employed white population are removed from the calculation.⁴³

Some Inuit have become successful business men. It should be noted that they tend to employ more Inuit than businesses owned and operated by non-Inuit.⁴⁴ However, for the many Inuit without jobs, the different forms of social security available to them have become the dominant element in their economy. In Chesterfield Inlet welfare payments are the preferred form of social support. Many of the Inuit there do not receive unemployment benefits, although they may be eligible for them, as the poor mail service, the difficulty in resolving administrative errors (there is no Manpower office in Chesterfield Inlet) and the complexity of the forms written in a foreign language (English not Inuktitut) discourage many from even applying for unemployment insurance benefits.⁴⁵ Welfare, on the other hand, can be obtained through a simple interview with an Inuk representative of the Government of the Northwest Territories. In Rankin Inlet (where there is a Manpower office that can sort out problems) more Inuit do receive unemployment insurance benefits. In practice many Inuit use unemployment insurance benefits and welfare payments to subsidize their hunting/subsistence economy activities. Some administrators turn a blind eye to this practice in the belief that such activities are probably of more benefit to the welfare recipient than simply waiting at home for a job opportunity that will not come. Unfortunately some administrators interpret the welfare rules very strictly and will not allow payments for cloths to be used for purchasing hunting supplies with the logical argument that skins from the animals killed will be used to make cloths and they may also insist that the recipient be in town on "welfare day" when hunting activities require the recipient to be out on the land. Other counterproductive quirks of the social security system in the Arctic would include the withdrawal of some benefits from individuals who enter an educational program even when that program can not sponsor the recipient and a drop in disposable income if a recipient takes a job at minimum wage and then has to pay a higher rent and/or babysitter. As a consequence many Inuit take welfare even when they would prefer to be in a job, particularly if that job is part time at minimum wage, or would prefer to be out on the land actively involved in the subsistence economy, or would prefer to be in a program of education.⁴⁶

The Inuit Economy: Future

The present economic prospects for the Inuit may well be one of the worst in Canada marked as it is by poor levels of education and high unemployment that is further aggravated by the proximity of a white population that is well educated and enjoys almost no unemployment. In the short term this situation could be improved if the Inuit replaced the white people who came to the Arctic to take the trade, technical and professional positions the Inuit are not considered to be qualified for. But even if this goal were completely achieved, within a single generation, more Inuit will still be unemployed in the

future as the growth in the Inuit work force over the next 20 years is much larger than the total number of white people working in the Arctic today.⁴⁷ Without the out-migration of the Inuit in their thousands, which is very unlikely, the number of jobs in the Arctic will have to be doubled, and then doubled again, if levels of employment, comparable with the rest of Canada, are to be achieved. Even this unrealistically optimistic prospect would require no in-migration of skilled workers from the south. High Inuit unemployment, it would seem, is quite unavoidable in the kind of wage economy that has been introduced to the Arctic during the past 30 years.⁴⁸ If current trends continue most of the Inuit living in the Arctic in the year 2025 will be second generation wards of the state whose society, economy and culture may have more in common with an urban slum than with the life their grand parents knew.⁴⁹

INUIT EDUCATION AND ENCULTURATION

Inuit Education and Enculturation: Past

Traditional Inuit education can not be separated from Inuit enculturation, learning their culture. This "education" began when the children started to copy the activities of their older brothers, sisters and parents. Given the strong division of labour by sex in traditional Inuit society the girls would learn how to prepare, cut and sew skins from their mothers while the boys learnt how to make hunting tools and hunting techniques from their fathers. Appropriate work ethics associated with quality control and stoic persistence were taught, as the seams of Arctic clothing could not split or allow wind to pass through, and a hunter could never be a quitter. The survival of the Inuit depended on the successful teaching of these values. The equivalent of tests of competence were celebrated when a girl successfully made her first mitts and boots and when a boy killed the first of each kind of animal relied upon for food. Young men and women were expected to be fully qualified in their respective skills before they were married in their early teens.⁵⁰

Formal education came to the Arctic in the 40'S and 50'S when Mission schools were established to teach Christianity and the "3 Rs", reading, writing and arithmetic.⁵¹ These schools were residential and strict. Inuit children, with no previous formal education, were generally taken away from their families a few years before they reached puberty. They spent the winters in school and the summers out on the land with their parents. Only English could be spoken in school, their native language, Inuktitut, was forbidden. In practice then these children spent their school years alternating between a "white" immersion education and enculturation experience and an Inuit immersion education and enculturation experience. Many of the children who attended the Mission school in Chesterfield Inlet went on to attend the Churchill Vocational Center and from there the most promising students were sent to schools across southern Canada. With the establishment of the settlements in the 1960's Inuit children were able to live at home while they attended grade school up to grade 9 and young Inuit men and women who went on to high school were able to stay in the north amongst their peers at schools in Yellowknife, Frobisher Bay and most recently in Rankin Inlet.

Inuit Education and Enculturation: Present

The Inuit who went through the residential school system in the late 40'S , 50'S and early 60'S believe they have received a better education than the Inuit in the modern G.N.W.T. school system. They believe their success in becoming the native leaders in the Arctic of today is largely attributable to their rigorous education. One native leader I interviewed was so sure of the truth of this situation he took a T.A.B.E. test and scored above the grade he had been awarded in school while most school children in the Arctic today score below their recorded school grade.⁵² The Inuit who spent their school holidays out on the land with their parents also have a good command of the Inuit language as well as their land skills, hunting skills and sewing skills.⁵³ Most young Inuit do not possess these skills. Many young men can not build an igloo or make hunting tools and most young women can not

make cloths from skins.⁵⁴ When the young speak amongst themselves they often prefer to use a broken form of English with a shortened vocabulary and their Inuktitut possesses but a fraction of the richness that their language possessed for their parents and grandparents who were often accomplished poets.⁵⁵ The generation of Inuit who were born, grew up and went to school in the settlements established in the 60's have acquired neither the traditional or formal education possessed by their older brothers and sisters.⁵⁶ They find it very difficult to live on the land, develop a career, or complete a program of higher education. They are a lost generation whose education and enculturation provides most of them with little more than the skills required to live out their lives as wards of the state. If filling out a form is considered to be an essential skill for living in such a society then many Inuit would fail to meet even this most modest of expectations.⁵⁷

Some statistics and observations from my interviews may help illustrate the extent of this human tragedy. Robitaille and Choinière (1985) note that 72% of the Inuit in the Territories reach grade 1 compared to 96% of the total Canadian population, 34% of the Inuit in the Territories reach grade 9 compared to 80% of the total Canadian population, 15% of the Inuit in the Territories graduate from High School compared to 52% of the total Canadian population and 1% of the Inuit in the Territories attend a university compared to 16% of the total Canadian population. These statistics improve for the younger population who have grown up with schools in their communities. Of the Inuit in the age group 20 to 24 years old 55% have reached grade 9 compared to 80% of all Canadians. Unfortunately this apparent improvement is distorted by the fact that these grades more closely correlate with the classes Inuit have been placed in as opposed to their level of academic achievement. T.A.B.E. tests completed on Inuit entering adult education programs in the Keewatin tested, on average, 2.4 grades lower than their grade achieved in school (G.N.W.T. Dept. of Education 1984).⁵⁸ One grade 7 student tested out at grade 1.5. Similar shortfalls were found amongst the Inuit students entering the new High School in Rankin Inlet.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, as the students came in to the High School with academic abilities closer to grade 7 than grade 9 the few Inuit who have received their high school diplomas all received general diplomas that do not prepare the student for a university education and profession.⁶⁰ It should also be noted that none of the Rankin Inlet High School graduates who are Inuit came from Rankin Inlet. The only Inuit to graduate came from other communities in the region as they had to stay in a residence where their study habits were carefully monitored. I have been told that the same has happened in Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay) so that having a high school in a community in the Arctic actually reduces the chances of local residents graduating with their diploma. Many white people with children of junior high and high school age try to transfer to Yellowknife, if they work for the Government of the Northwest Territories, or move south so that their childrens' education will not suffer during these critical years.⁶¹ As a consequence the children of white parents often receive a much better education than their Inuit counterparts so that they are able to successfully complete a program of higher education in southern Canada. Although the Inuit greatly outnumber the white population only 70 Inuit from the Northwest Territories attended university,

college or technical school in southern Canada in 1986/87 as compared to 537 non-natives who were nearly all from Yellowknife (G.N.W.T. Dept. of Education, Undated).⁶²

As would be expected poor levels of education produce high rates of failure in all training programs in the Arctic. Both instructors and Inuit students have told me that Inuit quit their courses when they can not comprehend the text books they are expected to learn, or fail to perform basic measurements that may require an understanding of fractions.⁶³ Even Inuit students who pass a T.A.B.E. test at an average level of grade 10 may fail for these reasons as their English comprehension and math will be below grade 10.⁶⁴ As with the devaluation of the grades given to students in northern schools one solution to this problem, from the point of view of the bureaucracy, is to drop standards. For example, when applicants for jobs with the Government of the Northwest Territories requiring grade 10 or grade 12 kept failing to pass T.A.B.E. tests, T.A.B.E. tests were dropped and many diplomas and certificates given out by the Government of the Northwest Territories do not meet southern Canadian standards and are not recognized outside the Northwest Territories.⁶⁵

In institutional terms this lowering of standards has thwarted the efforts of the Equal Employment Directorate as they require about another 1,300 natives with grade 12 if they are to reach their target levels of native employment in the Government of the Northwest Territories. The schools are not producing sufficient numbers of high school graduates to meet these goals. Even when Inuit get into a trainee position they frequently quit when they are required to take over the full responsibility of the job as they do not have the experience, training and hence confidence to hold down the job.⁶⁶

In personal terms the plight of one newly married Inuk, who I interviewed in Rankin Inlet, illustrates the danger of lowered standards. He quit school when he was about 15 when he was in grade 8. As he is now starting a family he decided to go to Adult Education for upgrading. With grade 10 he could get a Government job. But unlike the school, Adult Education use T.A.B.E. tests. He tested out at grade 4. Making it from grade 4 to grade 10 was too much for him to comprehend. He feels cheated. He has given up for the present and his family are on welfare. He told me he won't let his kids quit school.⁶⁷

The failure of formal education in the Arctic is surpassed only by the failure of the education system in the Northwest Territories to teach and preserve the Inuit language, history and culture. Bringing the Inuit into settlements and providing them with television, dominated with southern programming, may well have done the greatest harm in this area of deep concern to the Inuit.⁶⁸ However, a curriculum has only been developed to teach the Inuit language up to grade 4 and not enough Inuit teachers have been trained to deliver even this limited Inuktitut program.⁶⁹ Failing to teach English or French as a second language, beyond grade 4, would not be tolerated in southern Canada and a failure to teach Canadian history from the French perspective, in Quebec schools, contributed to the formation of the separatist movement in that province.⁷⁰

Inuit Education and Enculturation: Future

The individuals who benefit most from any education system are those that are able to take the greatest advantage of it. In the Northwest Territories these people are the sons and daughters of the non-native Canadians who went north to help the native people of the region. Many of these sons and daughters are returning to the Territories, after they complete their university education, to take the professional positions that their parents may have hoped to see filled by natives.⁷¹ This perpetuation of higher education in a small and racially distinct segment of the northern population will sew the seeds of what is technically termed "structural racism".⁷² In the long term this is a recipe for social discord and possibly even social upheaval as the native people in this region of Canada are, and will remain, a majority.

