THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE MOSAIC OF RANKIN INLET:
A STUDY OF COMMUNITIES

BY

DAVID LAWRENCE KRAVITZ

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Abstract

This thesis is a view of change which has occurred in one predominantly Inuit (Eskimo) settlement: Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories, Canada, from its inception in 1953 to the summer of 1971. It is written in response to the need for a synthesis of material on this period which includes the growth of the Euro-Canadian population--an aspect of the Northern situation which has been virtually ignored (Smith 1972). Unlike most other studies, this thesis is a diachronic view of a settlement. Change in Rankin Inlet has many aspects, some of which are unique and some of which are similar to other predominantly Inuit settlements. It is part of the objective of this thesis to discover in what ways change has been either unique or similar to other settlements. The data used in this thesis are dealt with primarily on a general level, that of the community; however, some analysis of community change as it affects and is affected by individuals is presented. This thesis views change in Rankin Inlet in the topics of historical background, the physical layout, demography, organizations, economic structure, political structure and individual adaptation.

The settlement of Rankin Inlet receives most of its unique character by being founded around the industrial setting established by the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company. In this thesis, the change in Rankin Inlet is divided into four periods on the basis of major shifts in economic patterns: pre-mine (to 1957), mine (1957-1962), post-mine (1962-1965), and recent (1965-1971). These economic shifts have been from predominantly land-based activities in hunting, fishing, and trapping to wage employment in the mine,

to a reliance on social assistance when the mining activities stopped and, finally, to wage labour for the government or government subsidized agencies.

Besides the economic changes, there have been substantial modifications in the political structure. The basic change which took place was from a fairly self-sufficient system centred around family units and camps to a growing dependency on the mine company, to a shift of power to the Federal Government (Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources) and, finally, to a settlement political structure headed by the Territorial Government (Department of Local Government). In this most recent change, some Inuit have been incorporated at fairly high administrative levels and various predominantly Inuit controlled organizations (Rankin Inlet Settlement Council) have been created.

A sub-topic of this thesis is the role of the individual in change. This is dealt with specifically in one chapter but receives note throughout. In particular, special attention is paid to the two concepts used by Vallee (1962, 1967) in his treatment of Baker Lake: "Kabloonamiut" and "Nunamiut". In Rankin Inlet there are distinctive adaptive schemes, but these schemes seem to be based on the "group" membership (i.e. kinship, dialect, residence, etc.) of an individual rather than by any "desires" as proposed by Vallee for Baker Lake. What I find in Rankin Inlet is that if we look at the kinds of changes which have occurred and at the kinds of responses to this change, we do not find a unilineal model nor do we find types in Vallee's sense. Instead we find a variety of behaviours and structures which when viewed as a whole, form a complex, multi-dimensial "mosaic".

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Scope of Study

The Inuit (Eskimo) have been the subject of extensive ethnological research, most of which has focused on the culture and structure of Inuit societies before sustained contact or as modified by that contact. This thesis is in response to the need for a synthesis of material on the more recent period which includes the growth of the Euro-Canadian population--an aspect of the Northern situation which has been virtually ignored (Smith 1972:1). Most of the previous studies have been synchronic; this study is diachronic. It is a view of change which has occurred in one predominantly Inuit settlement: Rankin Inlet, Northwest Territories, Canada from its inception in 1953 to the summer of 1971.

Change (both the processes of change and the results of change) in the structures and culture of the Rankin Inlet population has many aspects, some of which are unique to the settlement and some of which are similar to other predominantly Inuit settlements. It is part of the objective of this thesis to discover in what ways change has been either unique or similar to other settlements. The data used in this thesis, both descriptive and analytic, are dealt with primarily on a general level, that of the community; however, some analysis of community change as it affects and is affected by individuals is presented. In describing and analyzing change, aspects of both social and cultural change are discussed.

The general approach used in this thesis is to first establish the background for the analyses of change in aspects of community structure which is done by a description of the history of the

general area (the District of Keewatin) and of the settlement specifically. This is followed by a description of the changes in the physical layout of the settlement, demography, and the organizational structures of the community. As a part of this description, some analysis is given in regard to the implications of this change. Once these factors have been described, the thesis proceeds to an analysis of change in the economic structure and in the political structure. Following these structural analyses is the analysis of change in individual adaptation which continues on the community level. Within this chapter, the concepts of adaptation and acculturation are discussed. To complete the thesis, the change in Rankin Inlet is summarized.

Source of Data

This thesis is based on library research and fieldwork conducted in Rankin Inlet during the summers of 1970 and 1971, and in Coral Harbour during December 1973 and January 1974.

Most of the information concerning predominantly Inuit settlements focuses on the period of the early 1960's or before. There is only one report from this period which deals with Rankin Inlet specifically and that is Dailey and Dailey's (1961) The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Survey. The data from this report are re-evaluated in this thesis in order to establish a base-line from which change is viewed. Besides Dailey and Dailey's study, there have been two short articles dealing with Rankin Inlet: Kilvert's (1965) "Rankin Inlet" and Fosters' (1972) "Rankin Inlet: A Lesson in Survival". Kilvert's article appeared in the Beaver and is a popular account of the

settlement which includes some information which has not appeared elsewhere. Foster's article appears in the Musk-ox, the journal of the Institute for Northern Studies (which maintains a field station in Rankin Inlet) and is a general description of change in the community.

Apart from Dailey and Dailey, Kilvert, and Foster, all other information about Rankin Inlet appears in the literature, mostly Federal Government publications, as comparative material or in describing a particular aspect of the change in the Keewatin. Some of these sources are Brack and McIntosh (1963) as a part of an economic survey, various Northwest Territories Government reports, the various reports emerging from the Keewatin Manpower survey (Kuo 1974, MacBain 1969, and Preston 1969), various reports of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Several other reports from comparable situations in the District of Keewatin are also used in this thesis. These reports include VanStone (1959) on Southampton Island, VanStone and Oswalt (1959) on Eskimo Point and Vallee (1967) on Baker Lake. Vallée's report is particularly important to this thesis because of the intensive study done on Baker Lake, for information included on Rankin Inlet and for some of the concepts that he presents (which are discussed later).

Various other reports and articles have been used for data on similar situations and for theoretical approaches. Some of these are McElroy (1971, 1972) on Inuit role changes, Graburn (1969) for a longitudal study of change in the Eastern Arctic, Paine (1971) on patron-client relationships in the North, Smith (1972) on conflict

within Euro-Canadian populations in small Artic settlements, and Damas (1963, 1972) on social structure of a similar Inuit population.

Having lived in Rankin Inlet, I am able to place much of the library materials into a wider perspective and to add data which would otherwise be unreported. While I was in the settlement, I participated in several roles. My first role was a student of Inuit culture in the summer school course offered by the University of Saskatchewan and the Arctic Research and Training Centre (a part of the Institute for Northern Studies) in 1970. During my second visit in 1971, I planned to gather material on enculturation but shifted my focus to the topics of change and of family structure. During this period, I was forced to de-emphasize my investigations as my grant funds became exhausted. In order to remain in the settlement, I was employed by a construction company which gave me some insight into Inuit work habits. During both summers I was a member of an Inuit household and was given some responsibilities appropriate to my status in the family (such as baby sitting). In January 1974, I spent a brief period as a substitute teacher in the community of Coral Harbour and gained some impressions of the roles of teacher and pupil in a Northern community. However, I recognize that my Northern experience is slight and do not pretent that this thesis centres around my personal experiences. The experience has, however, allowed me to develop certain points of view which will become apparent in the body of this thesis.

In writing the thesis it is my hope that this view of a Northern settlement will be a contribution to the field of ethnology and

complementary to the research which preceded it. I believe that the unique change which has occurred in Rankin Inlet will interest students of the Inuit and will be seen to have direct application to other similar studies.

Basic Concepts

The most basic concept in this thesis is change. Change, here, refers to both social change and cultural change. Change is an alteration in a system or pattern of action such that it is no longer the same on the given level of analysis. Before proceeding to the distinction between social change and cultural change, the more basic distinction between structure (the social element) and culture must be made clear. Culture is "the learned patterns of thought and behavior characteristic of a population or society" (Harris 1971:629). Thus culture is the pattern for action. Structure, on the other hand, is the action. Structure refers to the "groups", the organizations, in terms of which individuals act. Culture is an abstraction whereas structure is concrete. The two concepts are closely linked and together help to describe the system of action. In order to fully appreciate change in Rankin Inlet, both social and cultural change must be viewed. Essentially, social change deals with how the components of organizations have been altered. Cultural change deals with how the patterns of behaviour have been modified.

There are two concepts used in thesis which are related to change: acculturation and adaptation. Acculturation is a term "given to the phenomena involving culture change which occur when two formerly distinct cultures come into contact with one another" (Barnouw 1971:332).

"The concept of acculturation designates the process whereby individuals or societies bearing one culture have assumed the ways of another culture" (Hsu 1971:40). Acculturation can refer to a more or less equal exchange of patterns of behaviour, but more often this term refers to the establishment of a dominant-subordinate relationship between the societies. In the example in this thesis, the type of acculturation is the latter type with the Inuit accepting more of the culture transfer than Canadian society. We can describe something as more or less acculturated by the degree to which it has accepted or rejected the cultural patterns of the other society. Adaptation can refer to either a biological or socio-culture change. In this thesis, only the latter version is used. This concept refers to the alteration of behaviour and organizations[1] such that more or less efficient use is made of the environment (both natural and social).

The community and settlement are distinguished as separate concepts in this thesis. A community is a group of people who engage in daily interaction. The settlement is a term used by the government to designate an administrative unit. Within a settlement there may be several communities such as in the case of Rankin Inlet. A community can exist without physical structures, and a settlement may be described without people. In this thesis, the term settlement also refers to the communities in Rankin Inlet and describes interaction outside of the community. The concept of community is also loosely used to include the physical structures housing its membership.

In the District of Keewatin, there are a number of groups which are linguistically distinct. These groups may differ from each other in regards to their traditional subsistence patterns. Basically the division is whether they are primarily oriented to activities on the coast or in the interior. There are some groups which have mixed economies, but they have been judged as either coastal or inland by where the bulk of their activities take place. Because these groups which share a common dialect have kinship, culture, economic activities, etc. in common, they can also be treated as regional units. The Coastal Inuit are the Aivilingmiut, the Natsilingmiut, The Qairnirmiut, etc. The Inland Inuit (also called Inlanders) are the Pallimiut, the Ahialmiut, the Kamanituarmiut, the Uqusiksalingmiut, etc.[2]

The term Euro-Canadian is used in this thesis to refer to members of the intrusive population in preference to the terms Kabloona, white, etc. and includes all non-indigenous residents, i.e. English, Canadian, Japanese, Jewish, East Indian, West Indian, etc.

Two concepts which are integral to this thesis are economic allocation and political allocation. The definitions of these two terms follow:

> Structures of economic allocation are defined as those structures having to do with the distribution of goods and/or services making up the income of the members of the social systems concerned and of the goods and/or efforts making up their output among the various members of these systems and other systems with whom they are in contact. Structures of economic allocation may be subdivided into structures of production and structures of consumption. (Levy 1966:231).

> Political allocation, for the purposes of this work, is defined as the distribution of power over and responsibility for the actions of the various members of the social systems concerned, involving on the one hand various forms of sanctions, of which sheer coercive force is the extreme in one direction, and on the other accountability to the members and in terms of the systems concerned, or to the members of other interdependent systems. The term power is defined as the ability to exercise authority and control over the actions of others. Responsibility is defined as the accountability of an individual(s) to another individual(s) for his acts and/or the acts of others. (Levy 1966:181-182).

One highly significant study of an Inuit population is Vallee's (1967) study of the inhabitants of Baker Lake in 1959. This study is complementary with Dailey and Dailey's (1961) study of Rankin Inlet in 1958. In his book, Kabloona and Eskimo, Vallee (1967:135) says "writers on acculturation have noted how the populations they have studied can be sorted out along an acculturation continuum". However, in his treatment of the Baker Lake Inuit, he describes two types of adaptive schemes: Nunamiut and Kabloonamiut (1967:136). My approach will be more is accord with the statement by McElroy (1972:11), that "we see, instead, a complex mosaic of behavioral traits which is not easily translated into a unilineal model of acculturation".

My objections to Vallee's concepts are on several levels. One is the inappropriateness of this dichotomy for describing Rankin Inlet at any point in its history. Moreover, from an examination of Vallee's data, these concepts do not seem to correspond to the actual situation in Baker Lake. Considering the wide use of these concepts in the literature, even to describe the Northern Metis (Slobodin 1966),

I feel compelled to offer some criticism.

Vallee says that what he is trying to do is

> to pave the way for...a systematic classification by describing the sociocultural differences between groups of Eskimo households and by analyzing how people in these different groupings relate to the Kabloona [Euro-Canadians] and to one another. (1967:135).

In his examination of Baker Lake, he was struck by the "differences in behavior between people of the settlement and the people of the land"(Vallee 1967:136). In accord with practices at Baker Lake, he labels the one type the "Nunamiut" (the people of the land): and the other type he calls the "Kabloonamiut" (the people of the White Man). His definitions of these two concepts follow:

> For the purposes of this report, Nunamiut are classified as those who:
>
> 1) reveal a desire to live on the land rather than in the settlement;
>
> 2) choose a way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land;
>
> 3) choose to follow what traditional conventions still exist in the culture, such as living arrangements, in the ways they bring up their children- in short, those who appear to be oriented more to the traditional way of life than to the Kabloona way of life.
>
> Kabloonamiut are those who:
>
> 1) reveal a desire to live in the settlement;
>
> 2) reject a way of life which requires an acute dependence on the land;
>
> 3) choose to follow certain Kabloona-like customs where they could just as well follow traditional ones. (Vallee 1962:4).

Vallee (1967:136) recognizes that the population did not divide neatly into one category or the other but rather that the criteria only approximately defined units. He, however, divides the population into four categories (two of which were described as marginal).

A number of factors led me to believe that Vallee's analysis is not as neat as it appears at first glance. First, that part of the Baker Lake population which was not employed in the settlement at the time of Vallee's fieldwork was required by law not to reside within five miles of the settlement (Vallee 1967:141; Graburn 1969:150). Secondly, the population in the Baker Lake area is not homogenous. In the area are several dialect groups: Qairnirmiut, Kamanituarmiut, Uqusiksalingmiut, Havaqturmiut, Hauniqturmiut, Pallimiut, and Haningajumiut (Williamson 1971:18). Besides the differences of dialect, there were religious differences (Roman Catholic or Anglican).

I contend that what was happening in Baker Lake at the time of Vallee's study was a division along dialect group, religious affiliation and kinship lines, and it was not coincidence that the level of acculturation within these groups was different. Twenty of the twenty-six families which Vallee classifies as Nunamiut are Uqusiksalingmiut. The Uqusiksalingmiut are a late contact group (and considered locally by some other Inuit as backwards) and predominantly Catholic. The residents of the settlement, on the other hand, were predominantly Anglican. Thus, what seems to have been happening in Baker Lake is not a division by desire to live on the land, but is the result of the control of positions of employment by more acculturated Inuit and the lack of choice of land-based groups of where to live. What

happened with the Nunamiut when the government policy was reversed was not the continuance of land-based operations but migration into the settlement to integrate into the wage system.

An additional problem with Vallee's approach is that is describes the type of acculturation according to selected variables. In order to describe change and acculturation, a more holistic approach should be used. As more variables are added to a description of change and of the degree of acculturation, what is found is that the unit under consideration, be that an individual, a family, etc., will vary in comparison to other such units.

> Although Vallee seemingly has not made provisions for anything other than these polarized ends, I would suggest that there is a greater need to view the contemporary community in terms of a continuum which contains a growing number of individuals and families in neither the Kabloonamiut or the Nunamiut categories. (Anderson 1971:49).

What I find in Rankin Inlet is that if we look at the kinds of changes which have occurred and at the kinds of responses to this change, we do not find a unilineal model nor do we find types in Vallee's sense. Instead we find a variety of behaviours and structures which when viewed as a whole, form complex, multi-dimensial "mosaic".

Introduction to Rankin Inlet

The settlement of Rankin Inlet is located on the west coast of Hudson Bay 62°45' North latitude, 92°10' West longitude) some three hundred and twenty miles north of the nearest major town, Churchill, Manitoba. The nearest settlements are Chesterfield Inlet (fifty-seven miles to the north) and Whale Cove (fifty miles to the south).

The physiography of the area is fairly typical of the west coast of Hudson Bay and is of low elevation with an irregular coastline with several small islands lying within the inlet and around the mouth of the inlet. (For a description of the surficial geology, see Lee 1959).

The geology of the area was the initial source of Euro-Canadian interest. The area is precambrian shield and contains two distinct layers of materials: volcanic (basaltic to andesitic) and metamorphic (quartzite, dolomite, conglomerate and greywacke) (Kupsch 1966:19). It is the presence of various metals (predominantly nickel, copper, and iron) which resulted in the initial construction of the settlement.

The flora of the area is typical of the whole of the District of Keewatin and is referred to as Barren Grounds Tundra. It includes various grasses, mosses, lichens and ground willows. The fauna is quite extensive in variety but not in quantity. It includes (besides man): dog (Canis familiaris), arctic wolf (Canis lupus, barren ground caribou (Rangifer tarandus), arctic fox (Alopex lagopus), colored fox (Vulpes fulva), parry's ground squirrel (Citellus parryi), various lemmings (Lemmus trimucronatus, Dicrostonyx groenlandicus), and arctic hare (Lepus arcticus). There are other land mammals which might occasionally stray into the area, such as polar bear (Thalarctos maritimus) and musk-ox (Ovibos moschatus). There are a number of sea mammals to be found in the inlet. The most common are the ringed seal (Phoca hispida), ranger seal (Phoca vitualina) and bearded seal (Erignathus barbatus). Beluga whale (Delphinapterus leucas) occasionally enter the inlet, but walrus (Odobenus rosmarus) are quite rare. In the summer many types of birds nest in the area; some of these are various

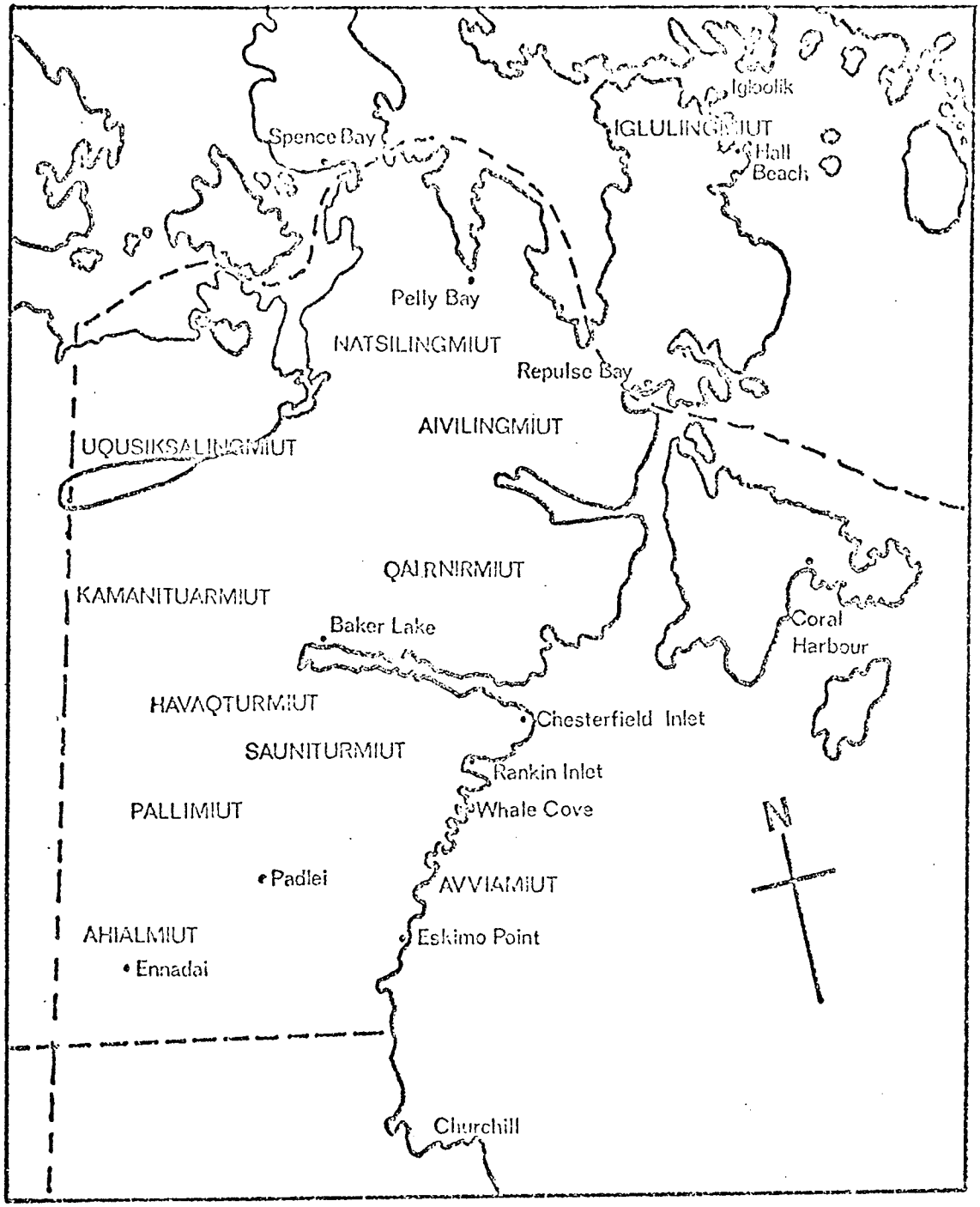


Figure 1 Schematic Map of the District of Keewatin, N.W.T. Including Approximate Locations of the Traditional Dialect Groups. (Based on Williamson 1971:15).

loons (Gavia immer, G. adamsii, G. arctica, and G. stellata), ducks (Clangual hyemalis and Somerteria spectabilis), geese (Branta canadensis and Chan hyperborea), and various other birds such as snow buntings (Plectrophenax nivalis), and falcons (Falco rusticolus and F. peregrinus). (Of all of these birds, the snow bunting seems to have been one of the few which has taken advantage of settlement life). The species most utilized by man throughout the year are the ptarmigan (Lagopus lagopus and L. mutus). There are a number of varieties of fishes in the area including arctic lake trout (Salvelinus namaycush), arctic char (S. alpinus), arctic whitefish (Coregonus clupeaformis), arctic grayling (Thymallus signifer), and many smaller fishes such as sticklebacks (Pungitius pungitius). There are also various invertebrates, mostly insects and crustaceans, too numerous to mention. (Unfortunately one is the mosquito).

In a survey of Rankin Inlet done in 1962, the economic resources of the area were ascertained, and certain calculations based on the caloric value of the animals and their number were made. In this study, Brack and McIntosh (1963:115) found that the area could maintain approximately 23 families or 115 individuals if casual labour was also available. At the time of the survey, there were approximately 445 individuals which led them to judge that Rankin Inlet was overpopulated by 330 persons. Some of the sustainable yields per year which were estimated were 940 ringed seals, 49 ranger seals, 131 bearded seals, 300 caribou, and 72,100 lbs. of fish (1963:60). In regard to arctic fox, they were unsure of their data due to the lack of historical information, but they estimated that between 100 and 700 foxes could

be taken (1963:106,87). They noted, "In 1961-2 980 were taken and these mostly by one large family who trapped only a little way out of the settlement" (1963:106). In general, the quantity of fauna in the Rankin Inlet area is not conducive to either a large population or extensive exploitation.

The climate in the Rankin Inlet area is considered "desertic". The average rainfall[3] is 16.03 cms. (6.31 inches) and the average snowfall is 118.1 cms. (46.5 inches). The average temperatures for July are 13.1°C (55.6°F) high and 4.5°C (40.1°F) low and for January -23.3°C (-18.2°F) high and -35.2°C (-31.3°F) low.

Summary

The subject of this thesis is a diachronic view of Rankin Inlet, N.W.T. The level of analysis is primarily that of the community. Change is viewed in this settlement by using several approaches. The first, a description of the settlement's history, is given because it not only orders the analysis of the direction of change, but helps to show what factors were at work and how they related. Following the history section, descriptions of change in population composition, physical layout and a general description of how organizations have changed, are given. The analysis continues by looking at how the process of economic allocation has been modified. This is offered as a starting point in the more specific approach to viewing change in accord with most studies of community change. This aspect of change is perhaps the most obvious, if not the most dramatic, index of change. Change in the political structure is offered next because of its close relationships to change in the economic structure. The next chapter

deals with the change in Rankin Inlet as it is affected by individuals. Taking into consideration the small population of the settlement, this aspect of change can be quite pronounced. Finally the change in Rankin Inlet is given a general overview. In this way, as in the history chapter, change in Rankin Inlet is seen as a total phenomena.

The settlement of Rankin Inlet provides an interesting example of change for several reasons. The founding of the settlement is unique. The types of changes in both structure and culture are unique. The composition of the population is unique. However, even with its unique aspects, the types of problems encountered in the adjustment to change are similar to those found in other settlements.

Notes

1. The term "organization" as used in this thesis refers to a group of people who have joined for common purposes. Organizations are components of larger units such as communities and societies. The types of organizations of concern here are of relatively long duration, for example, families, the government, etc.

2. A more complete description of Keewatin sub-groups is offered by Williamson 1971.

3. These figures are from the nearby settlement of Chesterfield Inlet (NWT 1972.)

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

There are several historical events in the period from 1903 to 1971 which stand out as important factors in modifying the life of the Inuit. The purpose of this section is to examine these events in relation to the prople of the District of Keewatin and of Rankin Inlet. What will be presented is in no way a complete, detailed description, but rather background for the understanding of the analyses which follow.

There have been several excellent sources on the traditional Inuit (Boas 1888, Rasmussen 1930, among others), and for this reason, the traditional situation will not be discussed. The interest of this paper lies with the Inuit of today, the majority of whom were born after the establishment of Euro-Canadians in the Keewatin. The following is a summary of the events which preceded this establishment.

The discovery of Hudson Bay by Henry Hudson led to further exploration in the mid-eighteenth century by adventurers like Sir Thomas Roes and Sir John Franklin. However, their efforts had little effect on the Inuit way of life. The whalers (mostly American) were the most important pre-1903 European contact in that they traded with the Inuit, introducing various items including concertinas, spy-glasses, rifles, knives, pots, needles, dry-goods, flour, and canned goods in exchange for seal and caribou meat, native equipment, clothing and furs (Williamson 1967:3). The whalers dealt almost exclusively with the coastal-oriented Inuit. Some Inuit were employed as pilots and as crewmen. Contact was not limited to an

exchange of material goods but included sexual liasons.

The most important results of this contact was that it opened the way for the soon-to-come traders and missionaries. Some of the items acquired were recognized by the Inuit as enhancing their survival. The Inuit developed a high regard for the Euro-Canadian technology, and admired a people who could do so much and so easily. The Inuit did not replace any of their traditional equipment but supplemented and adapted the new tools to their old methods. The most significant change in the material culture was the use of metal in projectile points and cutting implements.

The Keewatin

Assigning a temporal point for the beginning of acculturation processes among Keewatin Inuit must be somewhat arbitrary. Obviously the Keewatin Inuit have always been in the process of change. As mentioned before, Euro-Canadians had already been the catalyst for some forms of change. For my purposes, the point in time is 1903, coinciding with the establishment of a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) station at Cape Fullerton about sixty miles northeast of Chesterfield Inlet.

The explicit reason for the establishment of this station as stated by J. D. Moodie, then Commissioner of Police for Hudson Bay and Territories to the North was "for the purpose of maintaining law and order and enforcing the laws of Canada in the territories adjacent to the said Bay and the north thereof" (Jenness 1964:19). A more covert reason was for the proclamation of Canadian sovereignty in reaction to Norwegian claims made in 1898 by Otto Sverdrup and to

dissuade other nations from similar attempts. For the most part, the services offered by the R.C.M.P. were directed to the other Euro-Canadians in the area, specifically the whalers (Jenness 1964:20). The position of the Canadian Government in 1903 towards the welfare of the Inuit is well summarized by Jenness:

> Presumable she had no plans, since otherwise she would have devised some more constructive methods of exercising her authority and carrying out her responsibilities than the setting up of police posts, after the manner of a military occupation. (1964:20).

During this early period of sustained contact, the representatives of the R.C.M.P. became examples of the world of Canada's sovereignty and to the Inuit of Canadian culture. It was, however, in 1911 that the Inuit were given a broader view of Euro-Canadians.

The establishment of a Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post at Chesterfield Inlet in 1911 marked the beginning of the fur trapping ear. As can be seen on the map (see Figure 1), Chesterfield Inlet is in a central location in the District of Keewatin. One year later, a Roman Catholic mission was established at the same site. This sequence of the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company (H.B.C.) followed by the missionaries shortly afterwards, is typical of all (except Whale Cove) of the Keewatin settlements. For the most part, the Hudson's Bay Company controlled fur production in the Keewatin. In the early period (ca. 1911-1936), several other trading companies and independent traders existed but all were short-lived (less than twelve years).[4]

The traders were predominantly interested in furs, particularly Arctic Fox. As a part of the system, many Inuit accepted, as advanced payment (credit), materials such as lard, flour, canned goods, tea, coffee, sugar, powdered milk, steel traps, rifles, and bullets. The consequences of this credit system placed the Inuit, without their cognizance, into a situation of debt to these encroaching Europeans. As a result, the traders acquired subordinate 'workers'. The Inuit accepted this station because of their felt need to acquire the new technology. Williamson states,

> ...as the people became habituated to the use of the trade foods which so radically eased the rigours of their difficult lives, and thus acquired increasing motivation to participate in the fur industry, the trappers often travelled far beyond the olden hunting ground, to where the food was sparce but the fox was found. (1967:3).

Yet there were grave consequences. The fur industry caused a reduction in the size of the hunting unit. A lone man can trap fox most efficiently. As the fur industry became more focal, individuals ranged greater distances which necessitated larger dog teams. The food needed to feed these enlarged dog teams was one factor which added to an over-kill of caribou (cf. Vallee 1967:36). The decrease of this food source meant a greater dependency on Euro-Canadian food stuffs. The Inuit, having limited experience in the use of canned goods and flour, were weakened by poor nutrition, making then more susceptible to illness.

With the introduction of guns and spy-glasses, the man-animal relationship changed.

> Hunting was a sacred pursuit, central to Eskimo life and interest, and undergirded always with prayers, songs, whispered invocations to animals hunted, prohibitions and taboos, acts of respect, contrition, ingratiation, graditude, the wearing of amulets, and shamanistic attempts at intereession with the manipulation of the elemental powers which so completely governed their lives. (Williamson 1967:3-4).

Traditionally a man would have to be within a few feet of his intended victim. Now he could be many yards away. Moreover, he started to kill certain animals for barter rather than food. This led to a radical change in Inuit religious beliefs. A man no longer had to entice Nuliajuk (a food controlling spirit) since he could obtain supplies from the trader. The weakening of religious practices enhanced the goals of the missionaries. Initially the missionaries (like the traders) lived under impoverished conditions, but they represented Euro-Canadian culture to the Inuit. Many of the teachings and beliefs were similar to traditional beliefs and thus seem to have attracted the Inuit's admiration (Turquetil 1936). In addition, the missionaries offered something new, a God who was sympathetic and charitable (cf. Burch 1971).

During most of the post-contact history of the Keewatin, missionary activities have been split between two organizations: the Roman Catholic and the Anglicans. As mentioned previously, the Roman Catholics represented by members of the Order of Mary Immaculate (Oblate) established a mission at Chesterfield Inlet in 1912. In 1924, a second mission was established at Eskimo Point. It was in 1926 that the Anglicans began their activities at Baker Lake and Eskimo Point. Conflict has occurred between individual

members of the two organizations. For the most part, all members of a dialect group converted to one sect. Thus one finds that the Aivilingmiut are Roman Catholic. (This is less true today). In the more recent period (1960's), other missionary organizations have become active. Among them are the Continental Interior Mission (Pentecostal), the Eskimo Christian Fellowship (an evangelistic Inuit-run organization), and the Bahai.

With the introduction of Euro-Canadian institutions, namely the trading post, the mission, and the police station, new roles were established for the Inuit: the trader's helper, the catechist, and special constable.

During World War II, the Canadian and the United States Armies established bases in the Arctic for the purpose of training men to survive in arctic conditions and for weather forecasting. One major base was built on Southampton Island near Coral Harbour in 1941. Weather stations were established at Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet. The construction of these bases provided some Inuit with employment.

Beginning in the 1950's, the Federal Government's policy shifted from the R.C.M.P. orientation to an interest in the welfare, health, and education of the Inuit people. This policy was formalized by the establishment of schools, nursing stations, and administrative positions. Many of these new organizations were created soon after 1953 when the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources was founded. However, much of the Government's actions were necessitated by the events of the period. Four events which mark the

1950's are the establishment of the Direct Early Warning (DEW) system, the various epidemics, the starvation of the inland-oriented Inuit, and the mine at Rankin Inlet.

In 1955, the Governments of Canada and the United States built the DEW line, and some Inuit were encouraged to take part in its construction. They were engaged in menial labour, but for the first time they were exposed to high wage employment ($.88 to $1.50 per hour as opposed to the customary $5.00 per day (Williamson 1971:19)). As the Inuit discovered that it was easier to live by trapping fox than by hunting seals or caribou, they learned that it is easier to work for a salary than to trap fox.

The major epidemics in Keewatin have been tuberculosis and poliomyelitis. Almost three quarters of the Inuit population has had tuberculosis (Williamson 1967:7). In 1950, 85% of the population of Chesterfield Inlet had poliomyelitis (1967:7). Of these one third either died or were permanently crippled. (In Rankin Inlet (1971) there were several people who had had both of these diseases). Illness on this scale caused some Inuit to fear disease. One of the reasons was that when a person became ill with a major disease he was sent to a hospital in the South (Manitoba, Alberta, Ontario) from which many never returned, particularly in the initial group of evacuees. For most Inuit, it was preferable to die at home than to chance recovery in the South. Because of this resistance to treatment, the authorities forced medical examinations.

> ...Whether it is the hunter of his wife who is sent out, the whole family is incapacited, and the tendency has been for the deprived family to depend more heavily on the social and material resources of the settlement at such times. Even when someone returning from the hospital still wishes to pursue the life on the land, there are many instances where the residual effects of their illness make this impossible. The family fragmentations that has occurred, moreover, during these absences, can not always be fully repaired. (Williamson 1967:7).

During the 1950's and 1960's, there was wide spread starvation among the Inland people. The reasons include change migration routes and the sharp decline of the caribou population. The resulting malnutrition and starvation lowered resistance to disease.[5]

Most of the Inland people were evacuated and eventually settled at either Baker Lake, Eskimo Point, Whale Cove, or Rankin Inlet. The process of evacuation was dehumanizing. In view of both Coastal and Inland Inuit, the evacuees were failures for not being self-sufficient which in turn gave the Inlanders a sense of inferiority. Another aspect of this forced migration was that these Inlanders were placed in close contact with people who spoke a different dialect, who practiced a different religion,[6] who had a different ecological adaptation, and who had had more contact with Euro-Canadians. A relocation settlement outside of Rankin Inlet called Itivia was populated by some of the more incapacitated Inlanders, mostly Ahialmiut.[7]

In 1953, a permanent mining camp was built at Rankin Inlet. In 1957, the mining company went into full operation. In April of 1956, there were five Inuit employees; by November, the number rose to fourteen, and by the end of 1957 to seventy. The Inuit who worked

at the mine came primarily from Chesterfield, Eskimo Point, and Repulse Bay.

> Another form of fragmentation of the extended family unit has been occuring during migration of parts of such groups to defferent settlements in the pursuit of employment, housing or security from starvation in areas denuded of game. (Williamson 1967:7).

The Inuit who worked at the mine developed qualities to enable them to adjust to the new type of employment.

During the late 1950's and early 1960's, many Inuit were discouraged from living in the settlement (Vallee 1967:141). Although Government services (nursing stations, schools, etc.) were being established, at this point in time, both the R.C.M.P. and the Northern Service Officer(N.S.O.) justified their discouragement by the lack of employment available. At the same time, the H.B.C. encouraged the Inuit to continue trapping.

In the middle and late 1960's, the Inuit were encouraged to dwell in the settlements. This was brought about by the decreasing potentials of a solely land-based resource livelihood such as trapping, by the increasing administrative duties of the Government, as an aid to health programs, and by the legal requirement to send children to school. In order to accomodate the influx of residents, housing and employment schemes (i.e. crafts industry, cannery, tourist industry, etc.) were developed.

Another important feature of the 1960's was the transfer of services and administrative duties from the Federal Government to the Territorial Government. These transfers occurred in local

administration from the Department of Indian Affiars and Northern Development to the Departments of Local Gevernment, Education, Social Development, etc. (At present ((1974)) the only local government in the District of Keewatin which is not Territorial Government controlled is the hamlet government of Coral Harbour).

The recent history of the District of Keewatin is marked by shifts from hunting to trapping to wage employment. Needless to say, the Inuit have been acculturated, but the effects of this acculturation vary on individual and community levels. The variation in acculturation is exhibited at both levels in the settlement of Rankin Inlet.

Rankin Inlet

Before the North Rankin Nickel Mine Company came to Rankin Inlet, approximately ten families lived in the area. These people were hunters, trappers, fishermen, or any combination of the three. They identified themselves with the community at Chesterfield Inlet (Dailey and Dailey 1961:4). Although most arctic fauna are available in the area, the vicinity is not particularly rich (Kupsch 1966:26: Williamson 1971:21).

In the late 1920's a geological survey of the area revealed an out-cropping of nickel-rich ore. It was not, however, until the rise in nickel prices following the Korean War the exploitation was planned. In 1951, the North Rankin Nickel Mines Limited was former. After surveys in 1951 and 1952, a permanent camp was set up in 1953. At this time, several buildings (a bunkhouse, a manager's residence, garages, machine shop, and seversl sheds) were constructed (Kupsch

1966:26). "The mid-1950's period of the mine's history were characterized by very serious technical, personnel, and financial difficulties" (Williamson 1971:21). One attempt to solve these problems was the hiring of Inuit workers.

> This proved to be extremely successful, and by the time of the mine closedown in 1962, almost 80 percent of the mine payroll was Eskimo, employed at every skill level of the operation except in the drafting office (1971:21).

The origins of the Inuit population is an important aspect of the settlement's history and helps to demonstrate aspects of the settlement's change. Most of the 1958 population (67 1/2 %) originated from the Chesterfield Inlet area.[8] Less than 24% came from Eskimo Point, less than 6% from Repulse Bay, and less than 3% from Baker Lake (Dailey and Dailey 1961:1). By 1961 approximately the same ratios appear (65% from Chesterfield Inlet, 25% from Eskimo Point, 7% from Repulse Bay and 3% from Baker Lake) (Williamson 1971:21). Additionally there were migrants fron other communities in the Keewatin, Arctic Quebec and the District of Franklin.

In 1957 the mine commenced full production. Because of the surplus of nickel and the grade of ore recovered, the mining operations ceased in 1962. In the original plans for the mine, activities were expected to last only five or six years. Along with the recovery of nickel, there was also recovery of small amounts of copper, gold, silver, and platinum. Included in the mining operations was the reduction of ores to concentrate form through the processes of crushing, grinding, and chemical separation (Dailey and Dailey 1961:1).

During the mine's operation, there were basically three types of Inuit employment. These included: surface workers, mill workers, and mine workers. There appears to have been, from my analysis, a non-random distribution of jobs, with the Coastal Inuit receiving the better paying positions. The three employment categories can be further sub-divided into skilled and unskilled. Most of the unskilled labour was found in the surface jobs. The wages ranged from $.75 per hour for the lowest paying unskilled jobs to $2.00 per hour for the elite jobs inside the mine. There were thirty-five Inuit employed on the surface crew in 1958. These men were all Inlanders except for three equipment operators who were either Aivilingmiut or Qairnirmiut. The Inlanders received from $.75 to $1.50 per hour for jobs ranging from labourer (thirty men) to plumber. The equipment operators received from $1.50 to $1.75 per hour depending on the equipment used. Dailey and Dailey (1961:79) state:

> It is our impression that most of the surface labour crew are not motivated to 'do better' from the view point of the mine. None of this group live in the new Eskimo settlements and on the whole there is not much doubt that they identify themselves least with the mining project. Many of them would leave if they had some other place to go.

The reference to the "new Eskimo settlement" must be explained. When the mining company came to Rankin Inlet, they bullt two separate communities. One community near the mine site (already partially described) included a Hudson's Bay Company store, missions (Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Continental Interior), and facilities for

the Euro-Canadian workers. The other community, for the Inuit workers, was built about one half mile from the Euro-Canadian community. A third community formed on the other side of the Euro-Canadian community because, among other reasons, these Inuit were not accustomed to prefabricated houses and they preferred a location nearer the shore line. Originally this community consisted of tents, but during the mine period it developed into a community of make-shift shacks constructed from wooden boxes discarded by the mine.

Most of the fifteen men who worked in the mill (where the ore was concentrated) were unskilled and Inlanders. Most of these men held the job title of helpers. They were crusher helpers, pebble mill helpers, rod helpers, etc. There were two operators: the crusher operator and the filter operator. These two men earned respectively wages of $1.50 and the high Inuit wage in 1958 of $2.00 per hour. Both were Coastal.

An analysis of the job type and the point of origin of individuals employed in 1958 shows that in the mine the pattern of non-random job distribution continued. There were deckman who cleared the ore earning $1.00 per hour; they were Inlanders. The job of cagetender was done by both Inlanders and Coastal people. It paid $1.00 to $1.75 per hour. It was usually the Inlanders who kept this job; the Coastal people went on to become muckers.[9] The muckers were both Aivilingmiut and Qairnirmiut. They earned $1.00 to $1.90 per hour. In 1958, there were no Inuit diamond drillers. By the time the mine closed, the drillers were all Aivilingmiut and

and were paid a wage of over $2.00 per hour. Also by 1962, an expert mine rescue team had been established that was periodically active at other locations after the mine's discontinuance.

The basic reason why Coastal Inuit held positions of greater economic potential than Inland oriented Inuit was that the Coastal people gained positions of responsibility early because of their greater acculturation. They could speak some English and were aware of the decorum (behaviour patterns) for inter-acting with Euro-Canadians. When someone was to be hired, the management would choose those people who were recommended by the 'better' workers, and these workers would recommend relatives. In addition, the Coastal Inuit held a low opinion of the Inland people (Williamson 1971:17).

The mine placed the Inuit into

> firmly structured patterns of the time usage, in new modes of dwelling and consumption, in continuous application to the same kind of work, and to sets of values more characteristic of our more atomized and competitive society. (Williamson 1967:6).

While the family unit continued to be the main focus of solidarity for the Inuit, the new labour routine removed men from the same intensity of interaction within the unit. In addition, female roles were modified. (Adult females no longer had to make clothing or to meet other expectations typical of the past). With the man at work for a large portion of each weekday, enculturation of male children became increasingly a part of the role of the mother which contrasts with the previous role learning patterns of direct observation and imitation of the father. During the mine period,

hunting was restricted to a weekend activity if that.[10]

The mine at Rankin Inlet was a unique experiment. It proved two important points: 1) that mining in an arctic environment was possible and 2) that the Inuit could adapt to an industrial situation.

During the mining period, three communities centered around the activities of the mine. In 1958 a fourth community called Itivia was built by the Department of Northern Affairs about one half mile away from the "new Eskimo settlement" of the mining company. The purpose of the community was for the rehabilitation of people from the Garry Lake and Kazan River areas. "During the first year of operation no systematic rehabilitation scheme had been worked out at Itivia and the community there took on the vague character of a satellite to the Rankin Inlet community" (Vallee 1967:51 also Kupsch 1966:27). In 1959 several people were relocated to Whale Cove. Other people demanded to be returned to the Baker Lake area. When a rehabilitation program was finally initiated in 1959, many of the few people left had physical or mental handicaps resulting from disease (tuberculosis, poliomyelitis), prolonged malnutrition or genetic defects (retardation and deafness).

In the early development of Itivia, the people were engaged in 'make-work' schemes in hunting, fishing, and handicrafts. Part of the rehabiliation program that was eventually set up, included the teaching of English. With varying success, the people of Itivia were taught to adapt to settlement conditions. One of the factors which maintained the segregation between the people at Itivia and at

Rankin was the paternalistic control exercised by the N.S.O. Under his reign, the Itivia Inuit were not permitted access to money. In such a situation, it became impossible to take part in several of the activities at Rankin such as purchasing at the H.B.C., going to movies and dances, etc. When the officer abruptly left in 1960, the program was shattered. The majority of the remaining members of Itivia dispersed to Baker Lake, Whale Cove, and Eskimo Point. A few residents have remained at Rankin Inlet.

After the mine closed in 1962, there were changes in the composition of the Rankin Inlet population. Some of the mine workers went back to their origanal settlements, some went to other mines, and many remained. Most of the people who stayed were from the Coastal groups. They stayed for many reasons, but the prevalent feeling was that they had become Kangirlinirmiut (the people of Rankin Inlet). They had invested time in the community. Intermarriage between members of different dialect groups, and of different religious organizations had occurred.[11] The Rankin Inlet Inuit had combined their dialects so that they no longer spoke their original dialects. The predominating dialect became Aivilingmiut with Pallimiut words intermixed.

Vallee (1962:3) states that Rankin Inlet (1960) is largely dependent on income derived from wages and from government funds of various kinds. When the mine closed, the Canadian Government recognized the unemployment problem. The initial period following the mine's closing marked by an increase in government support in the form of social assistance (welfare). "From June to November 1962

the number of families receiving social assistance increased from 22 to 55, 88 persons to 264" (Foster 1972:38).

There were four schemes proposed to reduce unemployment:

> (1) returning the Eskimo people to a land based economy; (2) opening up job opportunities for Eskimo miners in other mining centres; (3) relocation of Eskimos into settlements that, theoretically, were underpopulated; and (4) creating small industries in Rankin Inlet. (1972:38).