The Inuit language, culture and traditional land skills are being lost at an alarming rate. If all this is forgotten, the Inuit, like other native peoples in Canada, will, whatever the truth of the matter, blame the white man for their loss. When combined with the social inequalities of "structural racism" the demise of the Inuit culture will probably mark the end of a healthy and constructive white/Inuit relationship in the Canadian Arctic.⁷³

INUIT SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Inuit Sociality: Past

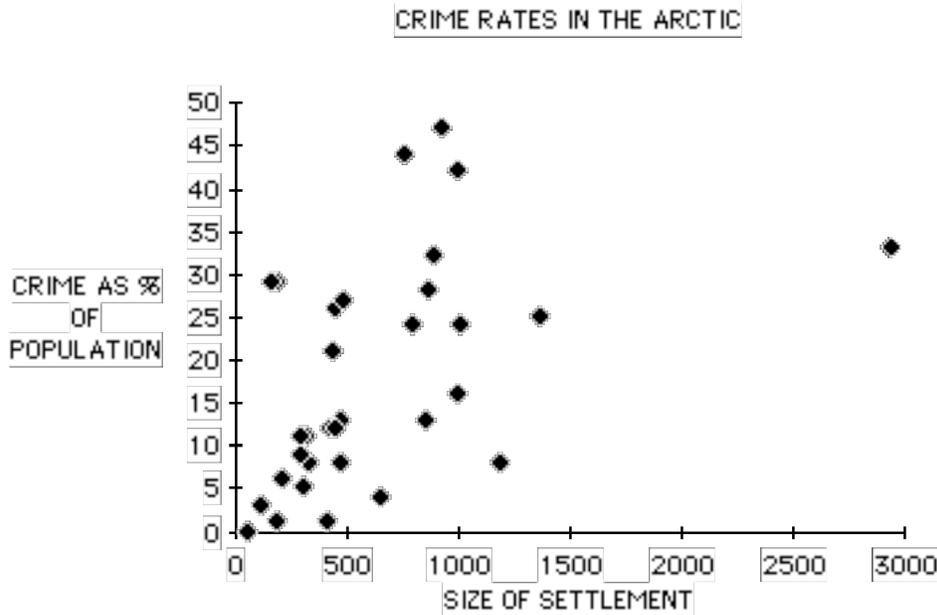
In traditional Inuit society authority rested squarely in the hands of elder relatives. From this simple premise everyone knew who had authority over them and who they had authority over in networks of extended families that could sometimes number hundreds of individuals. In practice this system of social control was made more complex by male/female relationships, the loss of authority by the senile and incompetent and ambiguities in the elaborate system of Inuit kinship. In general, however, elder relatives had to be listened to. When this form of social control failed, because two disputants could not resolve their differences with an appeal to the authority of an elder, they could attempt to settle their argument in a forum of rhetoric using the Inuit "song dual" or in a forum of strength that involved carefully regulated forms of wrestling and boxing. If all this failed then murder and possibly a family feud might result. Disruptive individuals could be brought under the control of their community with gossip, ridicule, a withdrawal of the welfare of the community (being left out of patterns of food sharing), ostracism, abandonment and when all else failed, if an individual was a danger to the community, execution. The introduction of the R.C.M.P. to the Arctic was welcomed by most of the elderly Inuit I have discussed this subject with as the R.C.M.P. reduced the rate of violent crime, particularly murder, and when the R.C.M.P. and courts dispensed justice there was no need to start a feud.

Inuit Sociality: Present

Although the traditional lines of authority still exist they are not as strong as they used to be. Several reasons are given for this decline,⁷⁴ for example, due to the generation gap and culture gap, between the elders and the young, the sanctions of ridicule and gossip do not have the biting effect they once did. The threat of withdrawing the welfare of the community no longer exists as welfare can now be obtained from the state. Respect was once given to the elders as they possessed the knowledge required to live in the Arctic. White teachers are now the primary source of the knowledge needed to live in the new Arctic and although they may not have gained the respect of the young the elders lost their respect when schools and settlements were established. In a like manner the authority of the elders has been eroded as the R.C.M.P., judges, missionaries and public administrators took over traditional roles of authority that had once been the exclusive right of the elders. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that most of these new authority figures are not Inuit.⁷⁵

Although there is a great deal of variation between individual families in which some families maintain traditional values while others do not there seems to be a growing subculture amongst the young who have created a way of life almost separate to the society and culture of their parents.⁷⁶ This was most noticeable in the larger community of Rankin Inlet where some parents complained that their children slept all day, and were out all night with people they did not know. "Not knowing" everyone is a very new experience

for the Inuit as they used to live in communities where they not only knew everyone but they also knew all their business. As a consequence of this radical change in Inuit social relationships social dislocation and antisocial behavior has increased at rates that exceed the growth in the size of Arctic communities. This fact is illustrated in the graph that plots the number of actual offences committed under the criminal code as a percentage of the population for each Arctic community in the Northwest Territories (Statistics Canada 1987 and R.C.M.P. 1988).⁷⁷



Inuit Sociality: Future

If the trends described here continue then increases in the size of the Inuit population will lead to a growth in the size of Arctic settlements and with it a growth in the rate of crime in the Arctic. If the traditional social fabric continues to break down the need for more R.C.M.P., and associated legal and correctional services, will probably increase at a rate that will exceed the growth rate of the Inuit population.

PART 2, DISCUSSION

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

The Emergent Reality

The reality that is emergent in the Arctic is a reality in which a growing Inuit population will come to live in larger and possibly more regionalized communities or towns. So long as current trends continue rates of unemployment will not improve even though the number of job opportunities may rise. Although the size of Inuit families will decline they will probably be more numerous requiring more housing and social services.⁷⁸ If migration remains a socially undesirable and economically high risk strategy, for the members of this poorly educated population, then most of the Inuit can be expected to remain in the Arctic. They may do this although they will probably have lost more of their language, culture and land skills. If this description is correct then most of the Inuit living in the Arctic in the year 2025 will probably be second generation wards of the state living out their lives in "Arctic ghettos"⁷⁹ plagued by increasing rates of crime. As long as current trends persist most of the people living in the Arctic with professional and university qualifications will be white and they will continue to dominate the higher levels of management in both the private and public sector. This racially distinct minority can be expected to be the focus of growing racial tensions between themselves and the majority Inuit population.

The Reality Desired

Needless to say no one I interviewed, either Inuit or white, desire such a future although I believe many thoughtful people realize the possibility of such a future and genuinely fear it.⁸⁰ What future do the people now living in the Arctic want for themselves and their children? The overwhelming response to this question, from both the white and Inuit members of the community, in both Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet, was a good education and a good job.⁸¹ With an almost equally strong consensus the people wanted the Inuit language, culture and land skills to be preserved and passed on to future generations.⁸² The reasons for this were both sentimental and practical. People did not want thousands of years of Inuit tradition to be totally lost and although elder Inuit would prefer for their children to have a good job, as a life spent out on the land is so hard, they felt jobs could not always be relied upon.⁸³ For this reason they wanted their children to learn both the old and new ways.

When I asked the Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet if they would like to move back onto the land only a few couples said yes explaining that the prices paid for fox and seal skins were too low. The Inuit are well aware that traditional subsistence activities are not viable in the modern Arctic economy. Jobs were the first priority in today's world for both young and old. With the exception of the elderly most Inuit would welcome more opportunities for further education and job training.⁸⁴ However when I rephrased the question in Rankin Inlet with the suggestion that the price of furs could be subsidized and some assistance could be given to help in the move out of town then many of the Inuit said they would prefer to live in

an outpost camp.⁸⁵ The Inuit who had their land skills were the most enthusiastic to take advantage of such an opportunity if it ever came.⁸⁶

So some Inuit wanted more education, some wanted a better job, or any job, and some wanted to get back on to the land. All wanted their children to have a good education and the opportunity of a good job and nearly all wanted their children to retain the Inuit language and land skills. This list of desires poses several questions, are these desires realistic and compatible and even if they can be attained could this success avoid the social catastrophe of the emergent reality? I am inclined to think yes but not because I or anyone else is capable of weaving some master plan that will carefully avoid every social and economic obstacle that stands in the way of creating a productive and worthwhile future for the Inuit but rather because I believe the Inuit are a practical and resourceful people who, when given the opportunity to pursue the different options available to them, will create the best of possible futures for themselves and their people according to their individual talents and circumstances. Grand plans are destined to failure, giving people choices creates opportunities to avoid failure and in so doing come closer to success.

Choices in Education

Good choices can not be made without good knowledge. Two rather distinct forms of good knowledge are required to live successfully in the modern Arctic each of which require an appropriate good education. Firstly a formal education oriented to job skills and secondly a land skills education oriented to the subsistence economy.

There can be little doubt that the quality of formal education needs to be greatly improved so that the goals of the G.N.W.T. Equal Employment Directorate and the Inuit can be attained.⁸⁷ As the residential education system of the 50's, with opportunities for further education in southern Canada, was replaced with a community based education system across the Northwest Territories the universal delivery of education seems to have been emphasized at some loss in the quality of education.⁸⁸ Several steps can be taken to correct this problem. First and foremost the quality of formal education should be monitored. Failure to adequately monitor and maintain the quality of education in the Arctic is, in my view, an act of negligence that has contributed more than possibly any other single factor to the establishment of "structural racism." At the present time parents blame teachers and teachers blame parents for educational failure.⁸⁹ But testing identifies the good and poor student, the good and poor household and parents, the good and poor class and teacher, the good and poor school and principle, the good and poor community and region. When testing is done the failures can be corrected with knowledge gained from the successes. T.A.B.E. tests used by adult education and the tests used by the high school principle in Rankin Inlet could be used throughout the Arctic today but the G.N.W.T. Department of Education and teachers I have discussed this matter with seem very reluctant to do so. This reluctance should be viewed with suspicion as not documenting the extent of the failure of education in the Arctic is in the self interest of the teachers and the department they work for.⁹⁰

Another counterproductive policy that may be self serving is the policy that does not allow sponsorship of residents of the N.W.T. to attend educational institutions outside the N.W.T. except when the Department of Education cannot offer a particular program. Going "South" may not be the best educational strategy for all Inuit but those who are able to make the transition gain firstly by receiving a better education⁹¹ and secondly by experiencing and learning how to operate in mainstream Canadian society. The successful Inuit leaders of today owe much to this kind of experience. I was sponsored by the Canadian Government to go to the U.S.A. to study for my Ph.D. so I do not see why Inuit should not be sponsored to go South for their education when they and their parents wish. Choice in this matter should be taken away from the government and given to the Inuit. If the education system continues to fail the Inuit in the Arctic then at least some Inuit will continue to be well educated like the Inuit leaders who went through the old residential system.

There also seems to be fewer opportunities for further education for the Inuit in the Arctic than there are for the Micmac Indians I taught at Dalhousie University in Halifax. At Dalhousie a transition year program is offered that is designed to give Micmac an opportunity to adjust to university life and special programs have also been created to allow Micmac health workers and social workers to get their degrees and professional qualifications.⁹² Although many Inuit working for the G.N.W.T. would like to work toward their degrees there are few special programs in place that actively encourage them to do so. An exception is the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program but that program is underfunded and must turn away many willing students.⁹³

In regard to the education of Inuit language and culture the Inuit I interviewed thought these should be taught in the school and in the home. Some Inuit thought land skills should also be taught in the schools but most thought the best place for this kind of education was out on the land.⁹⁴ I see no reason why Inuit language and culture (poetry, mythology, history etc.) should not be taught through all school grades in the Arctic in much the same way as other languages are taught across Canada. Failure to develop a curriculum and adequate numbers of Inuit teachers to do this, since the establishment of settlements and community schools some 20 years ago, is surely quite unacceptable. If the Inuit had been given a good formal education at the cost of not being able to keep the Inuit language and culture alive in all its richness then perhaps there would have been some grounds for forgiving this omission but the Inuit have received the worst of both worlds and the best of neither. As for land skills they probably are best taught out on the land so the appropriate solution here is probably not yet another school program⁹⁵ but rather policies that will encourage those Inuit who wish to get out on the land to be out on the land actively involved in the subsistence segment of the Arctic economy.

Choices in Productive Activity

In the 1950's, when the Government of Canada began to make a concerted effort to extend the Canadian welfare system to the Arctic, a bureaucrat from Ottawa explained to a Missionary in Whale Cove that he would have to reject the modest suggestions of the

Missionary, for a self help program for the Inuit, as some of the suggestions would cost less than his own salary (amongst other suggestions the Missionary had proposed the Government give the Inuit lumber, tools and some guidance in house construction instead of building houses for them). Perhaps the Government of the Northwest Territories, with its annual budget fast approaching a billion dollars is, to a considerable degree, little more than the institutionalization of that bureaucrat and his philosophy. I am inclined to believe the Homeownership Assistance Plan introduced into the Arctic in the past few years more closely follows the philosophy recommended by the Missionary. Happily for the Government (and Canadian tax payer) houses built with the assistance of their Inuit owners cost little more than half the price of houses constructed by the G.N.W.T. (approximately \$90,000 as compared to \$160,000 to \$170,000) in addition it should be noted that ongoing operating costs are also greatly reduced. Perhaps the time has come to apply this philosophy to other programs before welfare completely erodes traditional Inuit values of independence and individual industry.

In most of Canada the different forms of social assistance such as welfare and unemployment insurance benefits are designed to help the few citizens who are unable to work, to live without discomfort, and the citizens who temporarily find themselves out of work, to get by until they can find work. I do not believe these forms of social assistance were ever designed to be a substitute for work for large segments of the population who might be able bodied and willing to work. Yet that is exactly what these forms of social assistance are required to do in the Arctic and it should come as no surprise that they do it very badly. Various programs do exist to help some students attend educational programs, create a few summer jobs in the community and assist a limited number of hunters with the purchase of their equipment or gas. Those Inuit who do not have full time jobs try to piece their lives together with various mixtures of these different programs. But as the programs are limited in number and duration they may well create as much frustration as they do real help.⁹⁶

A number of social experiments and programs have been developed to deal with various aspects of this problem. The Mincome experiment in rural Manitoba, the subsidy on fur prices in Greenland and the hunters assistance program for the Cree in northern Quebec.⁹⁷ Recently the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (Inuit N.W.T. land claims) requested D.I.A.N.D. to consider a 10 million dollar per annum program to get the unemployed Inuit hunters back onto the land (the proposal was rejected). When it is noted that the proposed cash settlement for the Dene is 500 million and the current G.N.W.T. budget is over 800 million, 10 million does not seem very much. However a senior planner in the G.N.W.T. told me that he had been involved in designing a similar program some years ago and that his proposal would have cost nothing as it could have been funded by piecing together monies from other budgets that overlapped with the aims of a subsistence economy support program. Clearly money is not the problem. Perhaps the problem is a lack of political or institutional will? Perhaps no one wants to admit to the possibility that a normal wage economy can not solve all the social and economic problems of the Arctic?⁹⁸

Anyway, whatever the reasons for the failure to create this program the fact remains that current programs leave many potentially productive Inuit idle when a redesigning of these programs to meet the needs of the Inuit in the Arctic could put them in school, in college, in community service or back on the land. But the Inuit must be given the opportunity to chose the career path or productive activity that they perceive to be best for them⁹⁹ instead of having their options determined by the vagaries of budgetary decisions that are beyond their control. To achieve this end many programs that now deliver these different services will have to be coordinated or even combined and this in turn will require some institutional imagination and leadership.¹⁰⁰ Given this kind of proposed flexibility the old and the young, those living in small or large communities, those living in regions rich in renewable or nonrenewable resources and those with traditional or modern skills, will be able to make the choices that will maximize their potential and with it the potential of their family and community while still taking advantage of economic development if and when it comes.