Initially in 1962, people did not respond enthusiastically to the idea of returning to a land-based economy. Some of the reasons were the economic insecurity of such activities (fluctuation in fur prices), the possibilities of starvation, and necessary hardships of such a life, as opposed to the security of social assistance and the services provided in the settlement. Later, in 1965, some trappers and their families were subsidized by the Federal Government. As stated earlier the animal resources of the area are insufficient to provide for a large population. By the end of this experiment, the total year's catch was only a few foxes (Kupsch 1966:28). This low yield was attributed to the nadir of the fox cycle. In 1964, a somewhat similar venture was the establishment of an experimental fishery at Daly Bay (north of Chesterfield Inlet). Because of an insufficient supply of fish, operations were moved to Rankin Inlet in 1966.

The second scheme, relocation to other mining centres, was instituted almost immediately (1963) after the mine's closing. The first such relocation was to Yellowknife. Included in this group were eight families and nine unmarried men (Foster 1972:38). All of these

families had returned to Rankin Inlet by 1967. Another relocation was to Lynn Lake, Manitoba. The last family returned to Rankin Inlet in 1971. In both of these experiments, the Inuit had problems adjusting to the predominantly Euro-Canadian settings (Stevenson 1968; Matthiasson and Chow 1970). These problems were certainly accentuated by "the demands of kin at home", "the absence of a viable social life", and the Euro-Canadian misunderstanding of Inuit problems (Foster 1972:38-39).

The possibilty of relocation to underpopulated settlements (namely Coral Harbour, Repulse Bay and Chesterfield Inlet) was not a scheme in which the Federal Government invested much activity. Soon after the mine closed, the population was drastically reduced by migration. However, people were not encouraged to relocate at any particular settlement.

It is without a doubt that it was the creation of small industries in Rankin Inlet that resulted in a decrease[12] of reliance on social assistance and in an increase in income. The most successful of these industries has been the handicrafts program. Starting in 1965, this program offered employment to eighty people, paying some on a weekly basis and others by commission. The products of this program have been soapstone and ivory carvings, duffle mitts, socks, parkas, slippers and other sewn goods, paintings, ceramics, and 'traditional' artifacts such as scrapers, drums, and ulut (woman's knives). This program has continued successfully (with the exception of ceramics which stopped in 1971) and continues to be a major force in the community.

The tourist camp, started in 1965, proved to be an unsuccessful project. Government officials at Rankin Inlet had felt that "this would help the economy through the payment of guides and rental of sports equipment, increase of local handicrafts sales, and other allied items" (Kilvert 1965:16). The operation only continued for a few years.

Another program (besides the handicrafts program) which has gained national recognition is the Issatik Food Plant (the Cannery). In 1966 the operations moved from Daly Bay to Rankin Inlet. Shortly thereafter, a Euro-Canadian was hired to develop "can-able" goods. In addition to the operation at Rankin Inlet, an associated one was established at Whale Cove. "By 1970 the cannery employed, on the average, fifteen people for about nine months of the year and this number increased to about twenty-five during the busy season" (Foster 1972:39). In addition to the activities at the cannery, the operation provides for the employment of several families in fishing activities. Other individuals, also, supplement their incomes by selling to the cannery. The principle items canned are whitefish and arctic char. Until 1969 beluga whale, in the form of muktuk, was also canned. Although this project has been working at a deficity, it is hoped that when it becomes viable it will be sold to a private corporation, probably the Kissarvik Co-operative, Ltd.

The Kissarvik Co-op is one of the most recent enterprises in Rankin Inlet. In 1970, although established in name, it had a very limited operation and was, for the most part, a satellite of the Issatik Co-op of Whale Cove. In 1971, a Euro-Canadian was hired,

and the activities of this organization started to become more apparent. The Co-op has been able to produce an increase in employment by receiving the franchises for the distribution of water and heating oil, for the collection of garbage and 'honey buckets',[13] and for the unloading of ships.

Another experiment was the production of chickens and pigs. This production was intended to lower the price of eggs and meat by removing the shipping costs. The first flock was begun in 1969. (There were no pigs at this time). Although the flock was killed by vandals, the initial experiment was judged successful enough that a second flock was started in 1970. Also, in 1970 pigs were introduced, but they proved unsuccessful due to the taste of these animals who had been fed on the by-products of the cannery. By 1971, there was neither a flock nor pigs.

In summary, the history of Rankin Inlet can be divided, by the criteria of dominant economic pursuits, into four distinct periods: the pre-mine period, to 1957), the mine period (1957-1962), the period immediately after the mine's closure (1962-1965), and the recent period (1965-1971). Rankin Inlet has a unique history in the Keewatin by being founded around an industrial situation. The effects of the mining period are still visible in the physical structures of the settlement. However, since the mine closed and with similar government programs established in other settlements, Rankin Inlet has cone to resemble more closely the other communities in the Keewatin.

4. A complete listing of trading posts in Keewatin is given in Usher 1971:140-145.

5. Resistance to disease was further lowered by the lack of new caribou skins to replace clothing which had become unhygenic and less insulating.

6. Most Inlanders are Anglican, whereas most Coastal people are Catholic.

7. This group of people were made famous in two books by Farley Mowat: People of the Deer and The Desperate People.

8. This includes those people living in the Rankin Inlet area.

9. "Muckers are men who have been trained how to operate the air driven mucking machines which load the loose ore into steel cars" (Dailey and Dailey 1961:79).

10. The generation of males growing up in this period has not learned certain hunting expertise due to the lack of prolonged and intensive training.

11. Exact figures on intermarriage are not known, but during my fieldwork I found a number of individuals of different groups who had married during the mine period.

12. The data are unclear as to whether this decrease represents fewer recipients or smaller payments. I believe that it primarily represents the former.

13. The North's answer to the flush toilet.

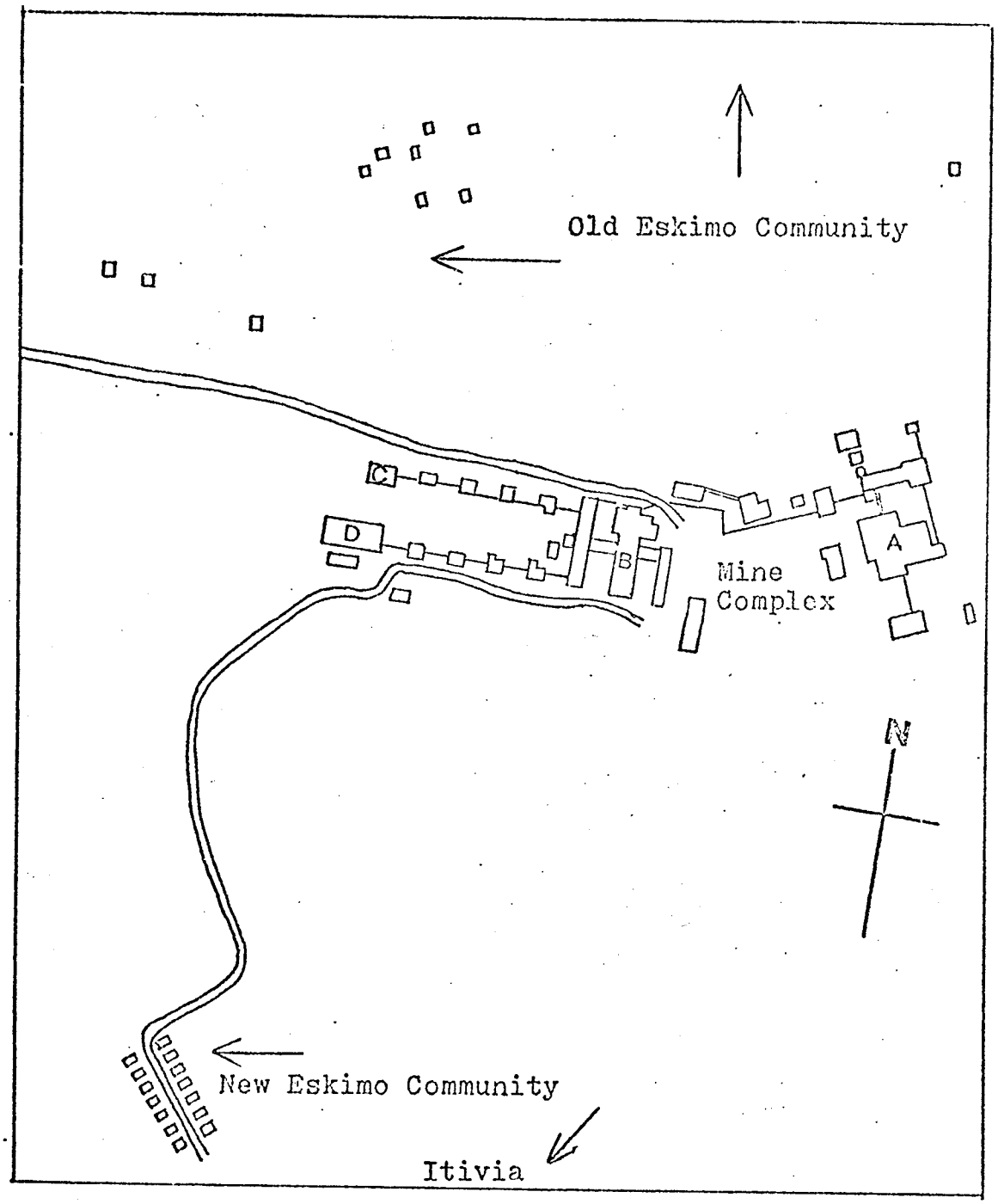
CHAPTER THREE: RANKIN INLET COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

The change in Rankin Inlet community structure can be related to several variables. This chapter deals with three aspects: 1) the physical layout, 2) demography, and 3) the organizations. The other aspects of change (i.e. economic, political, individual adaptation) are presented later. The significance of this chapter is that is describes the environment of the settlement. The first section, the physical layout, deals with change in the nonhuman environment. Organizational change is an aspect of the modification of the social environment.

The Physical Layout

Before construction of the mine complex, the Rankin Inlet area was occupied by a few family units scattered along the shoreline. With the construction of the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company buildings, the physical structure of the settlement was born. Besides consideration of the land contour, the present layout has been deeply influenced by its original design (see Figure 2).

The settlement built by the mining company comprised two communities (one for the mining complex and Euro-Canadian residences and one for selected Inuit workers). A third community, developing at the same time, was created by other Inuit. Including the community of Itivia, the settlement of Rankin Inlet in the late 1950's and early 1960's can be said to have contained four distinct sections. Other settlements and towns in the North have also been noted as divided into communities or sections (e.g. Churchill, Inuvik, Frobisher Bay, Coral Harbour, etc.) on the bases of ethnicity, religion, occupation etc. (Koolage 1973; Honigmann 1965, 1970). In a settlement the size



A. North Rankin Nickel Mine
B. Bunkhouse
C. Roman Catholic Mission
D. Hudson's Bay Company store

Figure 2 Rankin Inlet Site Plan 1958 (Based on Dailey and Dailey 1961:11).

of the 1958 Rankin Inlet, the quarter mile separation between the communities is quite dramatic. The physical as well as the social separation between Euro-Canadians and Inuit has been noted for other small Inuit settlements (Smith 1972), but no where else does it seem so deliberate.

One of the underlying reasons for the design that was created lies in the fact that the mining company wanted to maximize profit and minimize inter-ethnic conflict. Two areas which were anticipated as problem areas were relationships between single Euro-Canadians and Inuit women and in the use of alcohol which was available in the Euro-Canadian section. The quarter mile separation was used to discourage these and other problems by making interaction between the two communities visible. In view of the mine company's goals, this segregation can be judged as successful. This segregation also had advantages for the Inuit population in easing a potential source of stress and thus may have facilitated their adjustment. It is interesting to note that the Inuit-built section, the "old Eskimo settlement", also was separated from the Euro-Canadians by a quarter of a mile.

Another difference between the two communities was the type of physical structures and utilities available. Originally the settlement at Rankin Inlet was scheduled to exist for five, perhaps six years before the estimated deposit would be exhausted. The mining company constructed their buildings with these dates in mind. The buildings in the Euro-Canadian community can be divided into either residential, commercial, religious, or administrative. All

of the buildings in the other communities (with the exception of some at Itivia) were residential.

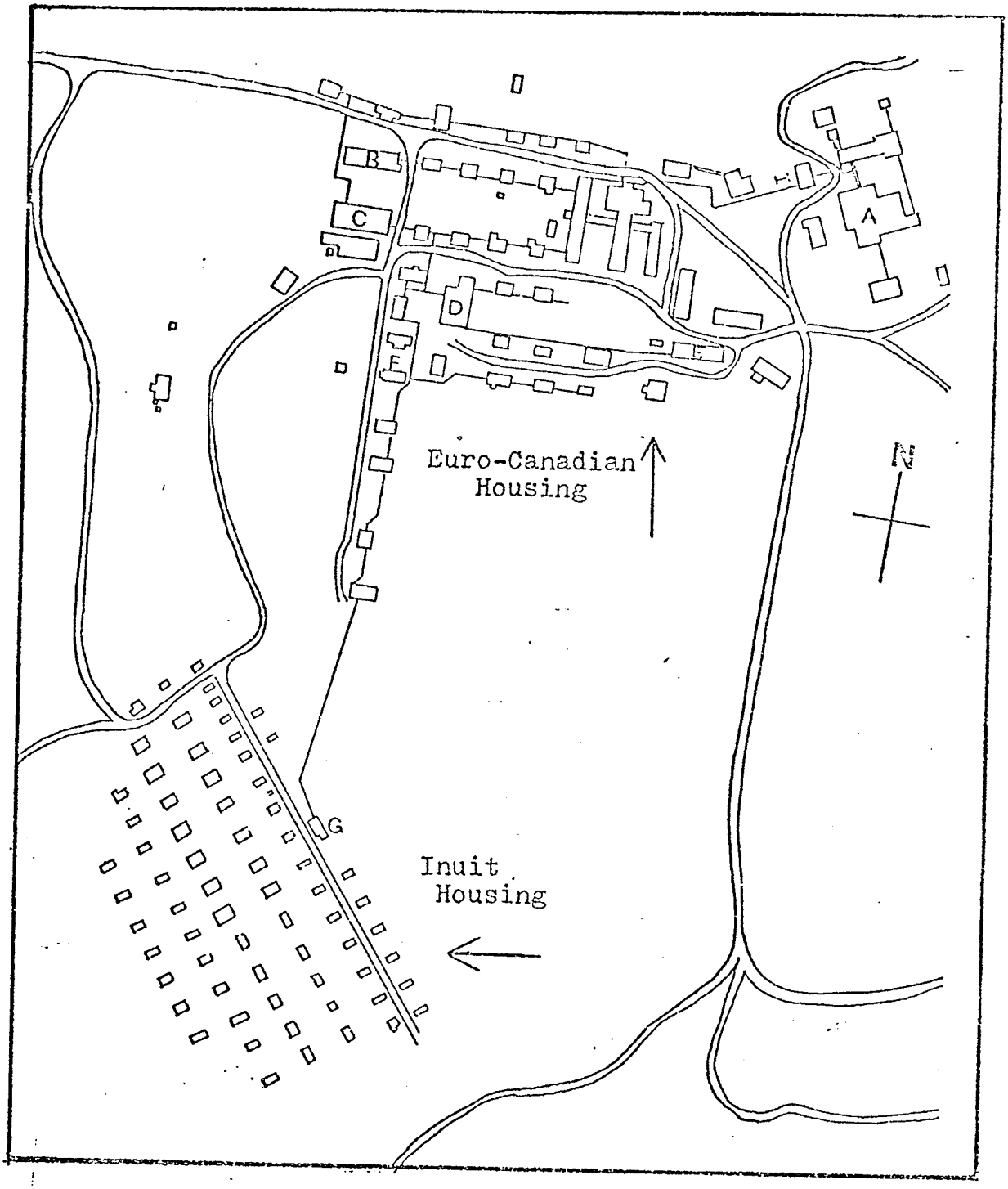
The residence in the Euro-Canadian community were either 'family' houses consisting of two to three bedrooms, living room and kitchen or the bunkhouse which contained several small bedrooms. The houses built for the Inuit consisted of three rooms (each 11 by 14 feet) (see Dailey and Dailey 1961:3). The durability of the two sets of residences differed. This is attested to by the continued use of the Euro-Canadian houses in 1971 as opposed to the Inuit houses.

An additional distinction between the two communities is whether or not they were "serviced" by a utilidor system.[14] As can be seen on the map (see Figure 2), the utilidor was utilized exclusively by the Euro-Canadian community. The existence of the utilidor was necessary as part of the milling operations of the mine. Because of the inexpense of extending this service to the buildings along its route, the Euro-Canadian residence were included.[15] Inuit households were excluded; cost was given as the primary factor in making that decision.

Before proceeding to the change in the physical layout after the discontinuance of the mine, it would be interesting to add a few words about the physical structures of the other two communities. The short lived community of Itivia resembled the "new Eskimo settlement". The buildings were constructed on two parallel lines. Apart from three larger buildings housing the D.N.A. officer, his two helpers, and the store and handicrafts centre, the other houses were small (16 by 16 feet) one-room "Eskimo Low Cost" houses built on

"Plan 319" (Thompson 1969:40). Dailey and Dailey (1961:15) divided the "old Eskimo settlement" into four zones of habitation. In each of these zones, the tents and shacks were clustered around one of three water sources. The membership of each cluster consisted of migrants from a single community, most of whom shared kinship ties. The population of zones 3 and 4 were exclusively from Chesterfield Inlet, and zone 1 was from Eskimo Point. An exception was found in zone 2 which had members from three communities (Eskimo Point, Chesterfield Inlet, and Repulse Bay). Unfortunately Dailey and Dailey's data is not sufficiently detailed to describe the exact location of the members. (Figure 2 includes the location of domiciles in the southern most area, zone 1).

By 1965 the settlement of Rankin Inlet contained two communities (see Figure 3), but the physical separation between the two had become less dramatic. The Euro-Canadian community expanded geographically in the direction of the Inuit community ("the Village"). The number of buildings in the Inuit community were increased to accommodate the ex-residents of the "old Eskimo settlement". The houses, now provided by the Federal Government, were smaller (24 by 12 feet) than the original fourteen houses and consisted of one room with a bathroom and porch. These houses were "Low Cost Eskimo Houses" of Plan 370 called "The Illikallak" by the planners (Thompson 1969: 40-41) and "matchboxes" by their inhabitants. The same dichotomy between the design and quality of Inuit and Euro-Canadian homes was still evident. In addition to the increase in residences, there were several new structures added to the Euro-Canadian community

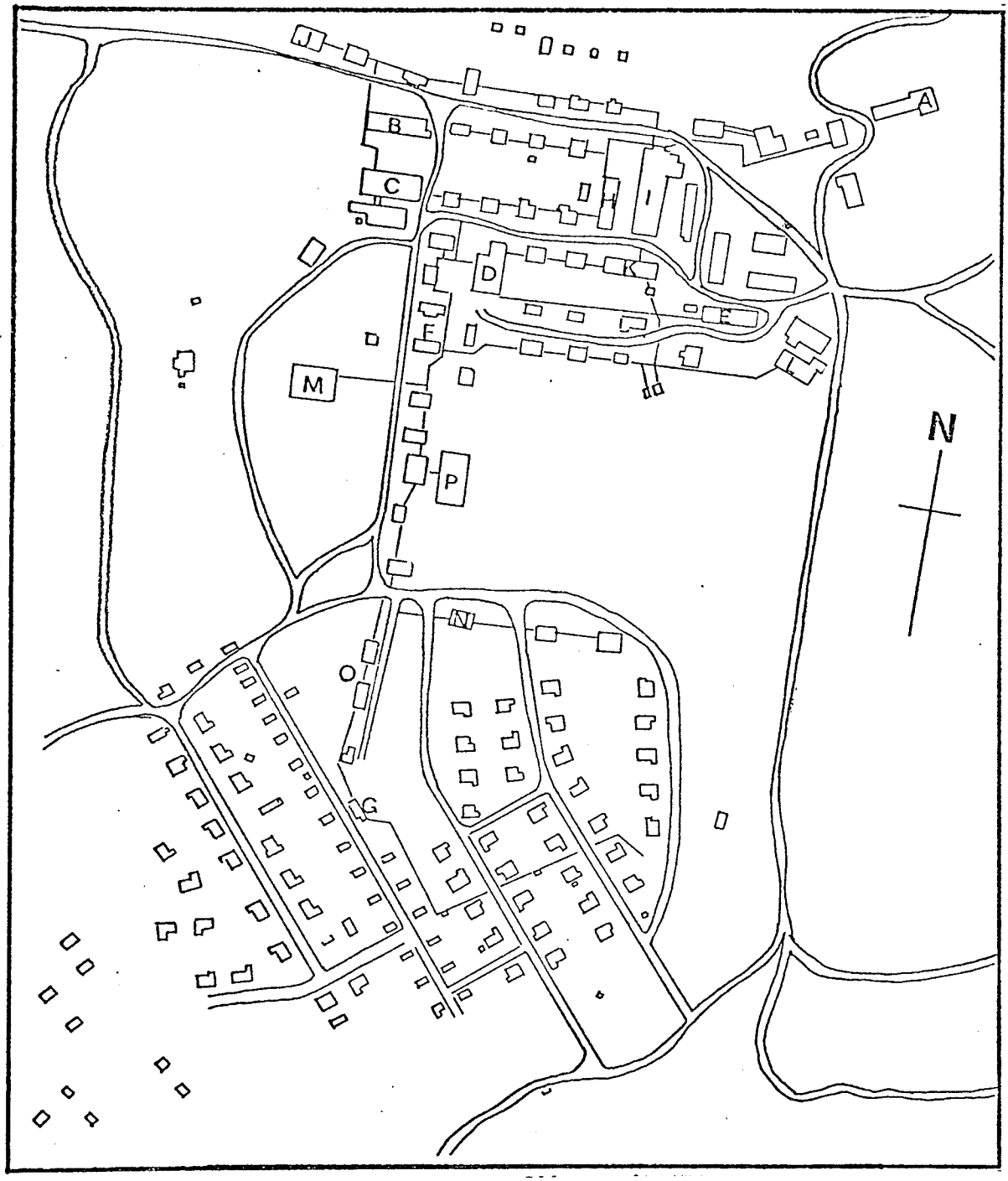


A. Mine
B. Roman Catholic Mission
C. Hudson's Bay Company store
D. School
E. Government Administration Office
F. Anglican Mission
G. Bathhouse

Figure 3 Rankin Inlet Site Plan 1965 (Based on Kupsch 1966:33 and Foster 1972:36)

to house the school, the H.B.C. warehouse, the Anglican mission, and a new Roman Catholic mission. The utilador system was extended to most of these new buildings in the Euro-Canadian section. There was one building constructed in the Village, a bathhouse, to which the utilador was connected, but the Federal Government did not feel that extension of this service to the Inuit households was justified nor has it since.