MAKING IT WORK

When I was given permission to do this research by the Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet one of the most frequently expressed concerns was that this report should not just end up as yet another pile of paper collecting dust. A few Inuit refused to be interviewed for this very reason. This concern is undoubtedly valid. The problems faced by the Inuit, high population growth, high unemployment, poor education and poor economic prospects are problems that are well documented in recent reports (Robitaille and Choinière 1985) and reports written over 20 years ago (Brack and McIntosh 1963). To various degrees they are problems faced by all Inuit from the Yukon to Labrador and possibly all native people in northern Canada (Hawthorn 1966, Robitaille and Choinière 1985, Lithwick 1986). But these problems are probably most acute for the Inuit of the Arctic as they live in the most inaccessible and inhospitable region of Canada. Given the intransigence of these problems, and their possible national dimension, strong Federal leadership may be required to resolve these problems as other options for creative policy development seem to offer little hope for success.

For example, one possibility for dealing with these problems could be through land claim settlements. The native people of Alaska won the right to have a high school in any community that requested it as part of their land claim settlement and the Cree of Northern Quebec received a hunters assistance program through their settlement with the Government of Quebec. At the present time D.I.A.N.D. will not negotiate social issues like these as a part of a land claim settlement with the Inuit in the Northwest Territories so using land claims, as a positive force for social change in the Arctic, is not a feasible option at the present time.¹⁰¹ Another possibility is for Territorial and Provincial Governments to deal with these problems. In the Northwest Territories efforts have been underway to create a hunters assistance program for several years. Unfortunately the program has never got going although similar programs already exist for the Cree in Northern Quebec and the Inuit in Greenland. As one of the largest segments of the population of the Northwest Territories are unemployed natives it is difficult to know why the G.N.W.T. have not taken a leadership role in the development of these kinds of policies. I should add that getting people off welfare and supporting the subsistence economy is a high priority for the present Government of the Northwest Territories (N.W.T. Culture and Communications 1988) but the problem is decades old (Brack and McIntosh 1963) and it has not been dealt with yet.¹⁰² A third possibility for bringing about social and economic change would be through the creation of regional or native governments that would presumably be more responsive to the needs of their electorate or, in the Arctic, the division of the Northwest Territories to create the new Territory of Nunavut. But these forms of government do not exist today and so, at least for the present, some Federal leadership would seem to be required.¹⁰³

Improving the quality of education is a complex and difficult problem but efforts can not be made to systematically solve the problem until the problem is recognized and the extent of

the problem is known.¹⁰⁴ The first step in this process is the monitoring of standards with a view to regulating and maintaining standards. Failing in this task wastes lives and adds to the costs of welfare and adult education.¹⁰⁵ In an effort to come to terms with this problem the Federal Government should undertake an audit of standards of education throughout northern Canada.¹⁰⁶

There are probably as many different ways to assist students, create community service programs, and assist subsistence hunters, as there are government departments with imaginative civil servants. No one will know for sure what kind of program will work best in the Arctic until a few have been tried. By way of starting discussion of this problem I will make the following suggestion. Anyone who has left school and who is not retired and who does not have a job will have the opportunity to be employed in various community services at minimum wage. These make work projects could include working in a day care center, teaching traditional handicrafts, organizing recreation activities, helping out at a youth camp, teaching snowmobile repair, collecting Inuit oral histories, cleaning up the town, repairing fish nets, painting the community center, providing unskilled labour for the construction of a hockey rink or H.A.P. house, cleaning up the homes of the elderly, working on the community radio and regional newspaper etc. etc. etc. But if an individual wanted to improve themselves so they could aspire to get one of the better jobs available in the region then they could take their minimum wage and use it as a training or education allowance at the local adult education center, at Arctic College or even in the south. Finally for those interested in neither community service or further education they could take their minimum wage as a per diem subsidy for their subsistence hunting and fishing activities. I would expect hunters to pay their own operating and capital expenses as they generally work in small family groups who could pool their modest salaries when needed. Hunters can also make some additional cash from the sale of fur.

The cost of such a program, that has the potential to create full productive activity, turns out to be surprisingly low. In Chesterfield Inlet 52 members of the population wanted full time jobs but did not have jobs in the fall of 1986. If all these individuals "signed up" for one of the programs offered then the total cost in Chesterfield Inlet, at about \$10,000 per person, would be \$520,000. However a considerable amount of money would now be saved from existing programs including a large portion of current welfare payments, training allowances and day care costs, unemployment insurance benefits, existing make work and summer job creation programs, youth programs, financial assistance to hunters and possibly even a large amount of the labour costs on community projects such as a hockey rink. Homeownership Assistance Program construction (H.A.P. houses) might also be included in the scheme and thereby reduce the cost of home construction in the Arctic. Some H.A.P. house clients have already used make work programs for this purpose. As there are about 300 individuals in Chesterfield Inlet the same program might cost about 30 million dollars for that half of the Northwest Territories known as Nunavut (population about 18,000). But this cost is still less than 3.75% of the annual budget of the G.N.W.T. and that is still with none of the savings suggested above taken out! Clearly a program of this

magnitude needs to be carefully thought through and properly costed. However, if the Inuit so desire, the Minister of National Health and Welfare should fund a pilot project in the Arctic that would seek to achieve the objectives of the program outlined above.¹⁰⁷

There are many problems that I have not dealt with in this brief report but I am inclined to believe the Inuit are capable of solving most of their problems for themselves providing they are given the opportunity to do so.¹⁰⁸ Giving the Inuit educational opportunities in the south, in the north and out on the land and giving them the opportunity to be productive, through the jobs that are available, through training programs, through community service and through participation in the subsistence economy will hopefully provide the Inuit with many of the opportunities they require to mend their own lives and create a better future for their children.

NOTES

(1) The views in this report are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Review of Demography and its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Health and Welfare Canada.

(2) If by "independently" it is meant that Inuit may be living out on the land without any government assistance then this claim is probably totally accurate. When I first moved to the Arctic in 1971 (Cambridge Bay N.W.T.) there were a few families living out of town in houses they had built out of scrap lumber. They have since moved into town. There is now an Outpost Camps program in the Arctic but like many programs in the Northwest Territories it is underfunded so that even if an Inuit family is lucky enough to be sponsored they must lose many services that are taken for granted in the settled communities. As a consequence these camps frequently fail and the would be independent Inuit return to their home settlements where they often become additional welfare cases. The Outpost Camps program is most successful in the Baffin Region. In the Keewatin Region there are no Outpost Camps. A number of Inuit in the region applied for sponsorship in 87/88, while I was conducting my research, but because there was not enough money in the Outpost Camps budget no camps were established at that time.

(3) A brief review of some new policy developments is now given in the "Preface" to this edition of my report.

(4) Some of the main points from my original research proposal are given in the Technical Appendix.

(5) For a discussion of why new data collection was limited to Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet see the "Preface" to this edition of my report.

(6) As many of the G.N.W.T. departmental ministerial postings were being moved when I went to Yellowknife I tried to meet with deputy ministers who would have a better historical grasp of their departments activities than their ministers. When deputy ministers were unavailable my meetings were generally held with assistant deputy ministers or research staff. For the most part the officials I met with were most helpful. However, certain key reports were kept from me, although I requested them. Specifically the report on the hunters assistance program, prepared by an independent consulting firm, that strongly advocates the G.N.W.T. implement such a program, and sections of the G.N.W.T. Labour Force Survey that highlights the chronic levels of unemployment amongst natives in the Northwest Territories (I would not have even known about the contents of this important report unless a "leaked" copy had been shown to me by a third party). I was also not allowed to have copies of some recent reports on the future political development of Hamlets and Regional Councils. Data provided to me by the Department of Education was also disappointingly poor to the point of being substantially useless as it did not provide a

statistical break down of academic achievement by age, sex, race, community and region (see also note number 8 below).

(7) The following report on AIDS was sent to Dr. Kinlock of the G.N.W.T. Department of Health with an invitation for him to comment. He did not send me any comments so the report is presented here without any alterations or revisions.

AIDS and Canada's Inuit Population: Some Observations, Comments and Suggestions.

Introduction

In the summer of 1987 I was awarded a contract from the Demographic Review Secretariat, Health and Welfare Canada, to make a study that enquired into the relationship between long term changes in the size and structure of Canada's Inuit population and the potential these changes may have for social and economic change. Prior to starting this research I consulted with the Inuit of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet, where the study was to have it's detailed focus, to give the Inuit an opportunity to have some input into the direction of my research. For the most part their concerns were the same as those outlined in my research proposal except for their strong desire that my work should include a research effort that focused on the implications AIDS has for their people. This request for an addition to my research was communicated to the Demographic Review Secretariat at our fall meeting in Montreal.

Although the effects AIDS could have on the future size of the Inuit population was a legitimate part of my demographic study an enquiry into current AIDS policy in the Arctic was not. However, as this topic was a high priority for the Inuit the Demographic Review Secretariat allowed me to pursue this line of enquiry as an independent researcher while I completed their research agenda. They recommended I start my AIDS enquiry by contacting the chief administrator of Canada's AIDS program, Greg Smith.

Enquiry

When I asked Mr. Smith what the AIDS policy was for the Inuit he in turn directed me to contact Dr. Barretti, the epidemiologist for the Government of the Northwest Territories. I phoned Dr. Barretti and explained to him the nature of my enquiry and also undertook to meet with him in Yellowknife when my research took me there in 1988. In our phone conversation Dr. Barretti explained that although the Inuit are a partially isolated and sexually active population the policy he advocated was essentially the same as for the rest of Canada, namely, voluntary testing and AIDS related education programs. When asked he also pointed out that he would not advocate any additional testing in an effort to find AIDS carriers and monitor the progress of the disease in the Arctic because a significant number of the test results would be false positives.

As this argument seemed to be central to any debate over the value of more extensive AIDS testing I phoned an epidemiologist at Dalhousie University for an independent assessment of the estimated rate of false positive results. This epidemiologist explained to me that any individual that gave a positive result to an AIDS test was automatically given a second test after which the possibility of false positive results were approximately one in a thousand (1/1000). I also asked if taking the blood samples in isolated Arctic communities could effect the reliability of the tests and he explained that as the AIDS virus was fragile, problems with the testing procedure could produce a false negative result, if the AIDS virus broke down, but additional false positive results were unlikely. We then discussed the possibility of extending AIDS testing in the Arctic and although he was very much against testing all potential AIDS carriers he thought spot checks, of limited segments of the population, that could be at some higher risk, might be of value.

Other research commitments then obliged me to go to Europe and the Middle East for two months during which time the largest international conference on AIDS was held in London. One of the focuses of this event was the debate over the extent to which AIDS tests should be used to check and monitor the spread of this disease. For example, all foreigners applying for residence in China must produce an AIDS-free bill of health; of 100,000 visitors to Russia 200 were deported as they were AIDS carriers; all European Economic Community employees and applicants must take an AIDS test; the U.S. military test their personnel and all 25,000 students at a U.S. university are being tested to monitor the progress of the disease amongst young Americans. On the other side of the argument the testing of visitors to China, Russia and Bulgaria was criticized by the World Health Organization who "recognize that in the absence of a vaccine or cure for AIDS, the single most important component of national AIDS programs is information and education, because transmission can be prevented through informed and responsible behavior."

Upon my return to Canada in February I spent a week in Ottawa and first met with Martha Greg, health spokesperson for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Inuit Womens' Association of Canada. She was concerned that the current AIDS education program in the Arctic was having little effect on Inuit sexual behavior. She was also very concerned about native prostitutes and drug users in large southern Canadian cities who maintained associations with members of their home communities in the north. I then met with Greg Smith, brought these concerns to his attention and went on to discuss the possibility of using AIDS tests to monitor and/or control the spread of this disease in the Arctic. Although Canada's current AIDS policy discouraged most forms of mandatory testing we concluded that the Inuit living in the Canadian Arctic may, in some respects, represent a special case and that some form of systematic testing program may be of benefit to them. Specifically the anonymous testing of patients with a sexually transmitted disease (S.T.D.'s) was discussed. Finally I asked how we could be reasonably confident that all the potential AIDS contacts had been identified in the Northern Quebec case. On this point Greg Smith gave me the name and telephone number of the doctor responsible for that case and invited me to phone him.

After my return to the Arctic I phoned the doctor and he gave me a description of the Northern Quebec case. His detailed account persuaded me that the disease was probably limited to the Inuk who received the virus from a blood transfusion and his wife. I can not say more about the case here as I believe these details were given to me in confidence. We then went on to discuss the benefits AIDS tests might have for the Inuit if used in a more general way, specifically, we discussed the anonymous testing of S.T.D.'s with a view to identifying the presence of the disease in a given Inuit population. He thought the idea had merit and concluded his remarks by expressing his deep concerns for the effects AIDS might have on the native peoples of Canada.

I met with Mr. Moody, the deputy minister of health for the G.N.W.T., in Yellowknife, at the end of April. We discussed the possible merits of testing S.T.D.'s for the AIDS virus and the potential failure of the N.W.T. AIDS education program in so far as it may not be having a significant effect on Inuit sexual behavior. On this point I requested copies of his departments S.T.D.s statistics. He said these would be made available to me at my meeting with the new G.N.W.T epidemiologist Dr. Kinlock and he also mentioned that he thought that these statistics showed a slight decline which may be indicative of a beginning in the success of the AIDS education program. Two days later I had much the same discussion with Dr. Kinlock and other members of the G.N.W.T. AIDS program who I had previously met at Greg Smith's office in Ottawa. This discussion raised a number of concerns. Dr. Kinlock confirmed the G.N.W.T. AIDS policy given to me by his predecessor Dr. Barretti. As a result of this policy Dr. Kinlock was strongly opposed to any form of AIDS testing beyond the current voluntary program because of the projected high rates of false positive results. He estimated false positives would be as much as 90% of all the positive results obtained after the second tests were completed. This estimate was for tests made in the Northwest Territories where he believed circumstances greatly increased the chances of false positive results. He also said he was unable to give me copies of the S.T.D.'s statistics at that time as these were not in a form that were presentable (he was in the process of hiring a statistician and consultant). However he did say that the numbers of recorded S.T.D.'s had increased slightly since the beginning of the AIDS education program although he was not sure if this was due to a failure of that program or a change in the reporting methods used for recording S.T.D.'s. This new procedure was begun when the new AIDS education program was brought in.

Summary of Concerns

The principle concerns that seem to arise from this brief enquiry into the G.N.W.T. AIDS program appear to fall into two areas of policy, AIDS testing and AIDS education.

AIDS Testing

False Positive Results

There appears to be a difference of opinion between the epidemiologists I have talked to as to the number of false positive results that would be produced from AIDS tests conducted in the Arctic. Unfortunately the two figures I have been given of one in a thousand (1/1000) of all tests being false positive and 90% (900/1000) of all positive test results are difficult to compare and evaluate. Without more data and access to epidemiologists and statisticians who work in this field I can only point out that there seems to exist a strong difference of opinion as to the number of false positive results that Arctic AIDS testing would produce. As a consequence of this disagreement different opinions seem to arise as to the value of different degrees of AIDS testing.

Conservative Testing Policy

At the present time one case of AIDS and three positive AIDS carriers have been identified in the Yukon while one case of AIDS and two positive AIDS carriers have been identified in the Northwest Territories. An estimate often used for the ratio of positive AIDS carriers to AIDS cases is 50/1. If this ratio can be applied to the Arctic then approximately 6% and 4% of the positive AIDS carriers have been identified in the Yukon and Northwest Territories respectively. This apparently low rate of identification may be accounted for in part by what may be termed the G.N.W.T.'s conservative testing policy. I have been told that Inuit patients who want an AIDS test, because they fall into a high risk group, are, in practice, discouraged from being tested by having all the disadvantages of testing carefully pointed out to them. The high risk of a false positive result; the depression associated with the knowledge of probably having an incurable, fatal disease; the danger of the community discovering their possible condition and the possible social consequences of that discovery. If the AIDS education program fails to have the desired effect on Inuit sexual behavior then this conservative testing policy, which leaves many high risk group Inuit untested, may have to be reviewed.

Medical and Inuit Ethics

On a question of medical ethics associated with testing it should be noted that the rights of the future generation have always been a central issue in Inuit ethics as exemplified by the moral sanctioning of the suicide of the elderly or infirm when such deaths could benefit their kin, in historical times. At a more personal level it should be noted that the concept of the priority of the future generation is embodied in the still practiced custom of naming infants after deceased relatives. This naming is frequently done before birth. These infants are then afforded much of the respect that was given to the ancestor they are named after. In this context the need to protect the as yet unborn infants, or even the as yet unconceived infants, from being born with AIDS, may take on an added importance, that is particular to Inuit ethics and metaphysics. The current AIDS testing program, as it is practiced, may not fully take the strength of this Inuit moral imperative into account when it fails to test prospective Inuit mothers in high risk groups.

AIDS Education

White and Native Health Workers

Although the Inuit are a sexually active population it should not be assumed that the Inuit find the open discussion of sex an easy topic. As with all societies a lot of cultural rules surround the topic of sex. Generally speaking only people native to a culture are completely familiar with these rules. As a consequence of this situation native health workers are less likely to offend and consequently lose the attention of their native audience. Unfortunately the G.N.W.T. AIDS program started out by using white health workers. However Dr. Kinlock informed me that native health workers are now being trained to replace the white health workers in the field and native health workers will be used to implement the AIDS education program as soon as possible. Also, on the positive side, Dr. Kinlock informed me that the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation AIDS video will soon be ready for distribution. This news is particularly welcome as my own research suggests that most Inuit have obtained their knowledge of AIDS from the T.V. and radio.

Program Evaluation

The statistics available on the numbers of reported cases of sexually transmitted disease (S.T.D.'s) are probably the best index of multiple partner sexual activity. In the Northwest Territories these statistics should be particularly accurate as nearly all patients are treated through the G.N.W.T. Health Plan. Unfortunately the method of reporting the S.T.D.'s was changed when the AIDS education program was brought in so Dr. Kinlock does not know the cause of the current increase in S.T.D.'s (increased number of actual cases or increased reporting of cases) or if the AIDS education program is having the desired effect (increased number of reported cases but lower number of actual cases). Introducing two variables (method of reporting and AIDS education program) at the same point in time in a program that must use a time line analysis as its primary method of program evaluation is, in my view, a serious error. Dr. Kinlock did inform me that his department were about to hire a statistician and consultant to evaluate the S.T.D.'s statistics. If this had been done before the AIDS education program were begun this failure in the evaluation program may have been avoided by, for example, phasing in the two variables at different times.

Program Goals and Policy

When asked Dr. Kinlock informed me that the criteria for judging the AIDS education program to be a success or failure had not yet been set in terms of percentage reductions in S.T.D.'s. The danger with not setting goals before a program is begun is that the result achieved may be rationalized to be the desired success required. In an effort to avoid this failure these goals should be set as soon as possible in terms of minimum required reductions in S.T.D.'s by some specified date. If minimum goals are not achieved then alternative programs will have to be implemented to enhance and/or replace the education program. Dr. Kinlock told me he had such plans but he was unwilling to share these plans with me.

Recommended Action

As Dr. Kinlock will not share his plans and S.T.D.'s data with me there is little more that I can do at this point in time to further evaluate the G.N.W.T. AIDS prevention program. There are also a number of technical questions, such as the expected rate of false positive AIDS test results, that are outside my areas of expertise and I would have to consult with other specialists if an attempt were to be made to resolve these issues. The appropriate specialists are not available to me here in the Arctic and I do not anticipate being at Dalhousie University again until September. I have therefore decided to write this report now as there is little more that I can do. However, and perhaps more importantly, I am not delaying this report until my other research is completed because AIDS is such an important issue for the Inuit. If this brief report can help stimulate constructive public discussion of the G.N.W.T. AIDS program and thereby improve that program then the possibility also exists that some lives may be saved. This reason alone compels me not to delay this report.

The single recommendation that I have to make rests on a very simple and well established principle of the patient/doctor relationship. If a patient has any doubt at all about the treatment their doctor has prescribed for their ailment then that patient has the right to obtain a second opinion from another doctor. I believe this principle of relationship can be applied to the Inuit viewed as patient and the G.N.W.T. AIDS program viewed as doctor, as these relationships are essentially the same, because they are homologous. If the Inuit request a second opinion they should be encouraged in this enterprise, as would any patient facing a potentially deadly disease. It should also be clear that it is in everyone's interest that they should be given the resources needed to obtain the very best advice so that everyone will have the opportunity to learn from any review process.

When a patient asks for a second opinion the patient's confidential medical record would normally be passed on to the doctor of their choice. Perhaps a similar process could be followed in this case. In practice this "medical record" would probably require a copy of the original proposal outlining the G.N.W.T. AIDS prevention program along with a full technical analysis (calculations of estimated rates of false positives etc.) as well as a progress report that would include a program evaluation of the AIDS education program. Again a full technical analysis should be included (methods, data, results, conclusions etc.) along with a review of all G.N.W.T. AIDS policy that would also detail proposed future policy options that could be followed if the AIDS education program does not reach its targeted level of success.

As to the review process and the selection of persons, or an institution, that could referee these reports the Medical Research Council of Canada and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada should be able to supply lists of international scholars with the appropriate qualifications in AIDS research, epidemiology, Arctic medicine, medical anthropology, medical ethics and program evaluation. They should also be able to give advice on the selection of referees and the fees that should be paid to

them. It may also be advisable to send a copy of this report to the reviewers. Alternatively or additionally one or more universities could be given a contract to complete this review process.

After the review process is completed some sort of forum will have to be established at which some of the reviewers, those responsible for delivering the G.N.W.T. AIDS program, and representatives of the Inuit will have to reach a consensus as to what kind of AIDS prevention program would be most effective and appropriate for the Inuit.

Conclusion

Some of the doctors I have discussed this problem with during the past six months have expressed their concerns to me with statements as strong as "it could be worse than the epidemics of the 1950's" and "some communities could be wiped out." I do not believe this comment implied everyone would be killed in some villages but rather that so many might die the community would not continue to be a viable social entity. In addition to the unacceptable human costs of such an eventuality the financial and political costs of an uncontrollable AIDS epidemic amongst the Inuit would be extreme. If it could ever be suggested that the Canadian government had failed to take every possible precaution to protect the Inuit from AIDS then accusations of racial genocide may be expected to be voiced by both the domestic native community and the international community.

When I was asked to make this enquiry I hoped that any doubts that I might have about the AIDS program delivered to the Inuit would be dispelled and I would be able to transmit my confidence in the program to the Inuit who asked me to make this investigation. Unfortunately I can not do this at the present time. At best, even if the program is the correct policy, its execution and evaluation is, in my view, flawed. I still have some doubts and I recommend securing a second opinion.

If the AIDS prevention program is to have it's desired effect then the Inuit probably need to have complete confidence in that program. If that confidence does not exist now the best hope for gaining that confidence may be through the development of an AIDS policy that would include the full participation of the Inuit at each step of the review and policy development process. If the Inuit are not treated as full partners in this enterprise, with an informed and independent voice, their confidence may never be fully gained and the battle against AIDS may, as a consequence, be far more difficult to win.

Notes continued

(8) The summary report of "Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State" was given to the G.N.W.T. in August with a request that it be circulated through the different government departments so that comments could be forwarded to me in time to make any needed corrections to the final report. At the end of August the Leader of the Government of the Northwest Territories phoned me to say he would be sending me new data and a critique of my report, on issues relating to welfare and education, that he would like to have included in my final report. He said this data would be sent to me at Dalhousie University "by the end of the month." As of October 20th. I had not received the new data or critique so they have not been included in this report. I have also received no other comments on the report from the G.N.W.T. except through the media and a copy of a letter to Mr. Epp, the Minister of Health and Welfare Canada, from Mr. Patterson, Government Leader, G.N.W.T.

(9) An English and Inuktitut version of the summary report was published by the Keewatin Inuit Association in September, as a special edition of their monthly newsletter. This news letter was circulated throughout the Keewatin with additional copies being sent to government agencies and Inuit organizations across the Arctic and in Ottawa. The summary report will also be published in a future edition of the magazine "Northern Perspectives."

(10) Most of what I say in this report about past Inuit conditions can be found in a wide body of literature (for example Boas 1901, Rasmussen 1931, Weyer 1932, Balikci 1970, Guemple 1971, Williamson 1974). However, what I say in these sections, the Inuit past, has also been the subject of both my masters and doctoral research (Irwin 1981, 1985).

(11) Although breast feeding infants and sometimes poor nutrition would space out births in the traditional Inuit population many elderly Inuit women will have had in excess of 12 pregnancies. The severity of traditional Arctic life is illustrated by the fact that many of these older Inuit now have only a few of their children still alive and the size of the traditional Inuit population was fairly stable.

(12) There are some real problems with using death rate data from the mission record as the size of the population being sampled changed when new missions were established in the region. However it is worth noting that the mission at Chesterfield Inlet noted between 3 and 17 deaths per year between 1950 and 1957 compared to a low of zero deaths and a high of 3 deaths per year between 1958 and 1984. The average age at death also greatly increased after 1958.