By 1970, however, several Inuit families had moved into the previously exclusive Euro-Canadian community. Additionally two Euro-Canadian controlled organizations (i.e. the Library and the R.C.M.P. complex) were housed in areas which were intrusive into the Village, and two Euro-Canadian families were housed on the periphery (see Figure 4). Between 1965 and 1970, several buildings were added to both communities, and many of the Inuit houses were replaced. A nursing station was built near the site of the present Rankin Inlet Lodge. In 1969-1970 the present nursing station was built. Two important buildings built by 1970 were the Cannery and the Arts and Crafts Centre. The Transient Centre in 1971, moved from its previous location across from the H.B.C. store into a new building and became known as the Rankin Inlet Lodge. In addition to the new buildings one of the mine's buildings was converted into a recreational centre and curling club. By 1969, all of the houses built for the Inuit workers by the mine were removed. (In 1969 and 1970 some were used as part of the chicken and pig farm along with buildings from Itivia). Many of the "matchboxes" were also removed to be replaced by two types of larger, three-bedroom houses (provided by the Territorial Government)



A-G see Figure Three
H. Kissarvik Co-operative
I. Recreation Centre
J. A.R.T.C.
K. Arts and Crafts Centre
L. Issatik Cannery
M. Nursing Station
N. Library
O. R.C.M.P.
P. Rankin Inlet Lodge

Figure Four: Rankin Inlet Site Plan 1971 (modified from Foster 1972:37)

called "The Urquaq" or Plan no. 436 and "The Ukuvik" of Plan no. 439 (Thompson 1969:47-49). In 1971, additional housing (not shown on the map) of smaller dimensions than Plans 436 and 439, was built. In the summer of 1971, three of the "matchbox" houses were moved to the construction site of a new school and were used as warehouses and office space.

One building which has been recently (1968) added to Rankin Inlet, houses the Arctic Research and Training Centre (A.R.T.C.). Very much like its activities, its physical structure can be viewed as the most per pheral in the settlement. The A.R.T.C. consists of four joined trailers and is divided into an office, a library-class-room-conference room, a storage room, a small laboratory, a large kitchen-dining room-living room, and a number of bedrooms.

Demography

The membership of Rankin Inlet consists of migrants and their children. Before the establishment of the mining camp, the area around Rankin Inlet was the territory of a few families, rarely more than five, most of whom resided for only seasonal periods (Williamson 1971:21). Some people were attracted to the site of the construction of the mine and subsequently were hired as labourers.[16] In 1957, the active recruitment by the mine of Inuit workers caused a sharp rise in the population.[17]

The population in July, 1958 was comprised of 332 Inuit and 95 Euro-Canadians. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Inuit came from the communities of Chesterfield Inlet (224), and Eskimo Point (79), Repulse Bay (19), and Baker Lake (11)[18] (Dailey and Dailey 1961:20).

This population in terms of age-sex ratios can be described as normal with the majority of individuals under the age of twenty (see Table I). The Euro-Canadian population was irregular in that it was represented by 85 adult males, 6 adult females (all wives), 2 male children, 1 male infant and 1 female infant (Dailey and Dailey 1961:24).

The number of households and families [19] in Rankin Inlet is difficult to determine. In the "new Eskimo settlement", there were fourteen households, and they contained one or more families (both nuclear and extended). Where more than one family was present, kinship ties were usual. In the "old Eskimo settlement", there were thirty-two dwellings and twenty-seven "families" (presumably nuclear) (Dailey and Dailey 1961:23). The majority (180) of the Inuit population was located in the "new Eskimo settlement". The religious affiliation of most Inuit (85%) were Roman Catholic; a few (10%) were Anglican but affiliated with the Continental Interior Mission until the Anglican mission was established in 1959; the remainder considered themselves non-Christians (1961:23-24).[20]

The Inuit population of Rankin Inlet steadily increased during the mining period until 1961 when it reached 509 individuals (see Table I).[21] At the same time as the Inuit population was increasing, the Euro-Canadian population seems to have been decreasing as Euro-Canadian workers were replaced.[22]

By the end of 1962, just after the mine's discontinuance, the Inuit population had decreased to 478. The population continued to decrease due to emigration in 1963 when it reached 387 and in 1964 when it reached the post-mine low of 286. With the increase

in employment opportunities starting in 1965, the population has steadily increased (with a small decrease in 1969 of seven individuals) to 505 in 1970. This increase came from a high birth rate and immigration. The population growth rate between each year in the period from 1964 to 1970 ranged from 15.0% to -1.5% (1969) with an average increase of 9.2% per year. The total growth rate in this six year period is 76.6%.

The Inuit population in all years of its existance can be said to be a young population.[23] In all years of this study, males made up the greater or equal percentage of the total population.[24]

Data on the Euro-Canadian population is limited.[25] It appears that the size of this population varied in different years and in different seasons from about thirty to about seventy-five (Kupsch 1966; N.W.T. 1971). The population often increased during the summer months of June, July, and August particularly with construction activity. The population is generally transient with people staying a few weeks to a few years. There was one family which had maintained residence since the mining period, but generally the 'permanent' residents remain only for two or three years. This population contains members of various ethnic groups.

Population statistics by the R.C.M.P. have not been disclosed for 1971 so in its place the data from the Rankin Inlet Community List as prepared by the local administration is presented. The Community List contains a total of 478 Inuit individuals. Rankin Inlet as a settlement is unique in that every dialect in the Keewatin is represented plus individuals from the Districts of Mackenzie and

and Franklin and from Arctic Quebec. Despite my fieldwork in Rankin Inlet in 1971, I was unable to ascertain the percentages of each dialect group. However a slightly different breakdown can be offered.

Prior to 1970, all Inuit in the Canadian Arctic were given a registration number which represented the area in which they were born and identified the specific person. In 1971, the district in which most of the Rankin Inlet population (360) was born was E-3[26] (see Figure 5). The next most numerous group (40) came from the E-1 district. From the other district included in the Keewatin, there were twenty-four persons. Of the groups outside of the Keewatin, the largest (11) was from the W-1 district of the District of Mackenzie. There were four people who originated from Arctic Quebec (E-8). In addition, there were single individuals from the E-5, E-6, and E-7 areas. Finally there were thirty-six people whose number was unknown, or who had been born after 1970 and therefore had no number.

The age-sex composition the population was quite like the other Keewatin populations. Its size was the third largest in 1970. The population, like its economy, went through boom and bust stages and has since steadily grown. A large amount of the growth in the Rankin Inlet population still comes from immigration.

Organizations

In a description of change in a community structure, the most fascinating element is the dynamics of interpersonal interactions. People interact in terms of a definite social environment, the components of which are primarily organizations. In the history of

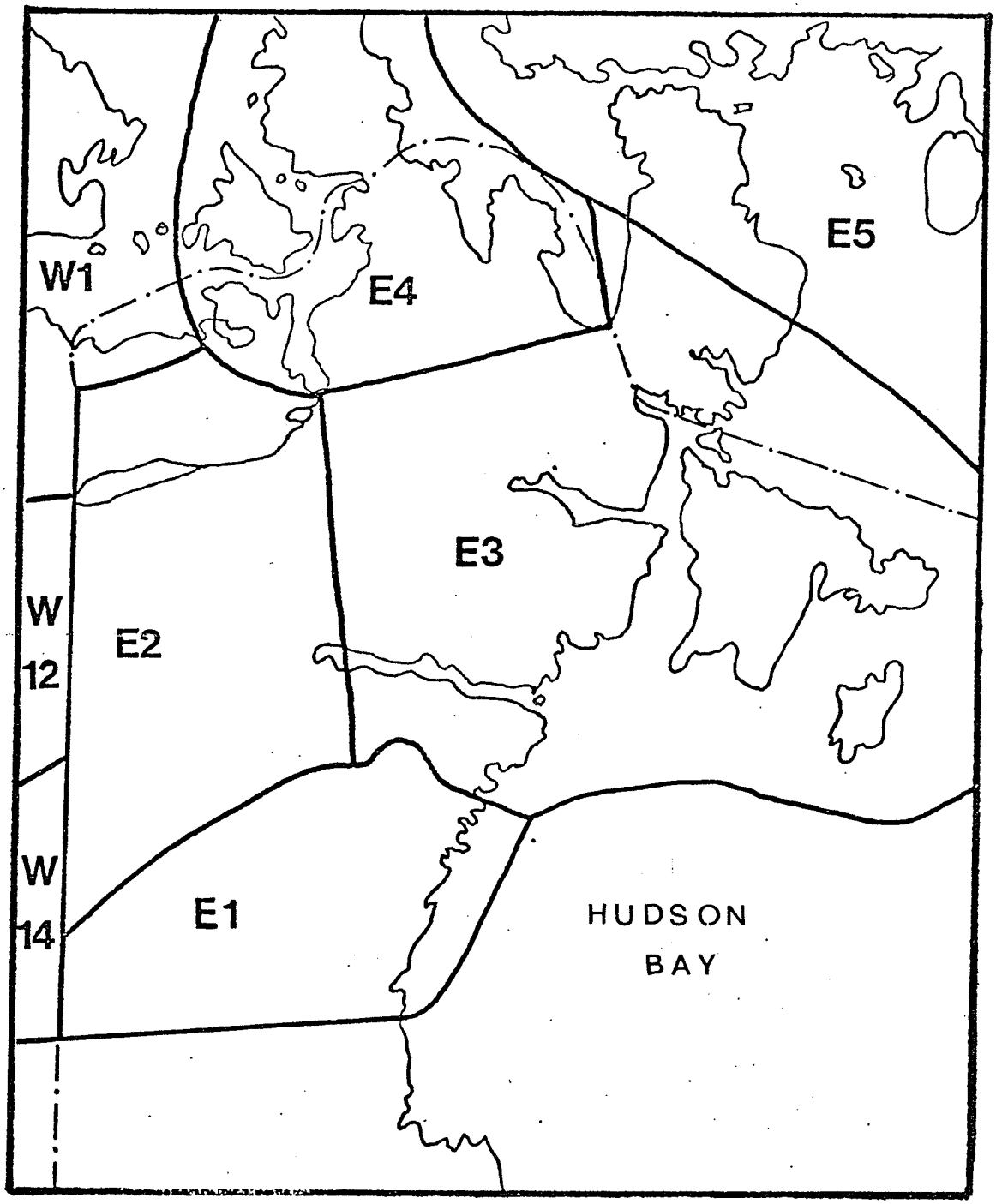


FIGURE FIVE: Registration Districts

Rankin Inlet, there have been some relatively rapid changes in community structure as organizations have changed and as other organizations have been formed. This is, of course, largely the result of the increased involvement of Euro-Canadians. In order to have a basis for proceeding to an analysis of change, this section is a general view of the various organizations which constitute the Rankin Inlet community structure. These organizations can be divided into a number of categories. The ones of prime concern in this thesis are domestic (family units, inter-family organizations), government (Department of Northern Affairs, Department of Health and Welfare, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Government of the Northwest Territories, Settlement Council, etc.), religious (the missions), commercial (the Hudson's Bay Company, the Kissarvik Co-operative, etc.), and research (Arctic Research and Training Centre) organizations. Although both Euro-Canadians and Inuit are members in many of these organizations, ways in which they differ exist in the quantity of participation and control of both groups in them.

The basic change in organizational structure has been cyclical. Before the mine company came to Rankin Inlet, the local family units were relatively able to provide their membership with the various services necessary for their survival. When the mine company involved some Inuit in the activities of this new organization, changes occurred, particularly in the control of goods and services, which resulted in one type of dependency. As the mining activities became regular, various Federal Government agencies were attracted and commenced activities which further reduced the self-sufficiency of

the Inuit population. When the mine company stopped their activities, the Federal Government assumed more of the settlement's services. With the replacement of the Federal Government's Department of Northern Affairs by the Government of the Northwest Territories, Inuit individuals have been increasingly incorporated into the local administration and efforts have been made to create organizations, such as the Settlement Council, which will represent the wishes of the Inuit majority. A similar example of the shift to include the Inuit in the community structure was the creation of a co-operative which allows the Inuit a more personally controlled commercial organization.

The best place to start an examination of Rankin Inlet organizations is with the most basic, the family unit,[27] of which almost all Inuit and many Euro-Canadians are members. This membership comes from ties of either consanguinity, affinity, adoption or other ancillary kinship mechanisms.[28] Although Inuit family structure had undergone some modifications before the establishment of the mine by the shift in subsistence patterns to trapping, family structure continued to change in response, initially, to the industrial setting and later to the type of settlement existence which has become typical for the entirety of the Keewatin. For example, most of the family units in the 1958 population were extended either vertically (three or more generations) or horizontally (siblings). By 1971, most of the family units were nuclear. This change is explained by a number of factors such as the physical restrictions of settlement life, the shift of some economic and political activities to other organizations

and the introduction of certain services by representatives of Canadian society.

Of all the organizations found in Rankin Inlet, the family was the focus of the strongest solidarities. The immigration mentioned in the previous section was more usually that of a complete family unit than of individuals. Family structure differed only slightly between the two Inuit communities associated with the mine and that was a result of the different types of dwellings. In the "new Eskimo settlement" families were restricted to houses not really adequate for extended family living. In the "old Eskimo settlement" the shacks and tents allowed for an approximation of a "camp".

During the mining period, several of the services previously performed by family members shifted to individuals outside of the unit, such as the missionaries in social control, and away from the interdependence of family units that was typical of earlier periods. With the change to wage employment, the types of labour performed by men became more specialized (i.e. mucker, carver, etc.) and thus families became less self-sufficient in production. However, most women continued to focus their activities on family maintenance (e.g. sewing, cooking, cleaning). At the same time as family units became dependent on external organizations, there were growing opportunities for independence of individuals from family units. This was a result of both the opportunities for wage employment provided by the mine company and the increasing irrelevancies of traditional experiences for decision making. Thus some young adults and women gained greater power within the family unit in previous situations because of their control of income.

The relationships between families seem to have continued to be as strong as they were during the trapping period. The membership of these inter-family organizations,[30] although based on kinship, was highly flexible (Adams 1972) and could be modified by individual personalities. Although there were strong solidarities for these units, their economic and political functions were undermined by other, external organizations. In terms of political allocation, organizations such as the R.C.M.P. became increasingly more important. In terms of economic allocation, organizations such as the North Rankin Nickel Mines and the H.B.C. became more important in both production and consumption. Some aspects of the traditional sharing system (see Damas 1972a) had been retained in regards to material goods (clothes and equipment) and food (particularly native animals), but they did not extend to the sharing of wages.

In the post-mine period, there were three events which further altered family structure: 1) the radical decrease of wage employment with the mine's closing; 2) the concentration of the Inuit population into one community; and 3) the increase of government services. With the move into the small houses, extended families were forced to divide. In addition, housing was allocated by an external organization, the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (now called the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs), which did not allocate according to kinship ties. Thus allied families and parts of previously extended families were often further physically separated. With the loss of wage employment, most of the families which remained in Rankin Inlet became dependent on social assistance

and thus the Federal Government. Parallelling this change in economic allocation, the government organizations assumed greater political control. In addition to thses changes, with the establishment of the educational system, professionsl teachers had an important effect on enculturation. With exposure in the classroon to the dominant society, many of the aspirations, skills and occupations changed.[31] The differences in goals and experience between adults and their children has caused some conflict.

Inter-family relationships seem to have weakened after the mine period, and many were replaced by more informal, 'friendship' based relationships. Thus, for example, food sharing started to include non-kin and to exclude kin on the basis of personal prejudice. However, this should not be construed as leading to the disappearance of inter-family organizations as they continued to have economic and political import.

In the recent period, the structure of family units has increasingly changed toward nuclear family types as found in the post-mine period so that by 1970 only 14% were extended. Although family units have become more dependent on the services provided by external organizations and more independent of inter-family organizations, solidarity for the community is still influenced by the presence of inter-family organizations.

Of prime importance to the welfare and economy of the population are the various governmental organizations. In 1969, there was a shift in the control of the local government organizations from the Federal Government to the Territorial Government. Some of the

organizations, however, remained under Federal Government control. Besides the services offered by the various agencies, the bulk of the population's income came directly or indirectly from these sources. Leadership in all of the organizations, whether part of the government or other sponsored organizations, was Euro-Canadian. The only organization which appears without Euro-Canadian leadership was the Settlemtnt Council (also called the Eskimo Community Council); however, it will be shown that even this organization was ultimately responsible to Euro-Canadians.

In 1958 the Federal Government was represented by Euro-Canadians of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (D.N.A.N.R.). During the mining period, the R.C.M.P. moved its post from Chesterfield Inlet to Rankin Inlet following the population shift. In 1965, a nursing station, run by the Department of Health and Welfare (D.H.& W.) of the Federal Government, was established. Basically these were the three government agencies that were in control of Rankin Inlet until 1969.[32] The only change in this triumvirate was the replacement of the D.N.A.N.R. to the Government of the Northwest Territories. (Job titles were changed, such as Northern Service Officer to Settlement Manager, but the personnel remained almost exactly the same).

During the mining period, most services offered to the community were under the direction of the staff of the North Rankin Nickel Mine. These services included medical facilities, housing and utilities. The N.S.O. was responsible for social assistance payments, some forms of social control (such as removing "undesirables"), medical

evacuations, and seemingly not much else. When the mine closed, the Federal Government purchased the settlement and enlisted a new bureaucracy for its maintenance and development.

The installation of Federal Government agents into Rankin Inlet did not cause the same kinds of inter-Euro-Canadian organizational conflicts as it did in other communities (see Smith 1972 and Paine 1971). This was a result of the lack of power of organizations in the community (i.e. H.B.C., R.C.M.P., and the missions) which had had in other communities more extended spheres of influence.

With the departure of the mining company and its staff, the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources came to have controlling power in administrative affairs. The head of operations in Rankin Inlet was the Area Administrator. Under this man's direction in 1965 were the school principal, four teachers, a clerk, the Supervisor of Utilities, the Arts project officer, and the Project Officer, all of whom were Euro-Canadians (Kupsch 1966). In addition to these individuals, there were seven to ten Inuit men employed by the department and under the direct control of the Supervisor of Utilities. These men were responsible for the collection of garbage and "honey buckets", for delivery of heating oil and water, for the maintenance of the utilidor system, for other maintenance jobs (i.e. roads, houses, etc.), and for various janitorial services in the school, administrative office, etc. There were other people occasionally employed by the department who acted as interpreters.

Besides the positions which were held by the Inuit in settlement maintenance, there were a number of projects which were established

and run through this agency. One was the Arts and Crafts project which provided income for a number of residents. This organization was run in an informal and flexible way in that 'employees' were allowed to work according to their own schedules. This organization was headed by a Euro-Canadian with the job title of Arts Project Officer. (This man remained with the project until 1970). The other projects engaged in at this time, the tourist camp and the trapping experiment, were directed by the Projects Officer. Employment in both of these operations was occasional and limited and the projects were of short duration.

The one division of the Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources that involved the largest number of Inuit participants was the school. The curriculum of this 84 pupil school was modeled on the Southern educational system and directed, whether explicity or not, to the assimiliation of Inuit youth into Canadian society. The educational policy of the 1960's is well-documented elsewhere (see Brant and Hobert 1966) and will not be discussed here. However, it should be noted that it has resulted in some value conflicts besides serving as an instrument of acculturation.

In 1965 most of the income of the Rankin Inlet Inuit came either directly or indirectly from employment provided by the D.N.A.N.R. and/or from social assistance. Although active participation in the organizations controlled by the D.N.A.N.R. was limited and leadership further restricted, these organizations were of prime interest to the Inuit population. Also considered important were the services performed by the Department of Nationsl Health and Welfare represented

by the nursing station and its staff of one nurse and two (Inuit) nurse's aids.

The Rankin Inlet Nursing Station in 1965 was chiefly concerned with the health of the Inuit population. Besides the treatment services, a clinic was created for the care of 'well-babies' in an attempt to curb the high infant mortality rate. The staff of the nursing station primarily dealt with respiratory disorders (colds, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and others), babies' health, and other ills (including veneral disease, scabies, broken bones, and other physical and psychological disorders).

The role of the R.C.M.P. in the post-mine period was multiple. Besides police duties (enforcement of Federal and Territorial laws), the staff was responsible for the registration of births, deaths and migration. A duty which was given this organization by the Inuit population was the role of arbitrator in family disputes. The staff in 1965 included a corporal, a constable and a special constable (Inuit). Besides the duties in Rankin Inlet, the staff was responsible for the settlements of Chesterfield Inlet, Repulse Bay, Whale Cove, and Coral Harbour.

The Settlement Council was a predominantly Inuit organization. The leadership was Inuit and elected by its membership. In this sense it was a voluntary association; however, it was sponsored and funded by the local administration. Although its decisions were its own, they often were influenced by the wishes of the Euro-Canadian officials. Essentially, this organization, originally created by the Federal Government, was supposed to provide the Inuit population

with a mechanism for sounding out community problems to be relayed to the local administrator and to provide the elected members with administrative experience to prepare for increased Inuit involvement in local government. Two other organizations which were linked to the Settlement Council were the Housing Association and the Recreation Association.

The membership of the Housing Association, like the Settlement Council, was settlement wide and voluntary. Leadership was elected by the membership. Basically the duties of the elected officers consisted of collecting rent and the maintenance of the houses (i.e. repairs, hygiene, etc.). However, if repairs or alterations of a house were required, the money has to be approved by the government's Housing Officer who was both external to the settlement and Euro-Canadian. Thus the power of this organization was effectively limited by the bureaucratic process.

The Recreation Association was another voluntary association funded by the Settlement Council. It provided the settlement with movies, dances, and sports events. Although Euro-Canadians did not directly control this organization their advice was solicited regarding movie selection on the premise that Euro-Canadian were familar with the choices.

By 1971, the number of organizations included in the local branch of the Government of the Northwest Territories increased, and the participation of the Inuit grew. In 1971, the Rankin Inlet local government was headed by a Euro-Canadian Settlement Manager; however, the Assistant Settlement Manager was Inuit.[33] Most of the

lower echelon positions (clerks, secretaries, etc.) on the administrative staff were filled by Inuit. However, only one of these clerks had the status of permanent employee. The other administrative heads (Indistrial Development Officer, Game Management Officer, and Arts Officer) were Euro-Canadians.

In 1971 many of the jobs previously offered by the government in settlement maintenance had shifted to the control of the Kissarvik Co-operative. Some of the jobs made available to the Inuit by the government were in the Cannery or the allied fishing operations, as janitors for the school and administration buildings, in some labour jobs, and as teaching assistants. One institution which was established by 1970 which has not yet been described in the John Ayaruaq Library which is a part of the N.W.T. Public Library Services and was staffed by Euro-Canadian volunteers.

The educational system in the Keewatin changed after the transfer of power from the D.N.A.N.R. to the Department of Education, Government of N.W.T. Increasingly emphasis has been placed on methods to draw the curriculum closer to the reality of the Northern situation. One of the changes has been to increase the amount of instruction in both oral and written Inutitut (Inuit language) in the classroom particularly in the earlier grades. Also certain skills have been taught and encouraged which differ radically from the previous program, such as kayak building and ski-doo mechanics. In addition to the changing focus of the school, the personnel increased and was generally more qualified although still highly transient.

The staff and services offered by the nursing station (still run by the Federal Government) has increased. In 1971, there were three nurses to provide for the increased population. In addition, visits by various medical doctors and by a dentist have become more frequent. The duties of the R.C.M.P., however, have not changed significantly from the situation in 1965. There have been plans to introduce Inuit constables, other than special constables, at some date but this had not happened by 1971. If any change can be ascribed to this organization, then it must be a lessening of power. This decrease of power is seen by the removal of duties from this organization to other organizations.