(13) Some idea of the trend in migration was established by analysing the percentage of newly married couples, from the Chesterfield Inlet Mission records, who moved to other settlements. As would be expected migration almost stopped when the mine closed down in Rankin Inlet but increased again, for a few years, in the early 70's when Rankin Inlet became the regional center for administration.

(14) The population pressures put on regional centers like Rankin Inlet show up in the difficulty in obtaining public housing. Families wishing to migrate to another settlement must first find a relative to live with until they are even eligible for a housing unit. As much as a year may go by before some families get housed. Two years in Frobisher Bay! This housing shortage, when combined with the problems of poor education, puts an artificial pressure on the local labour market so that in spite of the high rates of unemployment in the Arctic many employers in Rankin Inlet complain about the difficulty of finding semi-skilled local Inuit labour.

(15) The Inuit who came to the settlements, established in the Arctic in the 60's while they were still children, identify with their settlement. However, their parents generally regard the traditional hunting grounds of their dialect group as their ancestral home.

(16) In the "cosmopolitan" regional center of Rankin Inlet at least 4 major, and several minor, dialect groups are well represented. A new regional dialect is being developed here. Migration, regional radio and the regional high school will all probably strengthen the development of this dialect so that in time it may be possible to speak of a Keewatin regional identity. As that identity is slowly formed the political will of the region can be expected to strengthen with each successive generation.

(17) As with many aspects of the changing Inuit culture the move toward smaller families and desiring fewer children is most noticeable amongst the Inuit who grew up in the settlements established in the 60's, i.e. those younger than 30 years of age.

(18) Statistics Canada data on the number of single parent families is often used as a fairly accurate index of the number of families comprised of single mothers with children. Although the number of single mothers is growing in the Arctic, as it is elsewhere in Canada, a large proportion of Inuit single parent families are grandparents with adopted grand children so these statistics should be used with caution when making inferences about changing family structures amongst the Inuit.

(19) I have used the Robitaille and Choinière analysis of the 1981 Statistics Canada data extensively in this report as it separates out the Inuit from the rest of the Canadian population. This separation has not been made on the 86 census data yet and I hope Robitaille and Choinière will be given an opportunity to repeat their excellent analysis so that the socio-economic trends of the Inuit can be better monitored. It would not have been possible to put my research in Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet into a wider Arctic perspective without the excellent work done by Robitaille and Choinière.

(20) See note number 17.

(21) But, as Robitaille and Choinière point out, this assumes the Inuit will stay in school until they are 20 years old. Therefore, if the Statistics Canada definition of "work force" is used the work force will be even larger than projected in these numbers.

(22) I believe the G.N.W.T. Department of Statistics used a simple trend or regression analysis to generate their growth projections. As this does not take into account the youthful age structure of the Inuit population and related changing rates of fertility for the population these projections may well be low.

(23) Because the housing shortage in the Northwest Territories is so serious the Housing Corporation of the N.W.T. had the Auditor General produce an independent report of future housing needs. The change in family size described here, the scraping of old housing stock and the categorizing of some older housing units as 3 bedroom when some of the bedrooms in those houses are only large enough to hold one bed may make these projected public housing needs too low.

(24) This increased migration, within the region, is brought about by persons seeking jobs (this is particularly true of people moving to Rankin Inlet) and increased intertribal and intercommunity marriage that is further "encouraged" through increased mobility and the creation of regional institutions like the high school.

(25) Although extended families provide a great deal of support to their members (patterns of meat sharing etc.) I interviewed a few single mothers in the larger community of Rankin Inlet who complained about the lack of support they were receiving from their relatives. I can not be sure but perhaps some extended families are starting to cut back on traditional lines of support as they know government social services will step in with assistance if they do not.

(26) Although the G.N.W.T. department of health were planning to start a program of native language AIDS advertisements on northern television, with a phone in "hot line," this past summer, that program was not started while I was in the Keewatin (I left at the beginning of September 88). A program to train native community health workers, for each of the settlements in the region, has also seemed to come to a halt.

(27) Clearly outpost camps can not expect to receive all the services found in small and large communities. However some services, such as social assistance and housing, may not have to be any more expensive in a camp than they are in established villages. Therefore, as small communities frequently have fewer social problems than larger communities (see section on Inuit sociality), encouraging the establishment of outpost camps may be a policy whose time has come, for those who desire such a lifestyle.

(28) During my investigation into the problem AIDS may pose for the Inuit it was brought to my attention, by the Inuit Womens' Association of Canada, that increasing numbers of Inuit women are entering into the prostitution, drug and bar subculture to be found in larger southern Canadian cities. Montreal was mentioned as a center for such activity.

(29) An active Inuit hunter needs to purchase a newsnow mobile every year or two and a new outboard motor, canoe or four wheel Honda (A.T.V.) every few years. In other words an active hunter has to purchase at least one major piece of hunting equipment every year for about \$4000. Rifles, 5 star sleeping bags, winter cloths, wood and nylon runners for a sled, knives, camp stove, rope etc. add to this capital cost of hunting. All this equipment (as much as \$20,000) is rarely acquired in a single purchase but is bought and replaced over the years at, perhaps, \$5000 per year. In addition to this annual capital cost there is the ongoing operating costs of supplies. A typical weekend hunt could use 45 gallons of gas, associated oil for mix, 2 boxes of ammunition, biscuits and tea etc. (between \$100 and \$200) for which an annual budget of \$100 a week may be reasonable, or approximately another \$5000 a year. In other words active all year round mechanized Arctic hunting costs about \$10,000 a year.

(30) Pangnirtung is one of the more traditional communities in Baffin Island whose economy relied heavily on the seal harvest. In this community increases in welfare payments correlate very closely with the decline in the seal harvest. I do not have the data at hand but I would not be surprised if increases in the crime rate also correlate very closely with these variables. If this is the case, and as crime is a very real cost to the Canadian government, then it would follow that imaginative social programs that would keep hunters active, when there are no jobs for them in their communities, would not only improve the quality of their lives but would also save valuable tax dollars (also see note number 97).

(31) The decline in the fur trade has reduced the cash income from this activity to a level of relative insignificance when compared to wage employment and welfare. However, as a food source quite the opposite may be true of hunting and fishing (see note 32, 33 and 34 below and 97).

(32) As so much locally harvested meat and fish is eaten by the Inuit in Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet I was only able to get some negative responses to my question, relating to meat and fish consumption, by restricting the time frame to just the "previous day." Even so most Inuit thought this to be one of my more "silly" questions as they all "know" everyone relies on local meat and fish for the central part of their diet.

(33) As the cost of buying food in the Arctic is not subsidized (unlike housing for example) a great deal of Northerners income is spent on store bought food which costs roughly twice as much in Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet as it does in southern Canada. As diets in the Arctic often require high calorie values, particularly in the winter for outside workers, the value of locally harvested meat and fish is considerable (also see note number 97). Unfortunately the importance of this part of the Arctic subsistence economy may be greatly underrated as it hardly ever shows up as cash transactions that eventually get into government statistics.

(34) The elderly rely more heavily on traditional foods than the young do, as it is the food they were brought up on. If their younger relatives did not give them meat and fish they would find living on their pensions increasingly difficult, if not impossible. Unfortunately the active hunters who provide this service are rarely compensated for it and are therefore, in effect, subsidizing the Canadian welfare system without even the benefit of a tax brake on the purchase of their hunting equipment and supplies.

(35) For example, in Chesterfield Inlet the average household income of those Inuit who were the head of their household and who had been hunting during the week prior to the survey was \$2080 per month as compared to \$1643 per month for those who had not hunted. Additionally 64% of these Inuit who hunted had full time jobs while only 38% of these Inuit who did not hunt had full time jobs.

(36) When I was in Rankin Inlet I counted as many as 11 inshore fishing vessels on their moorings in the Rankin Inlet harbor while the only vessels of that size at Chesterfield Inlet were not in use for lack of funds. The latest models in A.T.V.s and snowmobiles reach the Rankin Inlet market long before the Chesterfield Inlet market and residents of Chesterfield Inlet often buy secondhand machines from Rankin Inlet.

(37) As many of the residents of Rankin Inlet have come there from other communities in the region these Inuit often like to hunt in areas closer to their more traditional hunting grounds when they are able to do so (seasons, weather and time permitting). This takes many Rankin Inlet hunters through Chesterfield Inlet on their way to hunting grounds as far away as Wager Bay and Baker Lake.

(38) As the white population of Chesterfield Inlet is such a small minority they frequently make an effort to make friends amongst the local Inuit and as a result become involved in the local patterns of food sharing, hunting and fishing (with the exception the Grey Nuns). Although some white people in Rankin Inlet do the same the majority do not and as a consequence they eat less local meat and fish than the white residents of Chesterfield Inlet. In Rankin Inlet the population of white people is large enough for their network of friends to be all white if they so wish.

(39) For example, in Chesterfield Inlet all the Inuit who said they had not eaten Inuit food the previous day (meat or fish) were all less than 26 years old. The younger Inuit are clearly becoming more dependent on store bought foods. Given the age structure of the population the potential for increases in future demands for "imported" foods is enormous. Unfortunately, so long as Inuit incomes are significantly lower than white incomes, such a change in diet may be accompanied by a drop in the quality of their diet.

(40) Since writing the first draft of this report 1986 Statistics Canada data has been made available. However the method of recording the unemployed has not changed and therefore continues to underestimate the unemployment rates in isolated Arctic communities.

(41) In the 1981 data the rate of unemployment is actually recorded by Statistics Canada as being higher in Rankin Inlet than it is in Chesterfield Inlet when the reverse is true. This is because there are in fact more opportunities to "look for work" in Rankin Inlet where there are more jobs. So the Statistics Canada unemployment rates for Arctic communities are not even good indexes of unemployment rates as they use the misleading criteria "looking for work" which appears to correlate better with rates of job opportunities in this region of Canada.

(42) It should be noted that although the young Inuit generally have a better formal education than the elders in their community this better education does not always help them get jobs. For example in Chesterfield Inlet the average age of those with full time jobs was 34 years while the average age of those without any job but desiring full time employment was 26.6. This spread in the average age of the employed with full time jobs and those seeking full time jobs suggests that the older members of the community are hanging onto their positions. This situation is understandable but may, in time, produce resentment amongst the unemployed youth who have little opportunity for employment in Chesterfield Inlet in the foreseeable future. Getting the older Inuit, who would like to be out on the land, out on the land, could help relieve this "pressure."

(43) There is no significant difference between the high levels of native unemployment, white employment and levels of welfare for the three regions of the Eastern Arctic (Kitikmiot, Keewatin, Baffin), when compared to the rest of Canada or Yellowknife (G.N.W.T. Department of Social Services 1985; N.W.T. Bureau of Statistics 1985).

(44) It should also be noted that many of the most successful Inuit businesses hire white managers as the few Inuit who are well educated can always get a better paid job working for Inuit organizations or the government.

(45) Although fishermen in Newfoundland are able to piece together a livelihood with a combination of fishing and unemployment insurance the Inuit fishermen of Chesterfield Inlet have not been successful in doing this yet and must support themselves with welfare when they are not employed.

(46) For example in 1987/88 there were 6 Manpower sponsored slots at the adult education center in Chesterfield Inlet but when I left in August the adult educator was told this was to be cut to only 2 positions in 89/90. As the overhead costs of running the adult education center in Chesterfield Inlet would not increase a great deal with higher enrollments of students this situation appears to be a waste of valuable resources.

(47) If the size of the Inuit work force doubles during the next 20 years then the number of Inuit in the Keewatin work force will increase from about 2,380 to 4,760. But only approximately 306 white people hold jobs in the region now so literally thousands of new jobs will still be required!

(48) Everyone involved in job creation in the Arctic seems to be avoiding the issue of where all these jobs will come from. Although different agencies say they expect to create employment with their particular programs no one, to my knowledge, has said they can create the thousands of jobs required. No one, it would seem to me, is being realistic. What is needed are job strategies with employment targets and if those targets fall short of projected employment requirements then only a new approach to the whole question of productive activity and employment can prevent social failure. A very strong dose of realism is needed here.

(49) The term "wards of the state" has been used by Balikci to describe the contemporary Netsilingmiut. He was probably using the term in what may be considered it's weaker form in as much as most Inuit, directly or indirectly, receive their income from a government agency. However, in addition to this meaning of the term "wards of the state," I also wish to imply a stronger meaning when I discuss future generations of Inuit being on welfare unless thousands of new jobs are created or unless welfare programs are changed into programs of "productive activity." If this kind of welfare society can not be avoided then my use of the term "slum" may also be appropriate as slums are associated with overcrowded housing, welfare, poor levels of education and social problems such as alcohol abuse.

(50) I made a point of including "work ethics associated with quality control and stoic persistence" as many white Northerners tend to blame Inuit failures on a lack of such values. In my experience many Inuit who do not succeed in the social setting of a village display the very best of human values and qualities when they are out on the land.