One significant change in power and participation can be found in the Settlement Council and the allied organizations of the Recreation Association and the Housing Association. In the move to the "hamletization" of settlements in the Northwest Territories, the Settlement Council has been given increased funding and responsibilty. However, this power has continued to be tenuous. The politicalization of the Inuit population has been fostered by both the government (for participant democracy) and by national organizations such as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. One example of the increased political awareness of the Rankin Inlet Inuit and of the Keewatin Inuit in general was the election of a Rankin Inlet Inuit to the Territorial Council, replacing a Rankin Inlet Euro-Canadian.

The various government departments and their subdivisions have gone through changes in membership, areas of influence and policy. Increasingly the Inuit have been incorporated into the various structures

on a more permanent basis and at higher levels of power and authority. Along with this increased activity, the community members have become aware of the sources of power and have demanded a greater say in their administration. Slowly the differentiation between the Euro-Canadians and Inuit on the basis of political and economic allocation has become less distinct.

One organization found in Rankin Inlet to which virtually all belong (at least nominally) has been the mission. The largest of these organizations throughout the history of Rankin Inlet has been the Roman Catholic Mission. The only other mission of nearly the same duration has been Anglican. The other missionary organizations (Continental Interior Mission and the Eskimo Christian Fellowship) has been of substantially smaller membership and of short duration. One aspect of the missions which must be remembered is that by the time of the creation of Rankin Inlet, these organizations had shifted their membership activities from proselytizing to the maintenance of their congregations.

Attendance at the mission services has been described in other settlements as an integral part of the community life. This was not as true for Rankin Inlet and is becoming less true. At Baker Lake (1960), the average attendance of an individual was between seven and ten hours per week, and a person with only three or four hours of attendance was considered a backslider (Vallee 1967:181). The Baker Lake Inuit regarded Rankin Inlet as a place of sin, as a place in the control of satanasi, the devil (ibid.:182). In Rankin Inlet by 1971 it was not unusual for individuals particularly men, to miss services for a few weeks.

The Eskimo Christian Fellowship has been one result of the more general feeling of changing attitudes towards the missionaries. (A somewhat similar phenomena was occuring in Coral Harbour in early 1974 with attempts being made to unify the Catholic and the Anglican missions). The Eskimo Christian Fellowship was created by an Inuit, ex-Anglican minister and can be described as evangelistic. (Before the creation of this organization, this minister was located in Rankin Inlet). The membership of this organization is found primarily in Baker Lake, but there may be some admirers in Rankin Inlet.

The Roman Catholic mission has been minimally staffed by an Oblate Father and has included other Oblate Fathers and Brothers besides frequent visits received by the Bishop of the Arctic. In addition to the Euro-Canadian staff, there have been several lay catechists. In 1970 and 1971, services were held four times a week: two weekday evenings and twice on Sunday. Besides the religious services, there has been religious instruction (cateshism), and various church related organizations. The Anglican mission had a resident minister, but in 1970 and 1971 services (twice on Sunday) were conducted by lay readers. It is interesting to note that one of the Anglican services was held in English whereas none of the Catholic services were. The other missionary organizations that tried to establish themselves in the community were unsuccessful. For example, as soon as the Anglican mission arrived, the membership of the Continental Interior Mission dropped radically and its missionaries were forced to follow their few adherents to Whale Cove.

In Rankin Inlet, unlike some of the other Keewatin settlements, the missionaries did not have a very extended sphere of influence. The missionaries did involve themselves in the affairs of their parishioners, but did not include forms of coercion.

The settlement of Rankin Inlet was created around and constructed by, the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company. In the early years (1953-1957), Rankin Inlet was truly a company town with all services and most political and economic functions arising from, and focused on, the company's activities. As mining operations became regularized, various organizations entered the settlement to take over services which were incidental to the mining companys' goal of maximum profit. The North Rankin Nickel Mines Company, represented by a Euro-Canadian staff, had control of economic and political allocation on the community level. Some of the behavioural modifications caused by this organization in Inuit life style, for the purpose of adaptation to the industrial situation, have been mentioned. The staff of this organization was so well respected, particularly one man, that when the mine closed several Inuit hoped to follow this man to his new job at Asbestos Hill in Quebec.

One of the organizations which took over an aspect of the mining company's operations was the Hudson's Bay Company. (The others were the Federal Government and the missions). By the time the H.B.C. (now called "the Bay") was established in Rankin Inlet, this organization's activities were shifting from its interest in the purchase of furs to its concern with retail sales. The Bay was open for five days a week from nine o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in

the evening except Friday when it stayed open until seven o'clock. Besides its retail operation and its occasional purchasing of furs and handicrafts, it also served as the post office and as a branch of the Royal Bank. The predominantly Inuit staff of the Bay has always been headed by a Euro-Canadian. In the more recent period, the Inuit staff has increased (to approximately four to seven workers) as the variety of goods and services has increased.

The Bay has served as the main daily centre for community social interaction. Before, during, and after shopping there has been conversation. In addition various community notices have been posted in the vestibule. Most shoppers seemed to buy approximately three days' worth of groceries, but it was not unusual to see the same individual at the store on a number of consecutive days. Children often frequented the store in order to buy candy and soda.

The Kissarvik Co-operative Ltd. was officially started in 1969, but it did not open for regular operation until 1971. This organization was troubled by trying to compete with the multi-million dollar operation of the Bay; however, it has great socio-economic potential. The Inuit of Rankin Inlet were aware of the success of the co-ops in other communities but were not fully aware their true worth or goals. Most people viewed the Co-op as just competition for the Bay. This, however, was not the Co-op's prime objective. The goals of co-operatives have become more directed as they become established.

In the summer of 1970, the Co-op had a very limited operation. It bought some furs and fish. It did not import items for sale but rather sold items which were given to it by the co-op at Whale Cove.

It also had the franchise for the airline. In the summer of 1971, a Euro-Canadian was brought in to manage the operations and to increase community interest. He increased the number of furs bought and started to purchase carvings and handicrafts. One innovation was a system of purchase whereby he paid a small amount for an item (about the same price as paid by the Arts and Crafts Centre) and promised the individual the money for which it was sold minus ten percent and minus what had been advanced. In addition, he acquired the franchises for the distribution of water and fuel oil, for the collection of garbage and 'honey buckets', and for ship unloading. The Co-op was also responsible for the distribution of items produced by the Cannery. In 1971, a few items (mostly novelties but also bread) were imported in an effort to undersell the Bay and thus increase enthusiasm. As a result of the increased activities of this organization, there was an increase in employment, both by the organization and in terms of the community.

The Co-op has been interested in becoming a focal point in the community. Ideally, in its eyes, it should be in control of many of the activities of the local government, the Settlement Council, and the Hudson's Bay store. A basic premise behind the operation has been that the Inuit have traditionally been co-operative as that for the Inuit to operate optimally in the new mode of life, they should operate in the context of the Co-op. The Kissarvik Co-op has been a predominantly Inuit-run organization. Membership has been open to everyone, but most Euro-Canadians have not taken an active role. The goals, rules, and strategy of the Co-op have been decided by the members

and an elected board of directors, all of whom have been Inuit. (The Euro-Canadian manager was responsible to the board). The Co-op can be seen as one direction in which the Inuit have asserted themselves and as an example of the heightened awareness of their economic and polilical potentials.

There were several small organizations in Rankin Inlet which were oriented to commercial activities. One which was securely established was the Transient Centre (now called Rankin Inlet Lodge) which was run by a Euro-Canadian family. Some Inuit women have been occasionally employed for cleaning, cooking and food serving. A number of organizations have been established by both Inuit and Euro-Canadians since the summer of 1971 (Davis Moto-Ski, a Bakery, etc.).

Rankin Inlet has received more researchers and students of Inuit culture and language than any other settlement in the Keewatin. The reason for this was the existence of two, inter-linked organizations: the Arctic Research and Training Centre (A.R.T.C.) and the Eskimo Language School. The A.R.T.C. was a field station of the Institute for Northern Studies of the University of Saskatchewan and primarily served for studies of the Inuit people and of the Arctic environment. Permanent staffing consisted of two Euro-Canadians: one as the head and one as secretary. During the summer, a course was taught covering the subject of the Inuit people and Applied Anthropology. During the winter, the facilities were utilized by the Eskimo Language School which was a part of the Department of Education of the Government of the N.W.T. From this school (until 1973) came suggestions for the development of Inutitut in the educational system but primary emphasis

was to develop methods for instructing Northern teachers in the language. During the winter an intensive, six week course took place. In the summer, instruction was held on the Saskatoon campus of the University of Saskatchewan. This organization was headed by a Euro-Canadian and made extensive use of Inuit residents in the preparation of texts and tapes and in the personal instruction of students. Although these two organizations had limited power in the settlement, the two Euro-Canadian heads, personally, were quite influential.

There has been a trend in the organizations found in Rankin Inlet for increased involvement and control by the Inuit population. This has arisen as a result of both recent government policy and the increased political awareness of the population. This has been particularly true in the various government and commercial organizations. The more indigenous organizations such as the family unit, the inter-family organizations, and the 'camp' have changed to more closely resemble organizations found in Canadian society.

NOTES

14. This is similar to the situation in Inuvik (Mailhot 1968:1).

15. There were probable other factors influencing this decision.

16. This was the beginning of the "old Eskimo settlement".

17. However, it was not until 1958 with Dailey and Dailey's (1961) study that demographic investigation took place.

18. The eleven from Baker Lake were all males, hired for summer labour, and at the time of the survey were unaccompanied by their families.

19. There are problems with Dailey and Dailey's implicit definition which describes only the nuclear elements of families.

20. Dailey and Dailey (1961:25) offer data on birth and mortality which are mostly neo-natal, but since comparable data for other years are not available, they are eliminated here.

21. There are various population figures presented in the literature for the period 1961-1970; see Foster 1972, N.W.T. 1971, MacBain 1969, Williamson 1971, Kupsch 1966, Brack and McIntosh 1963, and other Department of Indian and Northern Affairs sources. The figure presented here are from the R.C.M.P. disc list of December 31 of each year.

22. There are no exact figures available.

23. In the years 1958, 1961-1971, 56.7% to 64.5% of the population was less than twenty years old.

24. The male/female ratios range from 1:1 to 1.17:1.

25. The emphasis in most studies has focused exclusively on the Inuit in an example of what Honigmann (1972:8) calls "the endemic anthropological myopia".

26. The 'E' stands for Eastern Arctic which is east of the border of the Districts of Mackenzie and Keewatin. A 'W' stands for areas west of this border. The number following represents the specific subdivision of the area.

27. The definition of the family used in this thesis is the same as used in my article "Changing Japanese Family Structure" (Kravitz 1974: 38-39) where it receives an extended discussion.

28. Among the Inuit at Rankin Inlet and elsewhere, there are various criteria for establishing kinship or 'fictive' kinship relationships.

The term "ancillary kinship" is used by Guemple (1972b:90) to describe relationships which are not based on either comsanguinity or affinity but which involve the same kinds of activities, powers, etc. Some of these relationships are name-sake relationships, bethrothal, spouse-lending relationships, and adoption. These relationships are described in detail in the book edited by Guemple (1972a) Alliance in Eskimo Society. In particular the article included by Damas (1972b) is relevant for this area.

29. This assertion is further discussed in the chapter on political structure.

30. Inter-family organizations are basically the same as "camps" or local groupings (Damas 1963), but since they are also found in the settlement, this term is used.

31. A recent publication by Smith (1974) deals with the occupational preferences of Northern students.

32. The Ministry of Transport has duties in the settlement, but its services have been a part of the office of the local administrator.

33. This man was later moved into the position of Settlement Manager at Repulse Bay.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHANGE IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The change in Rankin Inlet has been divided in this thesis into four historic periods on the basis of major shifts in economic patterns. This chapter is a view of these major shifts in greater detail. Through this view, the uniqueness of the settlement's economic change will be apparent. Specifically the initial and final stages of change closely resembled those found in other Keewatin settlements but the transitional stages were unique. This uniqueness came directly from the creation of employment with the mining company.

The following is an outline of the basic economic changes in Rankin Inlet. Before 1953, the few families who resided in the Rankin Inlet area engaged in economic activities which were typical for the bulk of the Coastal Inuit (i.e. hunting, trapping, and fishing). In 1953, economic activities changed only slightly as casual labour in the construction of the settlement was offered. Because of the short duration of this activity, this temporary inclusion of wage employment into the economic structure could not be considered a major shift. In addition, in other locales in the Keewatin there were opportunities for casual employment so this situation was not unique. As the Euro-Canadians established a viable scheme for arctic mineral exploitation, with the Inuit labour force as an integral element, the economic situation went through a radical change. It was this part of the history of Rankin Inlet which was unique in comparison to other Keewatin settlements. In other settlements, the surrounding population was being gradually incorporated into a wage labour system whereas in Rankin Inlet, virtually the entire population was involved. In addition the systems differed in that in Rankin Inlet employment

was full-time and permanent whereas in the rest of the Keewatin settlements most of the employment was casual. Because of the nature of employment in Rankin Inlet, this population had the largest income for a Keewatin settlement. In fact its per capita income was more than a quarter to over two and a quarter times larger than the other Keewatin settlements (see Table III).

After the mine closed in 1962, there was an obvious change in the economic structure, namely the absence of a large number of wage labour opportunities. As a result a large portion of the population was unemployed and relied on income from social assistance (welfare). There were several adjustments in the community structure to this shift, exemplified by migration out of the area. Initially, even with government support, economic conditions were among the poorest in the Keewatin. As the population decreased, however, the situation improved. In reaction to the sudden change in the economic structure, the Federal Government instituted various programs to increase the community's economic base. As in the mine period, a large percentage of the population was involved in wage employment. However, this employment was less permanent and more casual. It seems that the Government's responses to the situation were out of proportion to their activities in the rest of the Keewatin. Thus, in an effort to bring the settlement's economic base back to the situation during the mine period, many more opportunities were afforded to this population than to other populations. As a consequence, the Rankin Inlet economic structure, based on wage employment in government or government subsidized occupations, resulted in one of the highest

incomes in the Keewatin. After this had been accomplished, these same programs were introduced to the other settlements. Therefore the economic structures and standards of living in the Keewatin settlements became more uniform. Rankin Inlet, in 1971, although still one of the highest income settlements, was no longer unique.

The change in the Rankin Inlet economic structure can be viewed in five sections. Four of these sections are devoted to a specific historic period. The fifth and final section is a comparison of Rankin Inlet to the other Keewatin settlements. There are two aspects of economic change which are stressed throughout this chapter. They are 1) shifts in the sources of subsistence and 2) change in roles in production and consumption. In order to support my arguments about economic change, various income statistics, from both personal calculations and the literature, are presented.[34]

The Pre-Mine Period

Most of the subsistence activities of the residents of the Rankin Inlet area before 1953 (the initial stage) were oriented to fishing and hunting. Along with these activities, particularly among the residents who maintained yearly occupations, there was some trapping. It is difficult to ascertain the different yeilds during the pre-mine period, but the periodic migrations of arctic char would have been the main food source.[35] The inlet does attract some marine mammals, but the larger varieties, for example beluga whales and walrus, are not usually found. Likewise, caribou occasionally enter the peninsulas surrounding Rankin Inlet, but more often remain further inland. Because most large mammals skirt the area, hunters were required to

travel great distances to reach these animals' primary ranges. This was the basic reason for the area's unpopularity for full-time residence.

The nature of economic allocation in this period was similar to that described for other coastal areas in the Keewatin and was basically a continuance of that found in the trapping era (see Vallee 1959, VanStone 1959, VanStone and Oswalt 1959). The main focus of production and consumption was the family unit (both extended and nuclear); however, there were some co-operative activities between family units particularly during animal migrations. In some cases, family units were organized into camps, particularly among those who entered the area to exploit the fish migrations. In other cases, family units were separated, often by about one or two miles. However, exact information about the movements and activities of the residents in this period has yet to be recorded.

After the arrival of the mining company, many of the Inuit adult males became involved in the construction of the mine site. By the end of November, 1953, fifteen Inuit men were working with the mine crew (Browning 1954:37).[36] The exact nature of the relationships between the Inuit labour force and the mine staff is unclear in the period from 1953 to 1957. In 1957, when the idea of using the Inuit as a part of the labour force was incorporated into company policy, the initial reaction by the mine was positive (and somewhat naive). Here are presented two of their comments:

> They are very interested in all phases of the operation. In the few operations for which they have been instructed the training period required has been very short due to their <u>natural</u> quickness to learn...Great care must be exercised to ensure

> that, while the Eskimos are being trained for more modern occupation, the natural instincts and way of life are not changed. Thus, it is always necessary to have more men available than are actually required on the job, the extra being available for hunting, trapping, etc. (The Mines Staff 1957:97; italics mine).

The Mine Period

As the Inuit became involved in mining activities, there were various changes in the economic structure which resulted from the dependency on the mine company. Other historic changes in the economic structure of the Keewatin Inuit, such as in trapping activities, resulted from the actions of Euro-Canadians; however, the actions of the mine company resulted in a type of change which was unique for the Keewatin. Although the origins of most settlements centred around the establishment of a commercial organization, the Hudson's Bay Company, this was the first instance of a settlement whose total population's orientation was to the industrial activities of a company. This section presents a view of the changes resultant from the introduction of Inuit to the mine and to a company town. Since most of the economic activities are focused on wage employment, the best place to start in a description of the situation is with income.

The first set of income data comes from Dailey and Dailey's (1961) study of the settlement. They present detailed mine wage information for the months of March, May, June, and July, 1958. In the analysis which follows, it must be remembered that the majority of the workers went from land-oriented subsistence patterns directly into wage labour patterns and that few of these workers had a previous conception of working according to a time schedule.

The importance of the mine to the economy of the settlement can be seen in the large portion of the total settlement income coming from this source. For example, in 1959 at the height of the mine's operation, 75% ($175,500) of the total income came from the mine company. Even in the last year of the mining operation (1962), 42% ($113,400) of the total income came from this source. The other known sources of income during this period included the D.N.A.N.R., social assistance, fur sales, the R.C.M.P., and the D.N.H.& W. (see Table II).

On the individual level, the division of Inuit workers into skilled and unskilled categories, and as either surface, mill or mine workers has been discussed. In 1958, Dailey and Dailey (1961:2) described eighty-two positions which were filled by Inuit personnel. However, the number of individuals who drew pay in a given month varied.[37] Besides the Inuit who drew hourly wages, three men (the Inuit labour foreman, the staffhouse attendant, and the watchman) were paid monthly salaries of $300, $175, and $250. Four women who were employed in the cookery were paid $4.00 per day (1961:83).

Most (about two thirds) of the workers were unskilled and were paid either $.75 or $1.00 per hour. The main net income for the unskilled workers were $134.79 (March), $119.69 (May), $108.28 (June), and $112.31 (July) (1961:83). Skilled workers, on the other hand, averaged $227.58, $246.36, $299.51, and $240.01 respectively.[38] The Inuit workers at the mine averaged approximately 178 hours of work per month with a range from 16 to 274 hours.

Thus far only the net income of individuals have been mentioned. Two of the deductions, or as the mine company called them "fringe benefits", were for the cost of noon meals in the cookery and rent on houses in the "new Eskimo settlement". Before March all employees paid for lunch. After March, those people earning less than $1.00 per hour were not charged. However, Dailey and Dailey (1961:80) remark that the cost of the meals defrayed by larger deductions from the other Inuit employees. Although the cost of meals was less for Inuit workers than for Euro-Canadian workers, the type of foods served were more elaborate in the Euro-Canadian dining room (1961:80).

The Inuit residents of the company houses were charged $30.00 per month. Since residences "sometimes changed without notice" and since more than one worker usually resided in a single house, it is difficult to understand exactly how rent payments were apportioned. Besides rent, the residents were charged for heating oil and the cost of the stoves. Finally there were deductions from the gross pay for taxes, accounts receivable (debts) and air freight charges (such as packages from mail order houses).

The focus in Dailey and Dailey's study in regards to income was almost exclusively on the Inuit employed in the mine. Other wage employment was with the D.N.A.N.R., but it is unclear exactly what kinds of jobs were involved. The R.C.M.P. did have a special constable which explains most of this source of income. Also, it is highly likely that The Bay employed some Inuit. During the mine period, most men received their income solely from mine work; however, there was at least one family which trapped in the Rankin Inlet area

(Dailey and Dailey 1961:154) and several men who supplemented their incomes from fur sales. In addition, some extra sources of income were created with the local sale (mostly to Euro-Canadian workers and their families) of carvings and handicrafts (sealskin pin cushions, hats and dolls). The only other source of income to the community was social assistance which, while the mine was operating, was a minor part of the total income.

One interesting statistic to note is that as the settlement became more established, the per capita income decreased (see Table II). This reduction reflects an increase of community members who were attracted by wealth of kinsmen and employment opportunities.

With the move into the economic patterns of Rankin Inlet, most of the production activities shifted from family units and inter-family organizations to the mine company. This resulted in modified roles and a decrease in the level of self-sufficiency. The close economic cooperation of husbands and wives, typical of previous periods, became less necessary. Womem no longer had to sew, prepare skins, etc, since substitutes could be purchased. Likewise, men no longer had to hunt. Comsumption continued to be predominantly in terms of the family, but increasingly more consumption was in terms of external units such as the cookery. Social and economic inter-action between families continued at a decreased level. During the mining period, most females directed their labours to the family unit. In fact because most of the employment opportunities were in 'male' jobs, females were made more economically dependent than they were previously.

The radical change in the economy of this population was truly "boom-and-bust". During the mine's operation, the Inuit workers changed some of their more basic organizations in order to more fully adapt and integrate into the industrial situation. As much of the Inuit's previous experience was irrelevant to participation in the mine, when the "bust" came, the value of the new wage labour experience became equally questionable.

The Post-Mine Period

When the North Rankin Nickel Mines closed in 1962, many of the services previously offered by this company were taken over by the D.N.A.N.R.; however, other opportunities for wage employment were not immediately created. As a result, economic activities were divided between some employment opportunities with the Federal Government on both short and long term bases, a limited return to land-based activities, and a sharp increase of income from social assistance. However, data pertaining to the cultural and structural adjustments to this new pattern of economic activities have not been reported in any detail.

In view of the lack of information on specific changes in the economic structure, a summary of the important statistics for the period is offered. The most outstanding feature of this period was the heavy reliance on social assistance coming from the absence of other wage employment opportunities. This reliance was highest in 1963 when it represented the source of 45% of the community's total income. The most surprising statistic from this period was the large income derived from fur sales in 1964 (see Table II); however, this

figure probably does not represent a major shift of the population's economic orientation to trapping, but rather a rise in fur prices, a large fox population, and only a possible increase of part-time trappers.

When the Federal Government accepted greater responsibility in Rankin Inlet, a number of Inuit were hired. Interestingly in 1962, the amount of income from this source was the lowest for the decade (14%); however, by 1965 this was the source of the majority of the community's income (51%) (see Table II). If the income from all government sources (D.N.A.N.R., social assistance, R.C.M.P., and D.N.H.& W.) are combined for these transitional years, it ranges from about 51% in 1962 to 94% in 1963.

When the mine closed there was a drastic reduction in per capita income. As the new government was established in 1962, as jobs were assigned to residents, and as more people left the community, the per capita income increased to beyond that found during the mine period. The average yearly income of a worker in 1964 was $1,776 (Kuo 1974:37).

As the population became re-involved in wage employment, the process of economic allocation resembled that found during the mine period. Perhaps the most significant change which occurred in this period was the opening of more opportunities for females. This can be seen, particularly, in the income coming from hadicrafts in a period when most of the male population was unemployed.

The Recent Period

Starting in 1965, the economic structure was changed by the addition of new types of employment. Some of these new sources of income came directly from the Department of Northern Affairs; and

some were in activities sponsored by D.N.A., the most notable of which was the Arts and Crafts Centre. With this government support, both the total community income and the per capita income increased. In the recent period (1965-1971) wage employment has again become the dominant mode of production. This situation was the same for all Keewatin settlements; however, it is interesting to note that several occupations outside of the government's direct supervision have been created and account for a sizeable percentage of the community's income (see Table II).

As the various employment opportunities were created, the reliance on social assistance quickly returned to the low level found in the mine period. However, it is interesting to note that initially the per capita income decreased. It has since regularly increased and is now one of the highest in the Keewatin (see Tables II and V).

As the operations of the Cannery and the Co-op became stable, the amount of community income from these sources will increase. In 1971, with the transference of certain services to the Co-op, a significant portion of the income shifted from the local administration to the Co-op. In addition the Co-op has encouraged trapping which will augment the community's total income.

In the recent period, wage employment economic patterns have become well established, and as a result, production is almost entirely in the context of units other than the family. There is, however, one mode of production which allows for fairly intense interaction of workers and their families. That is in carving and handicrafts for the Arts and Crafts Centre. Another result of the new types of

employment available in Rankin Inlet has been the inclusion of women and young men in occupations of high status and income. Some examples are secretaries, local administration staff, Co-op personnel, teacher assistants, and Crafts management personnel. The change in the recent period in Rankin Inlet is not unique; however, the speed with which the transition to these new jobs occurred as a result of previous experience and the support of the Federal Government, was slightly greater than that found in the other Keewatin settlements.

In order to show the situation in the recent period more clearly the following statistics are offered. In 1969, an extremely detailed survey of the Keewatin settlements, called the Keewatin Manpower Survey, was conducted and primarily investigated the situation from July 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968. In summary, most (68.9%) of the Rankin Inlet income in this year period came from wages. The next most important (18.4%) source was self-employment[39] --primarily carving and handicrafts. Income from all unearned sources (family allowance, pensions, and other government sources) represented less than 9% of the total income. The per capita income for this time period was $751.

One of the analysis done by the Keewatin Manpower Survey was to divide total community income into family[40] incomes. Most of the families (21.4%) had incomes between $2,000 and $2,999 whereas the mean and median incomes were $3,896 and $3,136 respectively (see Table VII). Of the 86 families covered by the survey, 80 had income from wages; 75 had income from self-employment, 73 received some unearned income; and 21 families were involved in land-based activities (see Table VIII).

Although most of the community's income came from wages and salaries, it should not be construed that this employment was regular as there were marked seasonal fluctuations. In the year period viewed by the Survey, monthly employment ranged from 93 individuals in October to 75 in February out of a labour fource[41] of 90 men and 14 women. The largest age group (33.4%) of the labour force was between 25 and 34 years old. Although from 71.4% to 88.6% of the labour force was employed in a given month, 18.9% were without work for 10 to 25 weeks and another 18.9% for 25 to 52 weeks. Thus, for extended periods of time, 37.8% of the labour force were unemployed. Within the labour force, the incomes of males differed from females (see Table IX). A listing of the types of occupations found in the period from 1961 to 1969 is shown in Table X.

Comparison

A comparison of the economic changes in the Keewatin settlements with eachother confirms that the type of change in Rankin Inlet in unique but that the result of this change is a very similar one to that of the other settlements. By way of comparison, data on the Keewatin settlements are offered from two year periods: 1961-1962[42] and 1967-1968. The first set comes from Brack's (1962) and Brack and McIntosh's (1963) surveys; the second set is from the Keewatin Manpower Survey. These two dates correspond to the end of the mine period, and the recent period of Rankin Inlet.

In 1962 most of the Keewatin Inuit were residing in settlements. Only the settlements of Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour had a larger population in the surrounding area than in the actual settlement.

The move into the settlement proper occurred very quickly when government policy was changed to encourage the concentration of the population. Only three of the settlements had housing facilities for the majority of their residents: Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, and Whale Cove. Somewhat like the situation in Rankin Inlet, wage employment opportunities had not been created for the bulk of the populations.

In 1962 the Inuit income of Rankin Inlet was the largest in the Keewatin (see Table III). Likewise, the per capita income was the highest. This was largely due to wages from employment in the mine in the first half of the year. However, as has been noted, when employment in the mine was reduced and finally terminated, the population became heavily dependent on unearned income, mainly social assistance. The amount of unearned income was larger for Rankin Inlet than for any other settlement; however, there was one other settlement in which this cource of income represented a larger portion of total settlement income, namely Baker Lake (see Table III). The lowest reliance on unearned income was found in Coral Harbour (and this would probably be true of Repulse Bay also) where only 7% of the total income was derived from social assistance.

Most (59%) of the income in Rankin Inlet came from wage employment. Wages were also a substantial source of income in other settlements. In Chesterfield Inlet, income from wages even surpassed that found in Rankin Inlet in that they represented 70% of the total income. The two settlements which had the lowest incomes from wages were Coral Harbour (18%) and Repulse Bay.[43]

The Inuit in the Coral Harbour area made most (74%) of their income from trapping and as a body made slightly less income from this activity than the combined trapping incomes of the other settlements. The closest competitor to the amount earned in Coral Harbour was Rankin Inlet; however, this amount represented only a small part (8%) of their total income. The other settlements which were dependent on income from trapping and allied activities were Repulse Bay and Whale Cove (35%). The only other source of income to these settlements was from self-employment. Unfortunately there is no data for three of the settlements (Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, and Eskimo Point), but undoubtedly there was some income from this activity. In three of the settlements (Baker Lake, Whale Cove and Coral Harbour), this was the source of only a small percentage of the total income (3% to 1%). Repulse Bay, on the other hand, gained a substantial income from carvings which represented over 50% of the total known income.

In a general comparison to the other settlements in 1962, the income of the Inuit population at Rankin Inlet was higher than average for income from wages and unearned sources and lower from trapping; however, it was not the extreme of the range in any case. On a per capita basis, Rankin Inlet was highest for income from wage, unearned income, and total income (see Table IV). Coral Harbour is an interesting contrast. The per capita income was the second highest which is explained by the high per capita income from trapping. However, Coral Harbour was at the other extreme in regards to wages and unearned income. The remaining extreme of lowest income was found in the newly established settlement of Whale Cove.

In order to show the changes in economy in the Keewatin, the second set of statistics is offered before the implications of economic change and their relationship to Rankin Inlet is shown. In the other Keewatin settlements, there was a growth in both the amounts of income and the percent of total income deriving from wage employment. In all settlements except Repulse Bay, wages accounted for the bulk of the settlement's income. This ranged (excluding Repulse Bay at 23.7%) from 59.1% at Eskimo Point to 76.8% at Chesterfield Inlet (see Table V). The average was 65.6%. With the exception of Repulse Bay,[44] income from trapping and other land-based activities accounted for only 10.9% (in Coral Harbour) to .4% (in Chesterfield Inlet) with an average of 5.9% for the Keewatin in general. Income from self-employment in the other settlements represented from 16.0% (in Repulse Bay) to 3.6% (in Coral Harbour) with an average of 10.2%. In every case but Repulse Bay and Coral Harbour, income from self-employment represented a more significant portion of the total settlement income than did trapping. In all the other settlements, there was a greater reliance on unearned income than was found in Rankin Inlet. The percent of total settlement income ranged from 27.3% (in Eskimo Point) to 10.8% (in Coral Harbour).

The employment in the mine gave Rankin Inlet a completely unique appearance; however, it was only an indication of the general change which would affect the entire Keewatin. The populations of all Keewatin settlements have become more reliant on wage employment. The most striking example is Coral Harbour which went from income wages representing 18% of the total income in 1962 to 73.7% in 1968.

As a feature of this change in economic patterns, income from land-based activities has decreased.

One problem involved in viewing income in terms of percentages is that is does not reflect the increase in the amount of income in a particular category. One good example is Chesterfield Inlet. From personal calculations, I found that the percent of income from wages had risen by almost 10% (from 70% of the total income in 1962 to 76.8% in 1968); however, the amount of income from wages had risen almost 400% ($22,800 to $109,557). There has been a general rise in total income ranging from 337% in Chesterfield Inlet to 18% in Rankin Inlet. The increase of per capita income is another index of this change. In all cases the per capita income has increased, in some, quite substantially such as Baker Lake from $330 in 1962 to $712 in 1968 and Whale Cove from $276 in 1962 to $699 in 1968 (see Tables III and V). The increase in per capita income ranges from 154% in Whale Cove to 17% in Coral Harbour. Rankin Inlet had an approximate rise of 20%.

From these figures it is proposed that the changes in the economic structures of Keewatin settlements are analogous to the situation in Rankin Inlet, namely a modification of roles in production and consumption by an increased involvement in the wage employment system developed by the Federal Government. In Rankin Inlet as in the other settlements, the change in the control of production and consumption has also affected political allocation.

NOTES

34. Economic data on the Euro-Canadian population have not been found so this chapter will be somewhat unbalanced.

35. Brack and McIntosh (1963:106) offer some estimates of the fish population.

36. In contradiction to the information provided by Browning (1954), Dailey and Dailey (1961:4) state that local labour was not used until 1956.

37. In March, it was seventy-two; in May, sixty-seven; in June, eighty-five; and in July, seventy-eight.

38. The nearly double average of the skilled workers comes from higher wages, work bonuses, and over-time opportunities.

39. In this survey and in this thesis, self-employment does not include trapping.

40. The definition of family used in the survey is not explicit, but it seems to refer to the 'group' of people listed as living together in the same dwelling and excluded boarders and lodgers (see The Economic Staff Group 1972:9).

41. The labour force is defined as "composed of all those (14 years and over) who were engaged at least (not less than) 46 weeks in one or any combination of: wage employment, hunting, self-employment (handicrafts and carving) or looking for work (classified as 'without work here')"(McBain 1969: Table 13).

42. The information on Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay is from 1960-1961.

43. The exact figures are not known, but there was less employment and thus probably even less income than in Coral Harbour.

44. The largest source of income (36.3%) in Repulse Bay was from trapping and other land exploitative activities.

CHAPTER FIVE: CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The changes in the political structure of Rankin Inlet have paralleled the changes in the economic structure. The basic change is from a fairly self-sufficient system centred around family units and "camps", to a growing dependency on the mine company, to a shift of power to the Federal Government, and finally to a settlement political structure headed by the Territorial Government. In this most recent change, some Inuit have been incorporated at fairly high administrative levels and various predominantly Inuit controlled organizations have been created. Thus, as was found in the change in the economic structure, change in the political structure has been cyclical.

In this chapter, this specific type of change will be viewed in three sections: 1) the Inuit population, 2) the Euro-Canadian population, and 3) the total settlement population.

In the first chapter of this thesis, the term political allocation was defined. In accord with the basic notions conveyed in that definition, the interests here are with

> the processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by members of the group concerned with those goals (Swartz et al. 1966:7).

Basically the political structure is described in terms of power[45] and responsibility. Power involves "control of behavior through superior forces and/or command of human and other resources" (1966:15). There are several terms which are subsumed in the concept of power which include authority, persuasion (and influence), and coercion (and force).[46] To define these three aspects (or loci) of power as separate phenomenon would be a basic fallacy. Coercion, for example,

can not be an effective technique for the implementation of decisions without a prior basis for inter-personal relationships on something other then force (Swartz et al. 1966:9-10), However, each of these concepts has application to specific situations in Rankin Inlet.

The Inuit Population

There are only a few organizations in Rankin Inlet which consist exclusively or nearly exclusively of Inuit members; they are the family unit, the various inter-family organizations, and the government sponsored organizations of the Settlement Council, the Housing Association. and the Recreation Association. The community might be considered worthy of analysis except that in Rankin Inlet it is more abstract than concrete.

The organizations found in Rankin Inlet which are predominantly Inuit can be diveded into two types on the basis of their historical development. The first type are organizations which are antecedent to the arrival of the mine company, e.g. the family unit. The second type are those which were created at the suggestion of the local administration, e.g. the Settlement Council. Because of the different origins of these organizations, the changes are different. The basic change in the first type has been a growing dependency on external units. The second type started as being highly dependent on Euro-Canadian-run organizations and has increasingly become more independent. It is interesting to note that although the first type of organization has not increased its political self-sufficiency, some of its dependence on Euro-Canadian-run organizations has shifted its loci to Inuit-run organizations. From this trend, it can be predicted that there will be increasing dependence and probably inter-dependence of the two types of organizations.

The most basic unit in the political structure of the Inuit population is the family. In the pre-mine period, the public goals were primarily the family goals for a maximum utilization of the scarce resources of the area. From the information available for this period, it appears that the control of behaviour was held by the eldest members, particularly the men. However, females in old age occasionally acquired equal or greater influence and authority over the activities of the unit. Part of the basis for the influence of older people comes from a respect for seniority. As Williamson (n.d. :8) says, "It is important to point out, in the light of our acculturation observations, that in Eskimo traditional thinking, authority and seciority in years were virtually synonymous". The individuals in authority were held responsible by the other members of the family, by members of the allied families, and to a small extent, by representatives of Euro-Canadian organizations at Chesterfield Inlet (i.e. the missionaries, the R.C.M.P., and the Hudson's Bay Company). The responsibility of individuals, like their power, increased with age until old age when responsibility decreased. Basically, at this time, the application of power was by threat of removal from the unit (coercion) and ridicule (persuasion).

With the introduction of wage employment with the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company and later with the various government agencies, much of the "command of human and other resources" became held by individuals and organizations which were not directly responsible to the Inuit population. As the economy shifted from trapping and casual employment to fairly regular wage employment, there were growing

opportunities for individuals to be independent from family units. These opportunities for independence subverted one of the main sources of power--the threat of removal from the unit. Another result of the change in the economic structure on the political structure has been the demonstration that traditional experiences are not wholly suited for decision making in the present situation. As public goals have changed to more closely resemble Euro-Canadian values, some of the Rankin Inlet residents, particularly of the younger generation, have not continued to perceive elders with high regard. This situation has been further complicated by the admission of the younger, Euro-Canadian-trained Inuit into positions of power within the settlement administration. Thus, particularly in the recent period, with the increased dependency on external units for wage employment and other services and the resultant subversion of roles in the family, and with the increasing nuclearization of the family structure, power in most families is held by individuals who are either husband (father) or wife (mother).

Another important change in family political structure has been the increasing involvement of external, non-kin-linked and predominantly non-Inuit controlled organizations such as the R.C.M.P. This can be seen in the support[47] of individuals in authority gained from the use or threat of external organizations' internevtion in conflict situations. In Rankin Inlet in 1970-71 when "trouble" (assault, disorderly conduct, etc.) occurred, it was a more popular alternative to bring in the R.C.M.P. officer than to bring in kinsmen.

The major change in political allocation in the various inter-family organizations has been a drastic reduction in the control of behaviour and resources; non-kin-linked, non-Inuit organizations have replaced several of the functions previously found in these units. For example, in the pre-mine period there were economic activities which were facilitated by the co-operation of several family units, such as in sealing. Through these co-operative activities, certain individuals were able to gain control over human and other resources and to implement group goals. As individuals, and not families nor these camp groups, were hired by the mine company, the power base was reduced. Throughout the history of Rankin Inlet, these units have had less import than the same type of structures found in other Keewatin settlements. This was a result of the nature of the recruitment of the settlement's membership (migration) and the earlier dysfunctional aspect of such units in an industrial situation. However, the pre-mine population was comprised of probable two or three such units.

Before the arrival of the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company, the several (apporximately ten) families in the area were usually allied with each other into camps. These camps were the focus of most production (hunting, fishing and trapping). In the pre-mine period (1953-1956), as employment with the mine company became more regular, families continued to live in arrangements which resembled the camps. The membership of these camps was flexible and kin-linked. Leadership of the camp was embodied in the role of the <u>isumataq</u> (the one with thought) who was usually the eldest male. The control of the organization held by the <u>isumataq</u> was based on a combination

of authority and persuasion (or perhaps influence) but generally did not include force (cf. Damas 1972a:233-234; Vallee 1967:202; Freeman 1971:47-48).

When the mine went into full operation, the types of changes which affected family structure also affected inter-family organizations. As wage employment offered individuals a greater independence from the family unit so did it allow family units almost complete independence from inter-family organizations. Although this organization suffered from a weakening of solidarity, some activities (weekend hunting, food sharing, etc.) still took place, and there remained individuals who could induce members by their influence to adopt certain behaviours; however this type of power was tenous.

In the recent period, the inter-family organizations have had some increased activities. In 1966 with the establishment of the Cannery, some of the previous camp organizations re-formed to participate in the summer fishing operations. In addition, some families have allied themselves in order to represent their special interests particularly in total settlement affairs. Although inter-family organizations have had increased influence and authority, Euro-Canadian controlled organizations (i.e. the R.C.M.P.) have greater power in terms of ultimate social control. Generally the inter-family organizations of the recent period have become apparent only in special circumstances such as the fishing operations or as a special interest group. However, it is the presence of these operations on which the solidarity of the community's membership is based.

One predominantly Inuit organization which has tried to unify the various families and inter-family organizations into a community is the Settlement Council. Along with the Housing Association and the Recreation Association, this organization has not been fully successful. Some of the problems which has been encountered were as a result of its tenous status vis-a-vis the local administration. Individuals seemed reticent to give the Council more authority because of the already existing organizations which deal with Inuit or total settlement concerns (i.e. the family unit, the inter-family organizations, the government agencies, and the missions). Additionally, because of the special interests of the various allied families, a justified fear was that control of this organization would be taken out of community direction to that of a special interest group. One example which supports this position involved the election of a Housing Association President in 1971. In this case a large minority of the Inuit residents opposed the victorious candidate on the grounds that he would impose his values about household cleanliness on that part of the population. In addition, this opposing minority felt that the new president would be subordinate to government officials in appeals for household improvements. To the extent that the president was harsh to residents (particularly non-kinsmen) and "kow-towing" to the government, the fears of this minority were justified. By extension, the same sort of fear accompanies attempts at support by the Settlement Council.

The power held by the members of the Settlement Council was mainly based on the resources allocated to it by the local government, and was contingent on the local government's response. Vallee, in his description of the Baker Lake Eskimo Council of 1958, says

> At these meetings the N.S.O. /Northern Service Officer/ is obviously in control, although he may not want to be, expressing the desire to see the Eskimos handle affairs themselves. But cues are taken from him. (1967:145).

In Rankin Inlet by 1971 the local administration's involvement in this organization was much more subtle than direct contact seen in Baker Lake. This control comes from the interaction of individuals on other levels. Most of the members of the council were dependent for their incomes on jobs provided and controlled by the local administration, and thus the local administration was able to persuade and coerce members into certain types of actions which would not be against the workings of the government. In addition, the funding for the council was controlled by the local administration, and another form of threat could originate in this regard. For the most part, the activities of the council were controlled by the members and by extension the settlement. Most of the topics of discussion originated within the council and were decided without interference. Although it was possible for the council to desregard the "advice" of the local government, the instances of this were rare. Thus ultimate control of this nearly exclusively Inuit organization was held by the influence and persuasion of the local government.

The future of the Rankin Inlet Settlement Council is dependent on a number of factors, the foremost of which is a broader base of support by the population. In order to achieve this, the relationship between this body and the local administration must be made at least equitable. Ever since the Settlement Council was created, the local administration has been interested in educating the Inuit for self-government. However,

until the tenous basis of power has been changed, I do not see the introduction of a local self-governing "hamlet" council as has been started in Coral Harbour.

The Euro-Canadian Population

The Euro-Canadian population of Rankin Inlet had no formal organizations to bind these individuals as a community. Relationships which do occur are based primarily on personalities and employment and can be described as varying degrees (negative, neutral and positive) of friendship. Very few writers have addressed the topic of this type of population, in itself, as found in Arctic settlements. This lack of knowledge is equally true for Rankin Inlet. This section will be extrapolation from the few descriptions of other similar Arctic communities (Smith 1972, Vallee 1967, Parsons 1970) combined with personal experience.

The types of political activities within this population through time can be diveded into two--during and after the mine period. The Euro-Canadian population during the mining period was atypical in terms of demography, economy, and political structure when compared to the situation which followed and the situation in other small Arctic settlements. The unique feature of this population in the recent period was the large group of researchers who came for a few weeks and were peripheral[48] in terms of the more permanent Euro-Canadian population.

All across the North in the recent period (1953-1971) Euro-Canadians have migrated into settlements and towns and have striven to create a setting which resembles their Southern experiences (with massive

government support). In Rankin Inlet it was the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company which established the environment for Euro-Canadian activities. As virtually all of this population's economic activities focused on the mine, power was held by the mining company's staff. Besides the obvious control over employment, it has been noted how the staff were able to regulate interaction between Euro-Canadians and Inuit by persuasion (and perhaps coercion). The staff was held responsible only by the larger, Southern based organizations of the ownership. Euro-Canadians during the mine period seem to have been divided into two groups on the status of status. The first was the mine staff and their families with the resident non-mine personnel (N.S.O., missionaries, H.B.C. trader, and other government workers). The other group consisted of single, highly transient mine workers.

Political structure in the Euro-Canadian population of Rankin Inlet has changed; however, it is quite unlike the change experienced in other settlements where power and authority had been contained in a few roles (H.B.C. trader, missionary, R.C.M.P. officer) and changed as a result of the increase of departments and services. In these situations authority was taken from individuals who had acted in patron type roles (Paine 1971) and was given to agencies. In Rankin Inlet power was contained primarily in the roles of the mining company and has since been taken over by agencies. Typically the Euro-Canadian population in other settlements has increased whereas in Rankin Inlet it has decreased. (With the move of the Territorial Government headquarters of the District of Keewatin to Rankin Inlet in 1974-75, the population has radically increased).

One difficulty in discussing the political structure of this community is the confusion resultant from ambiguous role definitions (as established by the government) and the over-laping spheres of influence and responsibility of the members of the various organizations. This is what Smith (1972) refers to as the primary elements leading to "conflict". Relationships within the Euro-Canadian population can be described on two interlinked levels: in terms of job responsibilities and in terms of inter-personal interactions. On the level of personal relationships, power and responsibility are fairly egalitarian and are being based on personalities and respect. Except for the fact that individuals also relate on the other level, this analysis holds. On the level of relationships in terms of job status, the political structure is definitely hierarchical. Conflict can occur between equal status positions such as the head of education (principal) and the head of industrial development. The type of interaction on one level definitely affects relationships on the other. Because of external pressures (from both the Inuit community and the regional heads in Churchill) and the need to "get along with each other" (Smith 1972:1), relationships never become wholly negative, at least ideally. Although power and responsibility is fairly well established within each government department in terms of authority, informal devices of friendship are used as political mechanism to gain certain ends and to create an amount of influence.

The Settlement

The political structure of the total settlement population has changed as the two communities increase both administrative and inter-

personal interaction. Both the increased involvement of Inuit members and the decreased power of the Euro-Canadian population are indices of this change. However, ultimate control remains with the regional administration. The analysis which follows will combine two levels of description: 1) the organizations involved in the total settlement political structure, and 2) the nature of relationships between the two communities.