(51) In the Northwest Territories the two principal mission schools attended by Inuit were at Aklavik and Chesterfield Inlet. I have not researched the activities of mission schools in Northern Quebec and Labrador nor have I included the less formal teaching activities of the early missionaries that first introduced a written language to the Inuit and in so doing established what may have been the first "literacy program" in the Arctic.

(52) Although I was provided with the results of tests given to all grade 9 students by the Department of Education in the N.W.T. these results were of little practical value as the results were lumped together and did not give a statistical break down of academic performance by age, race, community and region. I was therefore unable to use this data to make a detailed comparison of, for example, the performance of white and Inuit students and students from Yellowknife and the Eastern Arctic. The best and most recent data that I was able to obtain was a test given to all the students at the Rankin Inlet high school who graduated with their grade 12 diplomas in 1988. This test was administered when the students came into the school for their grade 10 year and is given below:

Academic performance at entry into grade 10 for Inuit students at the Rankin Inlet high school.

Case	1 Eng. Voc.	2 Read. Comp.	1+2 Avg.	3 Spell	4 Lang. Mech.	5 Lang. Exp.	4+5 Avg.	6 Math Comp.	7 Math Conc.	6+7 Avg.	8 Ref.
1	3.3	3.2	3.3	9.9	3.6	2.6	4.7	8.3	3.4	5.9	4.3
2	7.2	4.2	5.5	6.1	4.3	3.7	4.0	8.0	4.9	6.4	5.5
3	6.0	6.3	5.8	12.9	4.1	11.1	6.8	9.1	9.0	9.0	4.2
4	6.6	4.5	5.2	11.0	12.9	4.1	7.9	8.9	9.6	9.1	4.7
5	5.6	5.1	5.2	12.2	11.9	4.5	6.4	8.0	10.4	9.1	8.6
6	9.2	5.1	7.6	12.2	3.9	2.6	3.2	6.3	5.3	5.7	7.6
7	4.6	5.6	4.9	7.4	7.5	2.0	3.1	9.6	7.4	8.6	4.7
8	6.7	6.2	6.4	3.5	8.8	3.7	4.7	9.2	10.8	9.7	8.6
9	5.6	5.6	5.5	3.5	3.1	2.9	3.0	8.3	10.0	9.1	6.3
10	5.6	3.5	4.2	12.2	7.5	6.4	6.4	11.1	7.0	8.9	3.8
11	8.2	8.6	8.3	6.1	7.5	11.1	9.4	7.5	9.6	8.6	8.6
12	12.9	12.9	12.9	11.0	9.6	11.1	10.7	11.3	10.9	11.2	11.8
Avg.	6.8	5.9	6.2	9	7.1	5.5	5.6	8.8	8.2	8.4	6.6

Average of academic performance for tests 1 through 8 is 7.2

These test results are interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly it should be noted that they represent the very best Inuit students in the Keewatin region suggesting that the rest of the students in the region are doing worse. Secondly, the incoming average performance is closer to grade 7 than grade 9 which is two grades below assigned level for the best of the Keewatin students. Thirdly, it should be noted that the residential school at Rankin Inlet produced tremendous progress in these students to get them up to grade 12 in only three years. Clearly Inuit students "can do it" when given the right kind of opportunity.

(53) In recent years this generation of Inuit have started to bring back dog teams for the purpose of racing. This event illustrates the possibility of recovering other traditional skills that are presently in decline.

(54) The generation of Inuit who have lost most of their traditional skills are the same generation who have developed a taste for store bought food and grew up in the settlements. (see note number 39).

(55) When I attended the annual general meeting of the Inuit Cultural Institute in Ottawa one of the most pressing items on their agenda was their Inuktitut dictionary project. At that time they had not successfully raised the funds needed to have all the Inuit vocabulary recorded before a lot of it becomes extinct with the death of the remaining monolingual Inuit elders. I trust these funds have now been found to save this important piece of native Canadian culture. Extinction is an irreversible process!

(56) Not possessing basic land skills, like igloo building and navigation in poor weather conditions, reduces the survivability of Inuit hunters in extreme conditions. Store bought Arctic clothing is also inferior to a good set of Inuit "furs." The loss of these technologies is a very real danger to the Inuit and has probably caused some deaths.

(57) Illiteracy is a major problem in the Keewatin region of the Arctic. A recent report, the Keewatin Human Resource Development Strategy, prepared for the Keewatin Regional Training Advisory Committee by E. T. Jackson and Associates Ltd. estimates that 1,935 Inuit in the region, or nearly half the native population, require adult education of which 635 require a basic literacy program (E. T. Jackson and Associates Ltd. June, 1988).

(58) The failure of Inuit to test out at the academic grade levels they are given in school is also confirmed by the Rankin Inlet high school data (see note number 52) and recent tests conducted on adult education students who were involved in a computer-assisted learning program (Dr. P. Fahy, Director, Research and Development Alberta Vocational Centre, Edmonton, personal communication).

(59) The Rankin Inlet high school test results may be a little better as they used a different test, because they are more recent and because they represent the best students in the region (see note number 52).

(60) This probably explains why so many native students in the Northwest Territories drop out in grade 11 and never get their grade 12 diploma as this diploma is a real standard (Alberta) unlike the lower grades in the Territories. If standards were maintained through all grades in the Territorial school system this problem might be greatly reduced. Unfortunately even the Alberta grade 12 diploma represents a double standard that places native students at a lower level, on average, than their white counterparts. Most native students pass with a general diploma while most of the academic level diplomas go to white students. This fact makes the poor graduation rates for native Territorial students even worse than they first appear. In 1985, for example, out of a total of 204 grade 12 diplomas given out 143 went to non-natives and 61 to natives of which 25 were Inuit (Government of the Northwest Territories, Undated).

(61) I interviewed a number of white parents who dealt with this problem in different ways. When the high school was built in Rankin Inlet one parent, who lived in the Keewatin region, successfully petitioned the Minister of Education to allow his children to stay in Yellowknife. Another couple, who were teachers, decided to move south when their children passed beyond the elementary level and yet another teacher had their children live with friends in the south so the children could be in a southern school while they taught in the north.

(62) Although the Inuit outnumber the white population in the Eastern Arctic (Nunavut) they are not a majority of the whole Northwest Territorial population. However the combined native population do constitute a majority. The figures for the Northwest Territories are as follows, 41.5% non-native, 16% Dene, 35% Inuit, 5.5% Metis and 2% multiple aboriginal (Indian Affairs and Northern Development, June, 1988). Although the establishment of the Arctic College in Frobisher Bay has increased the enrollment of Inuit in programs of post secondary education this improvement, like the double standard for grade 12 diplomas, is distorted by the fact that most of the residents of the Northwest Territories who are in higher level academic and professional university programs are white. The statistics provided to me by the Department of Education do not make this important distinction but are, nonetheless, given for 1986/87 post secondary southern institution enrollment as follows, 537 non-native, 45 Dene, 70 Inuit and 86 Metis (Government of the Northwest Territories, Undated).

(63) Inuit often quit a course because they say they are home sick or because they do not get along with the instructor. This may be true in some cases but in my interviews with Inuit students who had quit causes, it was sometimes admitted to me that the real problem was a lack of reading or math skills that the Inuit student was, under other circumstances to embarrassed to admit to.

(64) This fact was brought to my attention by a G.N.W.T. instructor and the possibility that such a situation could exist was confirmed by Dr. P Fahy, Director, Research and Development Alberta Vocational Centre, Edmonton (personal communication).

(65) The Alberta grade 12 diploma is a clear exception as is the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program diploma that is recognized in Alberta. However many certificate and diploma programs that are not recognized outside the Northwest Territories will oblige those receiving these qualifications to limit their future career development to the north. Although it may be right and proper to encourage those Northerners educated in the north to stay in the north I am not at all sure that they should be forced to stay in the north because their education does not meet southern standards.

(66) Problems of experience, adequate training and confidence were issues that were brought to my attention by both Inuit who had quit their job and supervisors who were responsible for trainees.

(67) This kind of example is sometimes used as an argument against the use of tests. The danger with not testing is that standards will be allowed to drop. However if tests are not used as a hurdle to keep prospective employees out of the labour market but rather as a diagnostic tool to identify the adult education needs of individuals then I do not see why tests should not be a constructive aid to both human resource development and the maintenance of standards.

(68) This problem may well be on the mend since the Federal Government have now provided the funding needed to extend the services of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation with their own satellite channel dedicated to full time native language programming. The Federal Government and Inuit Broadcasting Corporation deserve a great deal of praise for the development of this much needed service.

(69) The fact that the G.N.W.T. Department of Education not only claim to teach Inuktitut up to grade 9 (Government of the Northwest Territories, Undated) and attempt to do so, without using a full curriculum of grade 9 teaching materials (I was told by a teacher that these materials have only been developed properly to grade 4), is yet another example of the institutional erosion of educational standards. There can be little doubt that using teaching materials that fall below the standards required of a grade will do much to damage the intellectual development of the students placed in that educational environment. Clearly G.N.W.T. claims that poor educational achievement by Inuit students is substantially due to poor attendance and parenting is a very biased and one sided view of the problem.

(70) This point was made to me by some of the few French Canadians I interviewed who were living and working in the Keewatin region when I conducted my field work. In general these French Canadians seemed to have a much better understanding of the importance of language and cultural issues, as they relate to the Inuit, than the "English" Canadians I discussed this topic with.

(71) These "sons and daughters" who I interviewed sometimes commented on the fact that having grown up in the north they did not like the south and would not wish to live and work there. This new generation of Northerners may not be quite as willing as their parents to give up their jobs to natives recruited through an affirmative action program.

(72) I was first introduced to the term "structural racism" by one of my anthropology professors at Syracuse University in the U.S.A. However a more widely used term is "institutionalized racism" which is defined as "a social phenomenon wherein habits of discrimination become fixed into the social structure" (Light and Keller 1979). I have no objections to the substitution of this term.

(73) The centuries of social injustices, thrown upon the Indian population of Canada, has created a working relationship between the Indian and white man in which the Indian leaders are increasingly turning to social disobedience and force (such as it is) to deal with their unresolved problems. If current trends continue it can only be a matter of time before frustration forces the Inuit to take similar action. Such action is not a part of the traditional Inuit culture, but the culture of the younger generation of Inuit is different, in many ways, to the culture of their parents. They can not be expected to behave in the same manner.

(74) These reasons were given to me by the Inuit during the course of my interviews.

(75) Although the numbers of Inuit in positions of lower level authority are increasing, for example magistrates, the lack of professional qualifications create a very real barrier for the Inuit to reach the higher levels of authority, for example judges and lawyers.

(76) Some Inuit believe this phenomenon is most noticeable in Arctic communities with large white populations.

(77) For the communities in the three regions of the Eastern Arctic the average crime rates were, Baffin 17.4%, Kitikmiot 17.25% and Keewatin 12%. It should be noted that the very low crime rates found in the smallest communities in the Arctic may, in part, be a product of the fact that they are serviced by R.C.M.P. detachments that are "out of town."

(78) What needs to be stressed here is that the number of households will increase at a faster rate than the rate of increase in the population as the size of households declines.

(79) Webster defines ghetto as "a quarter of a city in which a minority group live especially because of social, legal, or economic reasons." By "Arctic ghettos" I mean Arctic communities where a minority group (the Inuit in Canada) live for social and economic reasons. These social and economic reasons would be associated with poor social and economic conditions. If new policies are not created that more effectively deal with the problems to be faced by the Inuit then I believe my use of the term "Arctic ghettos," as defined here, may prove to be tragically accurate. The term "legal" may also be appropriate in this case as many services the Inuit receive are not available outside the Northwest Territories.

(80) The fear was also expressed to me, by some white staff members of the Government of the Northwest Territories, that the current Inuit leadership, now in their late 30's and early 40's, does not appear to be in the process of being strengthened by a new generation of younger leadership. They felt the possible failure to create a new generation of leadership had serious implications for the future development of Inuit society and attributed this failure, in the Keewatin region, to the closure of the mission school in Chesterfield Inlet.

(81) Although both Inuit and white parents wanted their children to have a good education and good job their respective perceptions of what this rarely meant to them was noticeably different. The Inuit, in general, saw education as a means to learning a trade or profession, which their child, in time, would choose for themselves. This was also true for the white parents but, in general, they also saw education as a means by which their children would acquire the knowledge to do anything they wished and live a fulfilling life. These two perceptions of the role of education were somewhat different.

(82) The few (mostly young) Inuit who did not consider the preservation of the Inuit culture to be important felt the old way of life had no place in the modern world. But these Inuit were literally only a few in comparison to the hundreds of Inuit I interviewed who wanted the old ways preserved.

(83) The unpredictable life span of mining operations in the Keewatin region has cautioned the Inuit of Rankin Inlet and Chesterfield Inlet not to rely too heavily on new economic projects in the non-renewable resource sector. The nickel mine in Rankin Inlet lasted about 10 years and may have created more unemployment and social problems when it closed down than it solved when it opened. A cycle of "boom and bust" can sometimes do more harm to a local economy than good.