When the Inuit at Rankin Inlet became regularly involved in the production activities at the mine, power on the settlement level was held by the mining company's staff. As new organizations were established, aspects of the settlements political ctructure shifted. This can be seen by the control of social assistance held by the N.S.O. The mining company, however, had the most consensual power and continued to hold authority until its discontinuance. The support held by the mine staff came from their control of employment and settlement services (housing, medical facilities, etc.). During the same time, some patron-client relationships were established between some Inuit and some of the mining staff.[50] There was one man who had established himself successfully enough as a patron that certain segments of the Inuit community wished to follow him to his new job after the mining company's closing. There appears to have been patron-client relationships established with the N.S.O. at this time.

During the mining period, the political structure of Rankin Inlet is fairly easy to define due to the control held by the single organization of the mine company. Rankin Inlet was a "company town" and most activities on the settlement level focused on the production

activities and the services offered by this company. The relationships between the communities comprising the settlement were marked by segregation. This situation was established and enforced by the mine staff. The statements "White personnel are forbidden to enter the Eskimo settlement without permission of the superintendant" and "Only mission personnel are permitted to visit Eskimo in their homes, and they the missions" shows the control held by the mine staff (Dailey and Dailey 1961:95). At the same time as this segregation occured, there were patron-client relationships.

As the settlement has changed, the political structure has gone from the structure of the mining company which is fairly easy to describe to the more complex structure created by the new organizations of the Federal, Territorial, and Local Governments. In addition, other organizations (such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Co-op, the missions, etc.) have power (mostly persuasive) on the settlement level. Part of the complexity of the political structure comes from over-lapping or ambiguous sources of authority and influence.

In general, the Rankin Inlet political hierarchy was headed by the local administrator (formerly the Northern Service Officer of the D.N.A., now the Settlement Manager of the Department of Local Government of the N.W.T.). Under this man and the organization which he represents, most of the other organizations were either directly or by consent controlled and co-ordinated. Increasingly power (influence and authority) held by non-government organizations was being undermined by the services performed by Government agencies. One example

of this was the creation of the Kissarvik Co-op with funds provided by the Territorial Government. This has decreased some of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company such as the commerce in furs. However, all of the organizations which operate at the settlement level had greater responsibility for their actions to the larger organizations of which they were a part than to the local population.

The combination of the growth of Inuit members in settlement political structures, the voluntary transference of power to organizations in the Inuit community, and the general increase of political awareness of the Inuit population, has resulted in a marked change in Rankin Inlet political structure. Up until the recent period, the Inuit community political structure had been dominated in terms of the settlement political structure by Euro-Canadians. This was shown by the segregation of "a form of caste system" (Dailey and Dailey 1961:95) of the earlier periods. In the recent period, interaction between the two communities has increased. There are Inuit residences in the previously exclusive Euro-Canadian community. Likewise there are a few permanent Euro-Canadians who reside with Inuit families. The settlement population has been moving to some kind of integration but not the one-sided assimilation type as striven for previously. The political structure of the settlement has been typified by change on both the level of organizations and the level of inter-personal interaction.

NOTES

45. Power, throughout this thesis, refers to "concensual power" as used by Swartz et al. 1966.

46. Authority, as used in this thesis, refers to rights to acquire and use power which are regularly assigned to particular statuses (Swartz et al. 1966:109). "Persuasion can operate through inducements,... through threats, and through pointing out that noncompliance is a violation of commitments..." (1966:21). When the appeal is made without inducements, threats, or the 'activation of commitments', it is called influence (1966:21). Coercion "involves the use, or threat, of force" (1966:6).

47. "Support...is defined here as anything that contributes to the formulation and/or implementation of political ends..." (1966:10).

48. Their activities are primarily focused on either themselves or the Inuit population.

49. Vallee (1967:143,148) mentions patron-client relationships in Baker Lake.

CHAPTER SIX: INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

In this thesis the level of analysis is the community; however individual participation in change has emerged as well. In a settlement the size of Rankin Inlet, an individual's behaviour can noticably affect the whole social and cultural mosaic (cf. Freeman 1971); therefore it is important to examine it more closely. The major concern of this chapter is the nature of individual adaptation as it has appeared in Rankin Inlet.

Individual adaptation can be viewed in a number of ways such as statistically, psychologically, etc. The approach used here will show the mosaic quality of the population by examining selected variables. Included within this chapter is a further look at Vallee's (1967) concepts of "Nunamiut" and "Kabloonamiut". Regarding the view of individual adaptation and individual behaviour in general, used in this thesis, the following statement summarizes by position:

> Individuals are not so much made or shaped by culture as they allow themselves to be shaped by responding to the expectations of the group in which they live, though often they respond automatically. (John J. Honigmann, personal communication, November 11, 1971).

Throughout this thesis it has been demonstrated that there have been various bases and criteria by which individuals differentiate themselves, the most obvious of which has been age and sex. Not as obvious but more important for understanding the effects of individuals on change, have been the factors of dialect, religion, and kinship affiliations. It is my contention that the various kinds of responses to change are explainable by viewing these responses as the adoption of 'group' norms. Viewed in this way, such factors as occupation, education, and "desires" are less the result of an individual's personal

decision than they are the result of the range of choices acceptable to his group.

The creation of a settlement at Rankin Inlet based around an industrial setting resulted in a drastic change in the adaptive schemes of the Inuit. Previously it has been stated that Inuit individuals adapted fairly successfully. There were a number of adaptive schemes in evidence at the very beginning of the settlement which was due to the varied nature of the histories and previous adaptations of the members of the various dialect and kinship groups which were attracted to Rankin Inlet. Thus one found a range of adaptive schemes which had various loci centred around the various kin groups. Within these kin groups, individuals continued to adapt differentially as a result of personalities, abilities, and experiences. These kin groups related to each other in such a way that an inter-locking mosaic effect was seen. Thus one saw a highly acculturated inter-family organization which continued certain types of relationships with other kin (although more distant) of less acculturation. Certain goods and services were exchanged which acted to satisfy certain wants and needs and help to maintain some measure of community solidarity.

Entry into wage employment seems to have been generally desires by the Keewatin Inuit.

> It will be noted that the inhabitants of Southampton Island, even since 1951, have increasingly tended to group themselves in the vicinity of the trading post at Coral Harbour and the airfield. The desire to be close to the source of possible wage employment had been the reason for this tendency. (VanStone 1959:9).

Vallee received this statement from a Baker Lake Inuit:

> "What do you expect? You get a man coming in from the land after breaking his back for months just to get something to eat. He might be practically in rage, and what does he see when he gets here? He sees Nick and some of these characters zooming around in their 18-horsepower kickers (motor boats) like they were Cadillacs. They're all dolled up and full of good grub, and where do they get the money? From emptying honey buckets for the whites and mostly sitting on their butts- no sweat for them. Can you blame them for thinking twice about going vack to the land?" (Vallee 1967:45).

The statement concerning the Eskimo Point Inuit is also interestins to note in this context: "It has been said that the best hunters and trappers were the ones to migrate to Rankin Inlet" (VanStone and Oswalt 1959:7).

Perhaps the largest problem from the mine's point of view, experienced by Inuit individuals, was the adjustment to a time schedule and the regularity of work. This was exemplified by lateness and absenteeism (due to hunting). These two problems were anticipated by the mine staff. Vallee presents some information regarding how some Baker Lake Inuit after returning from Rankin Inlet viewed the life in that settlement.

> On the favourable side, the informants mentioned the gay social life at Rankin Inlet - dances, movies, and parties, and the possession of a predictable income to spend at will...On the unfavourable side, none of these men liked the work in the mine, nor did any of them take easily to the idea of having to work fixed hours and every week day. Three of the men spontaneously complained about the 'bossiness' of their supervisors.(1967:56).

The adjustment to life in the settlement was not simply an altering of work habits. At Rankin Inlet, the Inuit were offered access to new

types of food (i.e. fresh fruit and vegetables, canned lobster, etc.) and luxury items (i.e. cosmetics and jewelry) of much wider variety than was found in settlements where the modal economic activity was still focused on trapping. With these new types of goods, experimentation by Inuit individuals took place. One reported case was of an Inuit woman who dyed her hair blond (Kilvert 1965:17). For the most part, buying practices resembled those of earlier periods with the bulk of the income spent on flour, biscuits, canned meat, and clothes. Income from wage employment was generally spent quickly.

Information on individual adaptation from the mine period showed three basic modes. The individuals found in each modal group were linked by dialect, religion, kinship, and residence. The individuals living in the "new Eskimo settlement" generally were the most enthusiastic and successful of the Rankin Inlet residents in regards to adaptation to wage employment and settlement living. Most of these people were from the Chesterfield Inlet area, and were considered by the mining company to be among the most successful workers. Their adaptation was facilitated by their knowledge of English, by their longer acquaintship with Euro-Canadians, and by the general desire to participate in wage earning schemes in order to acquire Euro-Canadian goods. In an examination of the earnings of the residents of the "new Eskimo settlement" compared to the other Inuit workers, it appears that these Inuit made the highest per hour wages, had the most prestigious jobs, (i.e. muckers, equipment operators, and, later, diamond drillers), had the most over-time, and received most of the bonuses. It is interesting to note that of the mine population, the residents of the "new Eskimo

settlement" had the highest percentage of people who remained in the settlement after the mine closed. In fact by 1971 virtually all of these residents were in the settlement with the exception of the residents of the one household which consisted of people from Eskimo Point.

The second mode was the Coastal Inuit from both Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay who lived in the "old Eskimo settlement". Here also were some of the 'better' mine workers; however, many of these individuals preferred to continue some land-based activities. (People in the 'new Eskimo settlement" also continued with land-based activities but not to the same extent). The people of this adaptive scheme seem to have preferred more independence from the settlement and thus were unwilling to invest the same degree of interest as some residents of the "new Eskimo settlement". Many of these individuals had kinship connections with the residents of the "new Eskimo settlement" which may explain how some of them had higher income jobs. However, most of these individuals were in the lower income positions. The problem of absenteesim appears to have been more prominent in this population than in the "new Eskimo settlement". This was primarily due to hunting trips. After the mine closed, some of these people remained in the settlement particularly those who had close kinsmen in the "new Eskimo settlement". The other people went back to Chesterfield Inlet and Repulse Bay.

The third adoptive scheme was that exhibited by the inland oriented Inuit from Eskimo Point and Baker Lake who resided in the "old Eskimo settlement". These people were considered by the mine staff as the least successful workers and the least interested in wage employment.

Generally these Inuit did not feel that they would stay in the settlement after the mine closed. When the mine did close, most of these people migrated back to their original areas or to the new settlement of Whale Cove. Because of a background of less contact with Euro-Canadians, they were unable to adapt as successfully to Euro-Canadian standards as the Coastal Inuit. Also because of the control of jobs held by Coastal Inuit, the Inland Inuit were not able to gain high income positions. Generally these Inland Inuit held the lowest income positions, had the least amount of work hours per month, and had the highest rate of absenteeism.

It is appropriate at this point to ask how this situation differs from Vallee's (1967) analysis of Baker Lake. The key words in Vallee's dichotomy of "Nunamiut" and "Kabloonamiut" are "desire and "choose". What seems to be apparent in Rankin Inlet Inuit adaptive modes was that individuals' desires were much less important than kin group pressures. An historical example which supports the contention that Keewatin Inuit respond to group pressures was the conversion of kin groups and dialect groups to one religious sect. If Vallee's concepts were applied to the Inuit population during the mine period, all would have to be placed in one or the other categories of marginality. Virtually all adult males were involved in wage employment, and at the same time most people continued to invest some energy (however infrequent) in land-based activities. It is interesting to note that the only resident who had full-time land-based activities when in the settlement, resided with his kin in the "new Eskimo settlement".

It should be obvious at this point that the basic disagreement with Vallee's approach is the criteria used for describing individual behaviour. Vallee sees individual behaviour as the basis for forming groups whereas what seems to be the case is that individual behaviour comes from group patterns.[50] Vallee (1967:144) in his analysis notes tendencies for people of either Kabloonmiut or Nunamiut categories to establish certain social bonds such as marriage. In Rankin Inlet, people of the same dialect group, regional origin, religion and adaptive mode tended to intermarry. However, unlike Vallee, I see these phenomena as resulting from the more 'traditional' patterns of group membership than from occupation, status, or education. Thus I see Vallee as erroneous in considering the groupings found as the result of individual choice and desire rather than a group decision and more based on historical patterns.

At the very beginning of mining activities at Rankin Inlet, the population was divided into groups. As the mining activities became regular, the divisions became more distinct and varied as more people were attracted. When the mine was in full operation, the divisions were based on residence ("new" vs. "old Eskimo settlement"), dialect (Coastal vs. Inland), religion (Catholic vs. Anglican), and kinship. Unlike Vallee's correlation between residence and adaptive modes, in Rankin Inlet ties were stronger between the Coastal Inuit individuals in the two "settlements" than between Coastal and Inland Inuit of the "old Eskimo settlement". Dailey and Dailey (1961:57) report that relationships were occasionally intensified between members of the two Inuit "settlements", particularly during July when some

individuals from the "new Eskimo settlement" would temporarily reside with kin in the "old Eskimo settlement".

In Vallee's (1967:144) analysis, he predicts that the groupings will become increasingly distinct. I contend that most of the divisions which he viewed were as distinct as they would become and are, in fact, a continuance of historical divisions. Rankin Inlet has been described in this thesis as a mosaic. In applying this term, I allude, not only to a division of the population, but to certain links. In each adaptive mode individuals were linked by kinship. For example, in the "new Eskimo settlement" the residents of house number five were siblings of the household heads of houses numbers fourteen and two. In the case of each adaptive mode, kin group pressure was an important factor in promoting individual behaviour. Cross-cutting the mechanisms which divided the population into groups, I find that there were mechanisms which allied these groups such as food sharing. In Vallee's (1967:143) description he sees the Kabloonamiut as more aligned with Euro-Canadians than with the Nunamiut. This situation does not appear to be true for Rankin Inlet during the mine period as there were several types of interaction between the two "settlements" and virtually none with Euro-Canadians.[51] Thus in Rankin Inlet I see a number of adaptive schemes which overlap so that the entire Inuit population was connected in a mosaic fashion.

There exists very little information on the adaptive schemes of Euro-Canadians during the mine period. For the most part, the social environment was adapted to their needs rather than the reverse. This artifical environment seems to have been conducive to the goal of the majority of Euro-Canadians--money.

The types of adaptation found even among the most acculturated Inuit did not wholly come to resemble the adaptive schemes of Euro-Canadians. This was particularly clear in the retention of values. The following is an example of the conflict between the Inuit value for sharing and the values held by the Area Administrator in the period following the mine. The case in point involves a

> man who was earning well as a regular government employee in a technical job, but who was the subject of complaints from the nurses and the school teachers because his children were ill-clothed and undernourished. An area administrator was helped to discover that the man was not only supporting his own wife and children, but the larger family of his father by a second marriage, his married sister's family, and the family of an aunt. He did not, of course, distribute money to these people, but permitted them to share of the food that he brought in quantity into his own home. Similarly, he purchased the clothing that went to the children of the other parts of his kin-group. He was placed under tremendous pressure by the Area Administrator to desist from this widespread sharing and to invest all of his earnings exclusively in the welfare of his own nuclear family. In the face of this pressure, the man ultimately left his job and turned to hunting and government relief. In the process he ceased to be sullen, harried and miserable and though his income was much smaller and much less reliable, he became emotionally secure and discernably more happy. (Williamson n.d.:23-24).

The types and modes of individual adaptation found among the Rankin Inlet throughout the post-mine period have not been described in sufficient detail to allow for analysis. Obviously the people who remained were interested in both Rankin Inlet and settlement life; however, the types of adjustments were highly flexible. This was evident in the economic activities which basically were divided into two types. The majority of the population relied on social assistance whereas only a minority were engaged in wage employment, particularly

immediately after the mine's discontinuance. For the majority of the population, there seems to have been a strengthening of the structures and behaviours more associated with the pre-mine period, i.e. fishing, hunting, and trapping. In addition, income came from casual labour (mostly construction) and self-employment (carving and handicrafts). It is difficult to describe an acculturation continuum during this transitional, rapidly changing period. What seems apparent is that at this time the Rankin Inlet Inuit adaptive schemes were a combination of approaches.

With the establishment of various economic schemes, starting in 1965, some distinct modes of adaptation have become apparent. Although each of these modes in comparison to each other can be described as more or less acculturated, the individuals within each mode still vary with regard to the level of acculturation.

In many studies of acculturation, the chief criteria for assigning a more or less acculturated status have been economic factors. In accord with this practice, this topic will be viewed first; however, it should be clearly understood that this is just one aspect of an individual's acculturation. Inuit occupations can be divided according to the degree of special training and education, and bilingual ability necessary for a certain occupation.[52] By using these two measures of acculturation such as trapper and carver, intermediate such as mechanic and store clerk, and highly acculturated such as administrator and secretary. In the recent period, there were no full-time trappers, but there remained individuals whose income came mainly fron this land-based activity. Most of the occupations found in Rankin Inlet in

which Inuit were engaged were intermediate. (For a listing of occupations of the labour force, see Table X).

There were certain pressures which helped to limit a person's range of employment possibilities. Basically these were the desires and education of an individual, and the individual's group (family, kinsmen, dialect group). It was in part these factors which (generally) allowed for a correlation between the acculturation status of an occupation and the level of acculturation of an individual. It is necessary to note this because there have been examples in Rankin Inlet of individuals who have had special training and are bilingual who have been active in an occupation which has been judged as one of the least acculturated. The explanation for this variance was usually a result of kin group pressure and occasionally of external pressures, as was found in the example from the post-mine period cited by Williamson (n.d.:23-24). Usually, however, individuals were pressured throughout their lives to adopt certain life styles.

There were several features which set apart individuals who continued to invest a large portion of their energies in one of the occupations judged as of least acculturation, from individuals in one of the other categories of occupations. The most obvious were the quantity and types of possessions and the diet. As would be expected, the possessions of individuals in occupations of least acculturation included more pieces of equipment (rifles, traps, etc. in the case of trappers and saws, files, etc. in the case of carvers) than found in other households. In these same households, certain types of articles such as tape recorders, toasters, and other electrical appliances were

not found in the same frequency as found in the households of individuals in higher income occupations. A comparison of two households, one of a carver and one of an office clerk, exemplifies the differences in possessions. Except for the additions which have been added by these two families, the two houses were exact duplicates. In addition both families had originated from the Chesterfield Inlet area, and both household heads have been disabled by poliomyelitis. In the household of the higher income individual, there were various electrical appliances including an electric coffee percolator, toaster, tape recorder, record player, radio, and an electric stove. None of these were found in the household of the carver except for a tape recorder which had been lent by an anthropologist in order to record some traditional stories. The furnishings of the two houses differed in that the higher income family had a better quality of furniture. In addition, there were various books, magazines, and comic books in evidence in the higher income household, whereas in the lower income household only comic books were present. The most notable difference between the two households' possessions was the presence of the carver's equipment, as opposed to the fact that in the higher income household there was no indication of the type of work in which the head was involved. Diet also varied between individuals of different categories of occupations. Most notably in households of individuals in lower income occupations, more traditional foods (e.g. seal, caribou, arctic char) and more foods characteristic of the trapping era (e.g. bannock) were eaten than in the other households where more Euro-Canadian types of food dominated (e.g bread, beans, hot dogs, steaks, and potatoes).

The behavioural differences between individuals of different occupational categories were not clear-cut. Generally individuals in lower income occupations appeared to have retained more 'traditional' values (see Williamson n.d.) than individuals of other occupations. However, these values still affected the seemingly most acculturated individuals. One such value was that for sharing. In higher income families, possessions had come to be regarded as private as was evidenced by the increased use of locks on house doors. However, where this new value for private property conflicted with the value for sharing, the value for sharing had greater import. For example, there was an incident in 1971 when a man had found that his boat had been borrowed without his permission. The man's initial reaction was to demand payment from the then unknown person. When this person turned out to be his cousin who had borrowed the boat for a seal hunting trip, the owner's previous anger was replaced by an acknowledgement of the cousin's right to borrow without permission. It appears that where values come into conflict, the more traditional values still have precedence.

There has been other conflicts which have affected individual adaptation, the most dramatic of which has been alcohol abuse. Of the thirteen court cases viewed in July, 1970, all were connected with alcohol abuse. Most of these were for public intoxication or disorderly conduct. Only one case was connected with theft and that was of sherry from the Cannery. Alcohol was usually shared with kinsmen and has resulted in some conflicts. Many of the conflicts personally observed were based on the refusal to share beer (the most common and only easily

obtainable form of alcohol) with intoxicated kin. It is interesting to note that a low opinion of drunks was universally held by community members, even the heaviest drinkers. The use of alcohol has divided the community into drinkers and non-drinkers. This division has been the result of kin group pressures. Thus within a kin group, the members either drank or did not. The division of the community into drinkers and non-drinkers also correlated with income and occupation which supports my earlier contention of the importance of kin group pressure. For the most part, the largest users of alcohol were employed in occupations of intermediate or highly acculturated status.[53] In the earlier comparison of the carver and the office clerk, the carver was a non-drinker, in fact an anti-drinker, whereas the office clerk was one of the heaviest drinkers in the community. In examining the kin groups of these two men I found that the carver's kin were generally non-drinkers, whereas the office clerk's kin were drinkers.

At the start of this chapter was a quote from Honigmann which stated that individuals "allow themselves to be shaped by responding to the expectations of the group in which they live". This view explains much of the differential nature of individual adaptation in Rankin Inlet. Viewing the situation in this way, what is found are groups[54] of individuals who have adopted certain adaptive strategies more or less as a group. These individuals were kinsmen, and the closeness of kinship affected the degree to which the modal behaviour of the group was adopted.

The conformity of individuals to the lifestyle of a group can be seen in many of the aspects of adaptation. Kinsmen tended to be involved in occupations at the same level of acculturation. Drinking behaviour, the level of education and special work skills, and the types of personal possessions were generally similar between close kinsmen. The types of pressures exerted by members of the kin group on an individual have been either for conservative or progressive behaviour. Thus in more acculturated families, there was a greater (although still less than for Euro-Canadians) desire for children to achieve within the framework of the educational system than was found in less acculturated families. The Rankin Inlet Inuit, on the average, had a higher level of educational achievement than any other settlement in the Keewatin. The reasons for this came from the early introduction to a Euro-Canadian school (the mission school) at Chesterfield Inlet from which the bulk of the population originated, and from the disproportionate opportunities (compared to other settlements) for specialized job training (see Tables XI and XII). Generally the kin groups have been able to influence individuals as to what economic positions and educational opportunities they will take. Thus in Rankin Inlet the best place to start a study to discover the modes of adaptive schemes was with the kin groups and not on the same bases of education, possessions, drinking, or employment. These other variables were the result of the pressure put on individuals by their kindred.