(84) This broad desire for more training (with the exception of the elderly) ranged from upgrading and trade courses to university degree programs for the Inuit who already had a good job with the G.N.W.T. and had desires on their bosses job, or his/her bosses job.

(85) If large numbers of Inuit moved back onto the land this reversal of the resettlement process would free up jobs for younger Inuit as well as helping to establish a new generation of Inuit with traditional skills who would be able to take advantage of what the Federal Government hope will be an expansion of the northern economy through the greater development of tourism and renewable resources (Indian Affairs and Northern Development, June, 1988).

(86) These were principally the Inuit in their late 30's, 40's and 50's who had not received a strong formal education and who had spent most of their childhood out on the land with their parents.

(87) The report on human resource development in the Keewatin, prepared for the Keewatin Regional Training Advisory Committee by E. T. Jackson and Associates Ltd., describes this problem as follows, "The Keewatin Region of the Northwest Territories is currently facing a human resource crisis of severe proportions. Keewatin communities manifest high unemployment rates, high rates of illiteracy, low educational attainment levels, low rates of labour force participation, low income levels and heavy dependence upon social assistance. - - - The shortage of suitably skilled Keewatin residents results in a steady stream of transient personnel from outside the region who come for periods ranging from several weeks to several years to meet the labour demand. The impact that this has on the overall economy of the Keewatin cannot be understated. Tens of millions of dollars leak annually from the region because of job and economic opportunities widely exploited by non-resident labour and outside corporate interests." (E. T. Jackson and Associates Ltd. June, 1988, also see note number 57).

(88) The fact that there was a real drop in educational standards has now been confirmed to me in a letter from a past Education Officer who was with the Federal Northern Affairs Department, he writes, "I recently read your summary - Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State. In my opinion the report is 100% accurate. I am only qualified to comment on Education. According to tests carried out by staff, on students (Inuit) in Southern Canada from the N.W.T., the level of education decreased rapidly between 1974-79."

(89) Parents blaming teachers is something that is done privately, parents who I interviewed would often complain about this or that teacher or principal who was here "just for the money" as they would be leaving in a couple of years. However, teachers blaming parents is done far more publicly. For example, the G.N.W.T. have attempted to blame differences in levels of academic achievement on different levels of attendance (Patterson in News of the North, Yellowknife, 1988). But attendance rates have improved during recent years (Government of the Northwest Territories, Undated) so why did education standards fall from 1974 to 1979 (see note number 88 above) and what effect does teaching Inuktitut to grade 9 with grade 4 teaching materials have on academic performance? (See note number 69.) There is no doubt that some poor parenting, with

respect to education, is a problem in the north, but it is not the whole problem, some blame for the failure of northern education must rest with the northern education system.

(90) Tests can be used in a number of different ways for example they can be used to monitor the education standards of a population or to assess the success of new policies and programs. This is the kind of testing I am primarily concerned with here. However tests can also be used to evaluate the performance of teachers and students, these evaluations can be made to assist students (and possibly teachers) with special programs designed to correct their weaknesses or, more controversially, delay the promotion of a student or perhaps even a teacher. Clearly this latter use of testing is far more questionable. There may also be a need to develop special tests for the Arctic that monitor, for example, native language skills, but developing such tests should not be used as an excuse for not using currently available tests. I personally think the tests used by the high school principle in Rankin Inlet (see note number 52) are useful and informative as both an index of regional standards and a measure of individual student needs so long as it is remembered that there is no such thing as a perfect test.

(91) Economies of scale are probably always going to make southern education superior to northern education. This would be particularly true at the higher educational levels where large institutions can offer more courses with specialized teachers. It should also be remembered, particularly at the university level, that education is not simply a process of lectures, study and examinations but an experience that is enriched by the intellectual life of the student body.

(92) I do not know why the G.N.W.T. Department of Education have not established a transition year program to support their native students at southern Canadian universities. However, as the Inuit fully understand the need for these kinds of programs, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada and the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut have created their own programs based in Ottawa but these programs are more oriented to management development and are not university based transition year programs as such.

(93) Although the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program offers a Bachelor of Education degree through McGill University it has to reject many acceptable applicants because of a lack of accommodation for married students. Although the program could handle 30-36 students they may be down to as few as 9 this year having turned away as many as 13 would be students.

(94) Many unemployed Inuit have a very great deal to offer their community from the point of view of teaching traditional activities. A community service program, along the lines of the one suggested in this report, could provide many opportunities for traditional education that would complement the formal programs run in the local school. The problems of unemployment, education, traditional skills etc. need to be viewed as a whole (see note number 95 below).

(95) Like an endorsement for the benefits of "motherhood, should it be promoted?" most people will respond positively when asked if they would like another school program of one sort or another. So although, like other people, I would welcome the teaching of a land skills program in Arctic schools I do not think this should be done at the cost of diluting the quality of academic programs (in which I would include native studies and native language) providing land skills training can be given more effectively in some other way. A hunters assistance program can probably do this and this is why it may be so necessary to view Inuit social and economic problems as a whole. If each department or agency tries to solve all the problems the Inuit face independently they may end up doing a lot of things poorly with inadequate funds. Recognizing the educational value of a hunters assistance program and funding it, in part, for this reason, may well create a policy that cuts across the traditional boundaries of existing agencies. However, I see no alternative to taking this kind of interdepartmental perspective if appropriate cost effective programs are to be developed for the Inuit.

(96) By number I mean available slots, positions or funds available to help clients, for example, the limited number of manpower slots available at the Chesterfield Inlet adult education center (see note number 46) and the limited number of accommodation units available for married students who wish to attend Arctic College in Iqaluit (see note number 93). Many programs like these are offered to help the Inuit in the Arctic but as the programs are frequently underfunded they often have to turn away the majority of Inuit applicants. As this appears to be a common problem in the Arctic the purpose and validity of these programs is brought into question. Do these programs exist primarily to help the Inuit (expressed cause) or are they created, in part, for political reasons or to expand the northern civil service (latent cause)?

(97) The success of the Cree program is described by Salisbury in his book *Homeland for the Cree: Regional Development in James Bay 1971-1981*. He points out that the program "provides a payment averaging about \$5,000 to each of 1,000 "beneficiary units," enabling them to pay the monetary costs of a winter's hunting in the bush, during which time they may kill game that will provide each of them with meat worth another \$7,000, - - - the program has almost eliminated welfare as a source of income among the Cree, cutting the case load to one-third of its former size," (Salisbury 1986).

(98) Some other reasons given to me, by G.N.W.T. employees, for the failure to start a hunters assistance program in the Northwest Territories are; the Federal Government are negotiating this program with native organizations as part of land claims; our different departments, Economic Development, Renewable Resources and Social Services can not agree on who should pay and finally a hunters assistance program is too much like welfare!

(99) At the present time a hunters assistance program of some kind is being promoted as one of the prime alternates to welfare. But I would hope that the success of such a program would not detract from the creation of other alternates to welfare such as increased educational opportunities and community service. In the long term it is very difficult, if not impossible, to say how many Inuit will be required in each segment of the Arctic economy. Therefore, in my view, productive activity programs should be kept flexible so that some sort of equivalent of a "natural market place" can allow Inuit to create the best of possible futures for themselves and their communities in the evolving Arctic economy.

(100) The failure to create programs that cut across departmental boundaries would appear to be a very real impediment to solving the problems faced by the Inuit in the Arctic (see notes numbered 94, 95, 96 and 98 above). This problem must raise the question of what kinds of government institutions can serve the Inuit best. Importing modified versions of southern Canadian government institutions to the Arctic may not be the most effective solution if interdepartmental politics prevent the creation of appropriate policies.

(101) For some further discussion see "Preface-Tungavik Federation of Nunavut."

(102) For some further discussion see "Preface-Government of the Northwest Territories."

(103) For some further discussion see "Preface-Federal Government."

(104) Since the first draft of this report was circulated to the G.N.W.T. in August the Government Leader, Mr. Patterson, has told me he believes standards of education are much better in the Arctic than is suggested in my report. He promised to send me new data and a critique of my report in support of his claim. This new data and critique were never produced. So a difference of opinion clearly exists between myself and the G.N.W.T. on this important point. An independent audit of northern standards of education will be able to resolve this issue. The tests used at the high school in Rankin Inlet could be used across the north to give an analysis of standards of education by age, race, community and region. To this should be added an independent review of all apprenticeship, certificate and diploma programs in the north to make sure they meet southern Canadian standards of acceptance nationally (some programs, such as courses in Inuktitut translation, may have to continue to set their own standards).

(105) E. T. Jackson and Associates Ltd. (June, 1988) estimate the cost of their proposed five year program, for adult education in the Keewatin region, will cost \$45 million. Although this cost may have to be carried by the Canadian taxpayer, to compensate for past neglect, it would be irresponsible to pay the high cost of this kind of program without tying it to an increase in standards of education throughout the school system. If this is not done adult education could become just another "growth industry."

(106) Although my research is principally limited to the Northwest Territories I have native friends, acquaintances, and students at Dalhousie University, from northern Manitoba, northern Ontario, northern Quebec and Labrador, who have confirmed my suspicion that poor standards of education, in the Canadian north, may well be a national problem. An audit of standards of education should therefore be undertaken nationally to firstly document the extent of the problem and secondly to identify educational successes, where ever they are, so that they can be learnt from.

(107) I do not believe the kind of program I have suggested here has to cost a great deal of money, indeed it may even save money like the hunters assistance program for the Cree (Salisbury 1980 and see note number 97). However, if a program like this is to succeed, on both the balance sheet and in practice, then savings from the budgets of different departments and agencies must be credited to the program including, for example, savings from increased H.A.P. house construction. A pilot project should take full account of all such savings.

(108) For example many Inuit who I interviewed blamed much of the antisocial behavior of the young on boredom and a lack of opportunities for them to do something constructive with their lives. If this is true then the productive activity program suggested here should do much to solve this problem.

TECHNICAL APPENDIX

The main points from my original research proposal are as follows:

RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH

Since the Inuit were moved into permanent settlements in the late 50's and early 60's a new generation has now grown up in the social and cultural environment of houses, villages, schools, hospitals, jobs and television etc. Some of the changes brought about by resettlement have been neutral with respect to demographic, social and economic factors, others have had positive effects (e.g. lower death rates) and yet others may have been detrimental (e.g. higher unemployment). In the absence of a reversal of this resettlement process the Inuit living in Arctic Hamlets in the year 2025 will be made up of individuals that have almost no personal recollections of a life lived independently "out on the land". Given the almost compelling certainty of this conclusion a sense of the direction in which social and economic change is moving is essential if the social and economic expectations, desired by the Inuit and Canadian Government, are to be realized. The initial focus of this research will be to correlate tangible socioeconomic variables with demographic variables. This was done in the settlement of Chesterfield Inlet two years ago. However the current research will be expanded to include Inuit values, goals, attitudes and expectations. These subjective variables will probably be found to be changing with age, education and size of community, as much as the more obvious socioeconomic/demographic phenomena. If it is found that Inuit hopes and expectations closely match the socioeconomic reality, that is emergent in their communities, then there may be little cause for concern, or need for new government policies. However, if it is found that the most modest expectations, particularly for the young, are not in synchrony with the emergent socioeconomic reality then this research will be able to alert agencies to the specific areas of policy that may require revision.

METHODOLOGY

Looking almost half a century into the future is very difficult. This is probably especially true of the Arctic, where resettlement and aculturation has produced very rapid sociocultural and socioeconomic change. During the past half century this change has been marked most notably by an abandonment of the aboriginal lifestyle. At best this research can only interpolate the directions of change into the future by working from the hypothetical assumption that there will be no change in current government policies for regional development in the Arctic. Inevitably this assumption will be false, but hopefully, by making this assumption, a picture of some future existence for the Inuit will emerge that will stand as a benchmark from which desired futures might be better drawn and systematically planned. However such speculation about desired futures and appropriate planning is beyond the scope of this research.

Occasionally it will be possible to make predictions about trends in the variables being monitored with simple trend analysis when historical data are available (e.g. population

growth). However little or no historical data will be available for many of the socioeconomic variables being sampled. Therefore, in order to maintain some consistency of methodology across compared variables, two quasi-experimental procedures will be applied to all variables. Each procedure has its inherent problems but when both methods produce similar results then the conclusions to be drawn from that particular analysis should be given increased weight.

The first method is to survey all the members of an Arctic community with a series of questions that will allow for the correlation of demographic, social and economic variables. This was done in Chesterfield Inlet in 1985 and included data on 63 topics from 44 families that represented 82.4% of the population (See Data Requirements below). However this research will be expanded to include a new series of questions on Inuit values, goals, attitudes and expectations. This new series of variables is being sampled with a view to gaining some insight into changing Inuit values and how they might influence future desires, and changes in priorities, with respect to, for example, wage employment, family size, urbanization and environmental protection (Data Requirements below).

Unfortunately some social variation, associated with age, for example, may be independent of social and economic change, it may simply be an age dependent phenomena. An additional survey and comparison should help overcome this problem. The second method is to repeat the survey work, completed above, in a second Arctic community that is comparatively large and relatively "urban" with high wage employment while the other is small and relatively "rural" with low wage employment. The communities of Chesterfield Inlet N.W.T. and Rankin Inlet N.W.T. have been chosen because they are only 60 miles apart, on the same coast line, and therefore share a similar physical environment (e.g. length and severity of winter) and ecology (e.g. access to the same mammal populations) although the larger community places greater hunting pressures on its local fauna (e.g. over fishing of nearby rivers). By selecting communities in similar environments socioeconomic variations between the two communities can be attributable to demographic variation between the two settlements with a greater degree of certainty. In short, size and economic development should be the principle determinant of social variation in this comparison as opposed to geographic locality and physical environment.

When the analysis from both methods point to similar trends then that trend may be identified as a social element that is most likely to persist into the next century. In spite of this attempt to create some degree of methodological robustness interpolation of these results to the year 2025, throughout the Canadian Arctic, from the Mackenzie Delta to Labrador, remains problematic. The simplest way to overcome this problem would be to repeat the surveys throughout the Keewatin and other regions of the Arctic. Unfortunately the cost of such work would be prohibitive. However, it is expected that a review of the literature that describes Canada's Arctic communities to conclude that, for the trends considered significant by this study, the variation between settlements and regions would be primarily limited to the rate of change as opposed to the type and direction of change.

DATA REQUIREMENTS

In the 1985 survey of the population of Chesterfield Inlet the questions asked focused on the following demographic and socioeconomic variables: age, sex, race, parents, marriage status, divorce, number of children, adoption, housing, school grade, trade courses, languages spoken and written, higher education, employment, unemployment, self employment, income, hunting, fishing and trapping activity and income, "cottage" industry, government grants and subsidies, welfare, pensions, "country" food consumption, radio listening, T.V. viewing (Inuktitut & English), recreation, health and crime. Additional community background data was also collected on settlement facilities (recreation, school, government services, health care delivery etc.) and variables related to the cost of living, notably rents, food, gas hunting equipment and consumer goods. Although the primary source for demographic data on birth and death rates will be government sources data from Mission records were included in the 1985 report. Mission records are subject to many problems (e.g. change in sample population size) however the local records were most revealing on some issues such as high infant mortality in the 1950's and relatively low infant mortality after resettlement. Some of these data will be included with appropriate qualifications. Marriage records also provided a useful index of intercommunity migration and change in the average age of marriage since the 1950's. In addition to all these data a new set of questions will be administered to the population of Chesterfield Inlet that will focus on changing Inuit values, goals, attitudes and expectations. This new area of study will require the development and pretesting of a questionnaire that will tentatively focus on subjective responses to issues of ideal family size, desired employment, opportunities for quality formal education, value of traditional culture and language, importance of traditional hunting activities. Other areas of concern may be added as this new research instrument is developed.

The exact same set of data will be collected in the Regional Administrative Center, Rankin Inlet, which is responsible for government services on the west coast of Hudson Bay, high school education for the Keewatin Region and will shortly be a base for fighter aircraft. Socioeconomic contrasts with the "rural" community of Chesterfield Inlet are expected to be significant.

Data collection in Chesterfield Inlet is substantially complete however a major survey effort will be required in Rankin Inlet. Many surveys are completed by sending out questionnaires. Unfortunately the low return rate of these kinds of surveys can render their results unreliable. This problem is made more difficult in the Arctic where many people only read and write Inuktitut and certain segments of the population are more likely to respond to the questionnaire than others, thereby introducing biases into the data. This problem was overcome in Chesterfield Inlet by completing face to face interviews in every household. The same approach will be employed in Rankin Inlet.

SCHEDULE AND CASH FLOW

Completing this research project is dependent upon receiving permission from the Hamlet Councils of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet. Past experience suggests that it is imprudent to request such permission without face to face contact with the parties involved. Dr. Irwin will probably be asked to address the Hamlet Councils and explain the research to them before permission is given. After Council approval is given Dr. Irwin will expand and pretest the research instrument used in Chesterfield Inlet in 1985 to include the new areas of data collection. A number of Inuit assistants will then be employed to complete the face to face household interviews. This work is expected to take between 3 and 6 months. At some convenient time during this period Dr. Irwin will make trips to the Department of Vital Statistics in Yellowknife, The Inuit Cultural Institute in Eskimo Point, Inuit Tapirisat in Frobisher Bay and Ottawa and Statistics Canada and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Ottawa. These trips will be made to acquaint interested parties with the research being carried out and to avail the researchers of any relevant data bases that might assist in the project. When the data collection is complete Dr. Irwin will return to Dalhousie and complete the final report within 6 months. The final report will include a summary in Inuktitut and, in addition to the four copies sent to Health and Welfare Canada, copies will be sent to each of the agencies mentioned above as well as the Hamlet Councils of Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet as a courtesy for their cooperation.

PRICE PROPOSAL**LABOUR**

(a) Inuit assistants, \$100 per day for an estimated 120 days.	\$12,000
(b) Data entry and processing.	\$1,500
(c) Primary Researcher, 2 lump sum payments.	
(a) On completion of field work	\$2,500
(b) On completion of final report	\$2,500

EQUIPMENT

Upgrade of primary researchers Mcintosh 512 computer system to Mcintosh Plus with a 20 meg. hard disk.	\$3,078
Canon P.C. 5L copier and 5 cartridges.	\$1,860

MATERIALS, SUPPLIES AND COMPONENTS

For long distance telephone, fanfold paper, computer discs, printer ribbons, stationary and photocopying:	\$2000.00
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TRAVEL AND LIVING

Travel and living at cost.	\$12,168
___ Return trips, accommodation and meals between Rankin Inlet and Eskimo Point, Yellowknife, Frobisher Bay, Ottawa, Chesterfield Inlet for primary researcher.	
___ Board and lodging, an estimated \$1000 per month for 6 months for primary researcher (Chesterfield Inlet and Rankin Inlet).	

OVERHEAD

(a) 30% on items 1a, 1b and 1c	\$5,550
(b) 2% on item 4	\$244

Total estimated cost	\$43,400
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The version of the questionnaire that was used in Rankin Inlet is given below.

Questionnaire

Identity

- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1] | Settlement? | Place | <i>Rankin Inlet</i> |
| 2] | What is your house number? | No. | _____ |
| 3] | Who is the head of the house where you live? | Name | _____ |
| 4] | What is your name? | Name | _____ |
| 5] | How are you related to the head of the house? I am their? | | |
| | [1] Husband or Wife, | | |
| | [2] Son or Daughter, | | |
| | [3] Adopted Son or Adopted Daughter, | | |
| | [4] Brother or Sister, | | |
| | [5] Adopted Brother or Adopted Sister, | | |
| | [6] Grand Son or Grand Daughter, | | |
| | [7] Son in Law or Daughter in Law, | | |
| | [8] Uncle or Aunt, | | |
| | [9] Nephew or Niece, | | |
| | [10] Parent, | | |
| | [11] Grand Parent or | | |
| | [12] Other _____ | | |
| 6] | How old are you or when were you born? | _____ Years or 19__ | |
| 7] | What is your sex? | | |
| | Male or Female | | |
| 8] | What race are you? | | |
| | Inuit, White, Indian, Negro or Other _____ | | |
| 9] | What is your marital status? | | |
| | Married (either legal or common law), Single, Widowed or Divorced | | |

Resettlement, Migration and Change

With the help of the list of different places, people and dialects given below answer questions 10 to 22

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| [1] Netsilingmiut | [2] Arvilikjuarmiut | [3] Iglooligajukmiut |
| [4] Ukusiksalingmiut | [5] Ivilingmiut | [6] Kaningleniqmiut |
| [7] Tekerayangmiut | [8] Kaningnamiut | [9] Kamanetuaqmiut |
| [10] Pahliqmiut | [11] Arsiuqmiut | [12] Igloolingmiut |
| [13] Ikalookmiut | [14] Satleemiut | [15] Naujakmiut |
| [16] Okomiut | [17] Arkviakmiut | [18] Ketiqmiut |
| [19] Kevaliqmiut | [20] Canada/English | [21] Canada/French |
| [22] or Other (write it in) | | |

- 10] Where did you grow up until you were a teenager?

- 11] What dialect was spoken where you grew up?

- 12] Who were your fathers people?

- 13] What dialect did your father speak?

- 14] Who were your mothers people?

- 15] What dialect did your mother speak?

- 16] If you are married what people does your husband or wife come from?

- 17] If you are married what dialect did your husband or wife speak when you got married?

- 18] What dialect do you speak now?

- 19] What other dialects can you speak well?

- 20] When did you move to this settlement? or were you born here?
19_____
- 21] Why did you decide to live in this settlement? or were you born here?

- 22] Where do you really think you are from now?
1st Choice_____ 2nd Choice_____
- 23] If you would like to move, where would you like to move to and why?

- or do not wish to move.
- 24] If you moved which relatives could you stay with there until you got a house?
Parent(s), son, daughter, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, other_____ or none,
or do not wish to move.

Education

- 25] How many years did you spend away from home at a residential school?
No. of Years_____ or none
- 26] What school grade did you go up to?
grade_____ or none
- 27] What trade or collage courses have you completed?

_____ or none
- 28] What university degrees do you have?

_____ or none
- 29] What languages can you speak? Inuktitut/English/French/Other_____
- 30] What languages can you write? Inuktitut/English/French/Other_____

Work and Income

- 31] What is your employment status? are you
Employed Full Time
Employed Part Time
Have seasonal work
Self Employed
Unemployed
or unable to work
- 32] If you are unemployed would you like a
Full Time Job
Part Time Job
Seasonal Job
Do not want a job
or are unable to work

- 33] If you have a job what is it _____
- 34] What is your income each month from your _____ \$/Month
- [1] Job \$
 - [2] Family allowances \$
 - [3] Unemployment insurance \$
 - [4] Pensions \$
 - [5] Disability, widow or orphan payments \$
 - [6] Welfare \$
- 35] What was your income last year from _____ \$/Annum
- [1] Fishing \$
 - [2] Furs (e.g. trapping, seals, polar bear, wolf) \$
 - [3] Crafts (e.g. prints, carving, sewing) \$

If you own or operate a business or government agency

36] What is your business or agency (e.g. school, retail store etc.)

- 37] _____ No. _____
- 38] How many Inuit do you employ full time No. _____
- 39] How many Inuit do you employ part time No. _____
- 40] How many Non-Inuit do you employ full time No. _____
- 41] How many Non-Inuit do you employ part time No. _____

Hunting and Fishing

- 41] Did you eat any native food yesterday Yes or No
- 42] How many weeks did you camp last summer? No. _____
- 43] Did you hunt or fish last week Yes or No

Recreation

- 44] Do you listen to Inuit radio much, some or little?
- 45] Do you listen to English radio much, some or little?
- 46] Do you watch Inuit T.V. much, some or little?
- 47] Do you watch English T.V. much, some or little?
- 48] Did you make or fix anything last week? Yes or No
- 49] What sports did you participate in last week Sports _____

Expectations, Hopes and General Opinion

- 50] At what age were you married?
Years _____ or not married yet
- 51] If you have all the children you are going to have how many was that? But if you want more children, or haven't started a family yet, how many children do you think you would like to have?
No. _____
- 52] Why do you think the young Inuit are losing their language, knowledge of the old ways, and hunting and sewing skills?

- 53] Do you think it is important for your children to learn all these things?
Yes or No or Does not really matter now.
- 54] If you do think this is important what do you think would be the best way to teach all these things to the young Inuit in the future?

- 55] Would you like to live in an outpost camp if the prices for furs and fish were always good?
Yes or No or How many months each year? _____
- 56] Please circle the things you know you can make:
Boot sock, cloth parka, carabou skin parka, seal skin kamiks, tent,
Komatik, Igloo, Ulu, Harpoon head, Kukivuk.
- 57] What sort of work or jobs do you hope your children will have?

- 58] Why do you think the Inuit are not getting the best jobs held by white people?

- 59] Do you have any complaints about the education and training programs given to the young people here in this settlement?

- 60] Do you want your children to finish their education even if this means some of them have to go away from home?
Yes or No or _____
- 61] What do the young people need to keep them busy and out of trouble?

- 62] What job do you expect to have in the future?
_____ or do you expect to be unemployed?
- 63] What job or work would you like most of all?

- 64] What help would you like so you could do this?

AIDS

- 65] Do you know what AIDS is?
Yes or No or Not sure.
- 66] Where did you get your information?
Pamphlet, Radio, Television, Public Meeting, Friends, Health Worker, Nurse, Doctor,
or other _____
- 67] What should be done to prevent people with AIDS from spreading the disease in the Arctic?

Major Issues and Professional Opinion

- 68] What committees are you on?

- 69] What could the Government do to help the people your committee is trying to help?

- 70] If you provide a government or professional service to the Inuit what is it and what could be done to improve the effectiveness of your service?

71] What are the biggest worries you have for your children?

72] What, if anything, do you think the government could do to deal with these problems?

73] Any other comments

74] If you do not wish to answer these questions please, at least, give your age, sex and race and say why in [73] above.

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