The adaptation of Euro-Canadians in the recent period has changed from the pre-settlement and early settlement conditions. However, the adaptation of these individuals has continued to be facilitated by the

creation of an artifical environment. Perhaps the most significant change in Euro-Canadian adaptation has been the inclusion of some Inuit (often the most acculturated) in their activities and the inclusion of Inuit desires and participation in programs governing the settlement. Euro-Canadians still suffered from their isolation (real or imagined) from the Southern society and did suffer from periodic loneliness and frustration. In the cases where maladjustment became dominant in an individual's behaviour, certain patterns such as continued excessive drinking (one of the Inuit's main complaint about Euro-Canadians on the individual level) can disrupt the entire community. "Being bushed", however, is infrequent. Euro-Canadian adaptation has been eased by their transient status. They left the settlement for conferences, vacations, etc. Generally they did not remain in the settlement for periods exceeding two years and often did not transfer to other similar settlements. It appears, however, that the reasons for seeking Northern employment have shifted from an emphasis on financial regards to a greater interest in the North (see Ross and Westgate, 1974).

There are many aspects to individual adaptation as found in Rankin Inlet during its short history. The one point which stands out in explaining the different nature of these adaptive schemes is that the pressures exerted by kinsmen on individuals has a more dramatic effect than economic or educational factors. This theme has run throughout this chapter particularly in regard to the Inuit population, but it is equally true for the Euro-Canadian population where the group comprizes all Euro-Canadians. What was found in Rankin Inlet was that

individuals as members of "groups" responded within the range of behaviours which was acceptable to their group. Therefore, throughout the history of Rankin Inlet, there have been modes of ideal behaviour which when considered in terms of adaptation and acculturation appear as clusters. The combination of these over-laping clusters of adaptive schemes give Rankin Inlet the appearance of a mosaic.

NOTES

50. I would even go so far as to say that Vallee's approach is perhaps more applicable for an analysis of a settlement like Rankin Inlet which attracted individuals and groups in a more flexible way than Baker Lake where the residents had historical connections.

51. Viewing this interaction with regard to the situation in 1970 and 1971, I do not feel that this was solely the result of the enforced segregation of the period.

52. This follows the criteria used by McElroy 1971:14-15 and 1972:21 in her studies of role changes on Baffin Island.

53. The use of alcohol has been correlated in studies of other Northern locations--see Honigmann 1970:97-107 and Koolage 1973.

54. These groups are informal and were previously referred to as inter-family organizations.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

The change in Rankin Inlet has been noted throughout this thesis. The primary level of analysis has been the community. The type of change has been described in regards to organizations, economic structures, political structures, and individual adaptation. The settlement of Rankin Inlet provides an interesting example of change for several reasons. The founding of the settlement is unique. The composition of the population in unique. However, even with its unique aspects, the types of problems encountered in the adjustment to change are similar to those found in other settlements. For a summary of change in Rankin Inlet, the following overview is given.

The change in Rankin Inlet can be divided into four periods: pre-mine (to 1957), mine (1957-1962), post-mine (1962-1965), and recent (1965-1971). The criterion for the division of the history was major shifts in economic patterns. These economic shifts have been from predominantly land-based activities to wage employment in the mine, to a reliance on social assistance and, finally, to wage labour for the government or government subsidized agencies. Although the change in the economic structure has been the most dramatic aspect, there have been substantial modifications in the areas of the political structure and individual adaptation.

Before 1953, the residents of the Rankin Inlet area had a life style which was very similar to that found in other areas along the west coast of Hudson Bay. However, exact information on this small population (perhaps as many as ten families but rarely more than five) has not been found. For the most part, these people were hunters, trappers, fishermen, or any combination of the three. It is known that

most of the residents occupied the area only for seasonal periods. This was mainly to take advantage of the fish migrations.

Economic activities during the pre-mine period took place mainly in the context of family units and camps. The hunting activities of men were complementary to, and facilitated by, the labours of adult females (sewing, cooking, etc.). In terms of the political structure of the pre-mine period, the public goals were primarily the family goals for a maximum utilization of the scarce resources of the area, and the control of behaviour was held by the eldest members, particularly the men. In the camp, power was held by an individual in the role of the isumataq.

During the pre-mine period, both the processes of economic and political allocation were self-sufficient for daily usage; however, by 1953, certain aspects of both structures had shifted to Euro-Canadian organizations. The individuals of the pre-mine period had been acculturated by contact with Euro-Canadians at Chesterfield Inlet. When Euro-Canadian occupancy commenced in Rankin Inlet in 1953, the area residents were already aware of some of the types of behaviour necessary for a settlement adaptation. However, even with a partial foreknowledge of the direction of change, the Rankin Inlet Inuit were not completely prepared for the radical change which took place.

Exactly what occurred in the period from 1953 to 1957 is not quite clear. Evidently the Inuit population of the area increased as casual labour opportunities were offered by the Euro-Canadians in the construction of the settlement. Seemingly there was no great change in Inuit structures or culture. The adaptation to the labour situation was

tenuous as the Inuit continued to engage in land-based activities. It can be postulated that the change in the economic and political structures was slight. This is a reflection of the casualness of the labour and the short duration of the opportunities. It was, however, the failure of Euro-Canadians to establish a viable scheme for mineral exploitation which led to a greater reliance on, and integration of, the Inuit.

At the same time as the mine period in Rankin Inlet, Inuit in other Keewatin settlements were being gradually incorporated in wage labour schemes. The introduction of the Rankin Inlet Inuit into a wage system was a much more revolutionary change. In Rankin Inlet, virtually the entire population shifted to this form of subsistence in a period of short duration.

In addition to the radical change in economic and political structures, there was a drastic change in the demography of the settlement. From the few families found previously, the composition changed to include a large Euro-Canadian population and Inuit from various settlements in the Keewatin. As the mine became more established, the Inuit population continued to increase with migration from both within, and outside of, the Keewatin. The Euro-Canadian population, however, decreased.

Adaptation to the industrial setting of the mine necessitated various structural and cultural modifications on the part of the population. In terms of the political structure, most of the production activities shifted from family units and inter-family organizations to the mine company. This resulted in modified roles and a decrease in the level of self-sufficiency. The close economic cooperation

of husbands and wives, typical of previous periods, became less necessary. Consumption continued to be predominantly in terms of the family, but increasingly more consumption was in terms of external units. Social and economic interaction between families continued at a decreased level. During the mine period, most women directed their labours to the family unit. In fact, because most of the employment opportunities were in 'male' jobs, females were made more economically dependent than previously.

During the mine period, the political structure of Rankin Inlet focused on the activities and services provided by the mining company. As the economy shifted from trapping and casual employment to fairly regular employment, there were growing opportunities for individuals to be independent from family units and inter-family organizations. In terms of the settlement, with the introduction of wage employment, first with the North Rankin Nickel Mines Company and later with the various government agencies, much of the command of human and other resources shifted to individuals and organizations which were not responsible to the Inuit population.

Although it is apparent that change had taken place in order to adapt to the industrial setting, the specific adaptive schemes in evidence by the population were varied. What is found is that individuals and organizations differed according to one main criterion: kinship, and several related criteria: dialect, religion, and residence. The method of adaptation was affected both by the desires of an individual's "group" and by the control held by other "groups". Thus the adaptation to settlement life and to wage employment was reflected by whether or not an individual was a resident of the "new Eskimo settlement" which

would mean that he was considered a better worker, and whether he was a Coastal Inuit which would have given him greater access to economic opportunities.

The adaptation to the mine by the Rankin Inlet Inuit was unique for the Keewatin and has yet to be repeated on the same scale. The speed with which the Inuit made the transition into this type of regular wage employment is noteworthy. At the time of this change, the Rankin Inlet Inuit appear to have a life style which was separate from that found in other settlements; however, these types of adjustments (i.e. settlement living and wage employment) have since appeared in the other settlements.

After the mine closed in 1962, there were changes to the composition, structures, and culture of the Inuit population in Rankin Inlet. The people who remained in the settlement did so for a variety of reasons which included a feeling of being distinct from other Keewatin populations. This period (1962-1965) was a time of transition. Opportunities for a variety of adaptive schemes were not created, therefore social assistance became a major part of the community's income. Because of the population's indecision as to whether to they should return to pre-mine patterns or to continue in patterns developed during the mine period, this period is marked by a combination of patterns of action which was flexible and the direction of which was noncommital.

The creation of new types of employment was one of the main reasons for the kinds of changes found in the recent period. Some of these new opportunities were in settlement maintenance, some adminstrative positions, self-employment, the Cannery, and the Co-op. In the recent

period, wage employment economic patterns have become well established, and as a result, production is almost entirely in the context of units other than the family. There is, however, one mode of production which allows for fairly intense interaction of workers and their families. That is in carving, handicrafts and the fishing operations. Another result of the new types of employment available in Rankin Inlet has been in inclusion of women and young men in occupations of high status and income. The change in the recent period is not unique; however, the speed with which the transition to these new jobs occurred was greater than that found in other Keewatin settlements.

The most prominent feature of the political structure in the recent period has been the inclusion of some Inuit in the local admininstration and the creation of various predominantly Inuit controlled organizations. Power that was once found in family units has increasingly been transferred to organizations which operate on the settlement level; however, inter-family organizations have had an increase in power in the recent period with the revival of camp groups in the fishing operations of the Cannery and in the creation of special interest groups. The combination of the growth of Inuit membership in settlement political structures, the voluntary transference of power to organizations in the Inuit community, and the general increase of political awareness of the Inuit population has resulted in a marked change in Rankin Inlet political structure. Until the recent period, the Inuit community has been dominated in terms of the settlement structure by Euro-Canadians. In the recent period, however, interaction between the two communities on both political and inter-personal levels has increased.

In general, the adaptation of Inuit individuals to the settlement conditions of Rankin Inlet has been made with a minimum of conflict. The adaptation of Euro-Canadians has changed and increasingly the two communities are merging. However, it is doubtful that a complete social integration is possible for quite some time due to the history of the relationships and the increasing negative reactions of Inuit to non-Inuit control. The types of adaptations exhibited by individuals are still influenced by "group" pressures. Therefore, what continues to be found is the differentiation of adaptation, not so much on the bases of income, occupation, or education, but on the basis of group membership. This pressure shows itself in various patterns of behaviour such as drinking, value retention, and "desires". Throughout the history of Rankin Inlet, there are modes of ideal behaviour which when considered in terms of adaptation and acculturation appear as clusters. The combination of these over-lapping clusters of adaptive schemes give Rankin Inlet the appearance of a mosaic.

In conclusion, the change in Rankin Inlet can be divided into four distinct historic periods. Rankin Inlet has a unique history in the Keewatin by being founded around an industrial situation. The types of changes necessitated by wage employment at the beginning of the settlement were also quite unique; however, since the mine closed and with similar government programs established in the other settlements, Rankin Inlet has come more closely to resemble the other settlements in the Keewatin.

The point of view in this thesis has been extremely specific--the types of changes in the structure and culture of one predominantly Inuit settlement. However, what has been described has implications for other settlements and for the future of this particular settlement, Rankin Inlet. In the last twenty years, predominantly Inuit settlements have gone through similar changes as a result of the services offered by the Department of Northern Affairs. With the activities of the Federal, and later, the Territorial Governments, these settlements have become more closely integrated, administratively, economically, etc. Although there has been variance in the specific programs created, the process of change has been relatively uniform. By viewing Rankin Inlet as a specific example of this general change, there can be a greater understanding of the recent changes in these settlements.

The history of Rankin Inlet has been marked by several, fairly quick changes. This pattern will continue in the future. In 1974, the regional administrations for the Keewatin moved their offices out of Churchill, Manitoba. Several of these departments have relocated at Rankin Inlet. The first obvious results have been a drastic increase of the population. From the approximately 550 residents in 1971, the figure will increase to nearly 1,000 in the near future. Although there will be migration of Inuit individuals into the settlement from the Keewatin and Churchill, the most substantial increase will be Euro-Canadian. From approximately 10% of the total population in 1971, which was then high for an Arctic settlement, the Euro-Canadian population may rise to represent 30 or 40%. In addition, the settlement has increased its buildings in order to accommodate these new residents.

Within the Northwest Territories, the various settlements have been encouraged to become more politically self-sufficient. Thus in some cases hamlet status has been given. In several of the other cases, the job of Settlement Manager has been given to individuals appointed by the Settlement Council such as in Rankin Inlet. These appointed officials, represent a step closer to an autonomous status. However, with the increase of wage employment in clerical and settlement maintenance positions arising from the regional government, I would predict, at least initially, that the local governing bodies will be incorporated into the structure created by the regional administration. This will be a direct result of the solidification of the regional government's power base. In Churchill, the regional government enjoyed a priviledged status and will try, no doubt, to re-establish that situation in Rankin Inlet. Two other factors which will be disruptive to the achievement of hamlet status will be the large Euro-Canadian population which will have a greater connection with the regional administration than the settlement, and the occupations controlled by these individuals. Because of these factors, I see plans for the achievement of hamlet status as being impaired at least until the new body of personnel has been firmly established. A comparison of Rankin Inlet with other Arctic towns, such as Frobisher Bay, and Inuvik, should be an interesting area of research.

It seems apparent that the types of economic development and policy changes which are necessary for Rankin Inlet must focus on a further integration of the total population in the governing of the settlement. This position is in accord with the plans of the Territorial

Government. In the meantime, this could by faciliated by increasing the autonomy of popular organizations such as the Settlement Council. This autonomy should be in budgeting and in the supervision of the settlement.

The northern situation today includes a large Euro-Canadian population. In the future this population will increase. To afford the Inuit greater control of their lives is excellent; however, it is not realistic to ignore Euro-Canadians. Steps should be taken to ensure economic as well as service and resource equity (e.g. housing, utilador system, opportunities for lower cost supplies). In addition, the power of Euro-Canadians in the hiring and firing of government workers should be shared, at least, with the local population. For example, the population should be directly consulted on the hiring of teachers. Likewise, the population should be able to dismiss government employees.

There are many different plans which could be presented for controlled change; however, these plans must be flexible. Particularly in a settlement like Rankin Inlet, the situation could become radically different in five years. I would propose that more opportunities for consultation on both the local and the regional levels be created. In this way all Northerners would have more control over their collective future.

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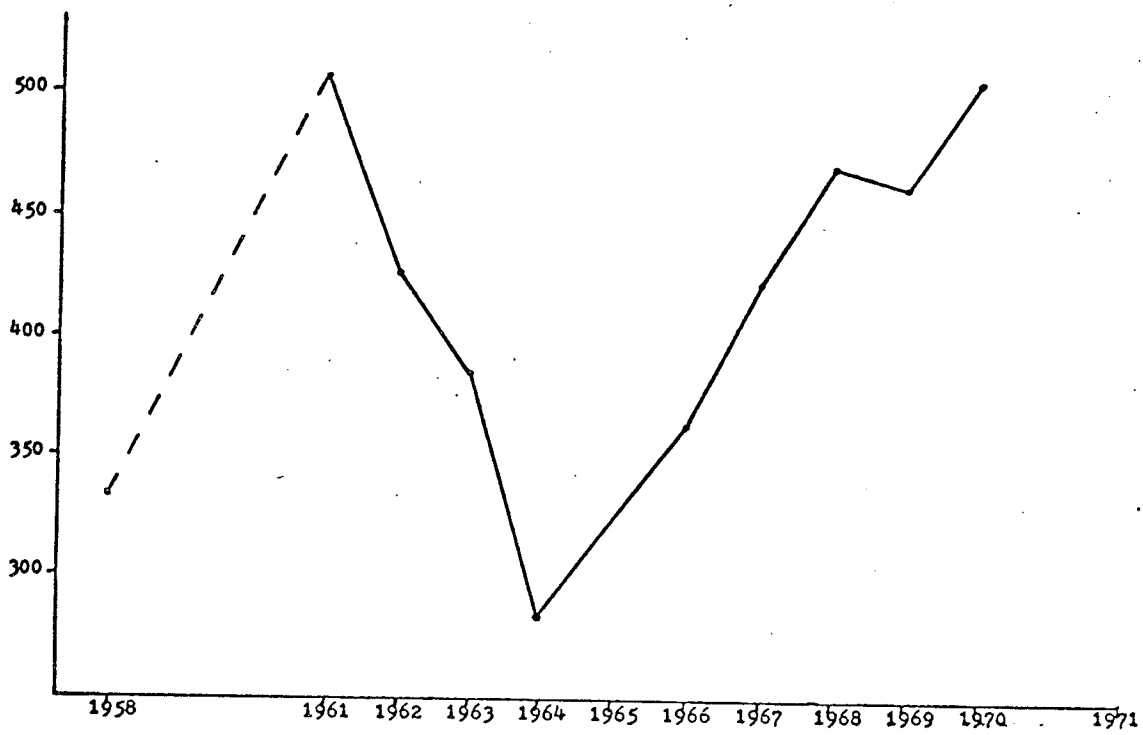
TABLE I

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION



Yearly Population Growth Rates:

1962	-5.3%	1967	13.2%
1963	-18.9%	1968	11.4%
1964	-27.0%	1969	-1.5%
1965	15.0%	1970	9.1%
1966	10.6%		

Sources: 1958 (Dailey and Dailey 1961)
1961-1970 (R.C.M.P. Disc List)
1971 (Rankin Inlet Community List)

TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION

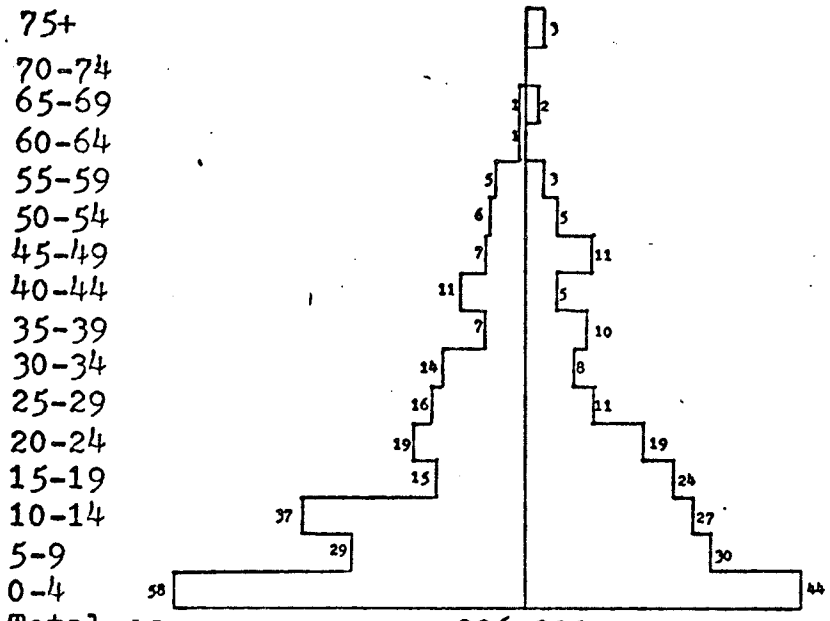
AGE GROUP	July 1958	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
75+	1	.3
70-74	1 1	.6
65-69	1 1	.6
60-64	2 3	1.6
55-59	2 2	1.2
50-54	4 2	1.8
45-49	6 4	3.0
40-44	12 9	6.3
35-39	8 6	4.2
30-34	13 11	7.2
25-29	15 11	7.8
20-24	15 14	8.6
15-19	19 17	10.8
10-14	22 21	13.0
5-9	25 22	14.2
0-4	33 29	18.7
Total	178 154	99.9
Sex Ratio	1.16:1	

1961

75+	1	.2
70-74	1 1	.4
65-69	1 2	.6
60-64	2 1	.6
55-59	2 2	.8
50-54	8 6	2.8
45-49	12 13	4.9
40-44	14 8	4.3
35-39	9 12	4.1
30-34	17 12	5.7
25-29	18 17	6.9
20-24	19 25	8.6
15-19	24 27	10.0
10-14	33 29	12.2
5-9	43 40	16.3
0-4	64 46	21.6
Total	268 241	100.0
Sex Ratio	1.11:1	

TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION



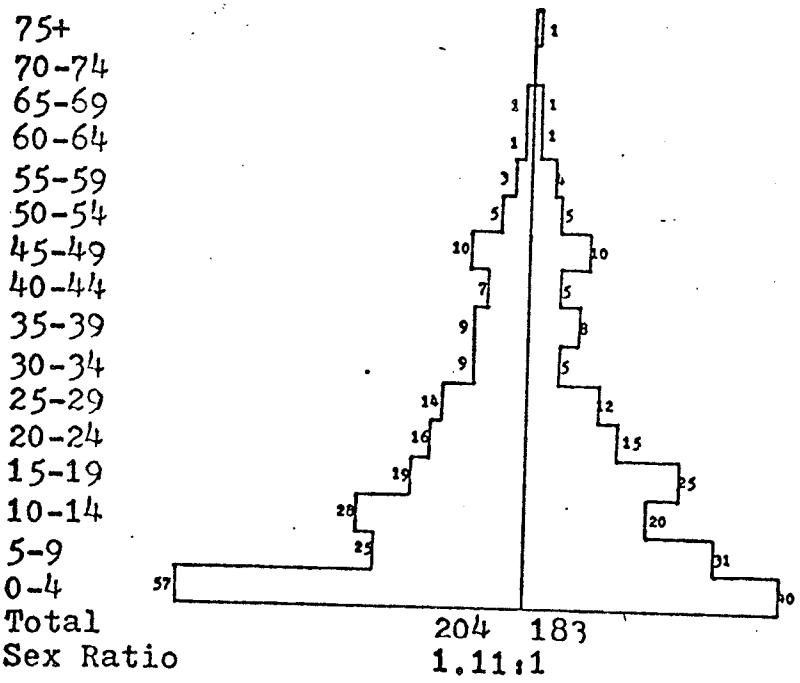


TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION

AGE GROUP	1964	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
75+	1	.3
70-74		.0
65-69	1 1	.7
60-64	1	.3
55-59	3 2	1.7
50-54	6 7	4.5
45-49	7 6	4.5
40-44	3 3	2.1
35-39	5 6	3.9
30-34	9 3	4.2
25-29	11 8	6.6
20-24	15 11	9.2
15-19	17 15	11.2
10-14	15 17	11.2
5-9	25 20	15.7
0-4	37 31	23.8
Total	154 132	99.9
Sex Ratio	1.17:1	

1965

75+	1	.3
70-74		.0
65-69	1 1	.3
60-64	1	.3
55-59	6 3	2.7
50-54	7 8	4.6
45-49	8 5	4.0
40-44	1 5	1.8
35-39	4 4	2.4
30-34	15 5	6.1
25-29	9 12	6.4
20-24	13 13	7.9
15-19	18 16	10.3
10-14	19 19	11.6
5-9	27 24	15.5
0-4	46 39	25.8
Total	174 155	100.0
Sex Ratio	1.12:1	

TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION

AGE GROUP	1966	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
75+	1	.3
70-74	1	.0
65-69	1	.3
60-64	1	.3
55-59	6 4	2.6
50-54	9 9	4.9
45-49	8 6	3.8
40-44	1 5	1.8
35-39	7 4	3.0
30-34	13 7	5.5
25-29	14 14	7.7
20-24	16 16	8.8
15-19	20 15	9.6
10-14	16 26	11.5
5-9	36 24	16.5
0-4	44 41	23.2
Total	191 173	99.8
Sex Ratio	1.10:1	

1967

75+	1	.2
70-74	1	.2
65-69		.0
60-64	2 1	.7
55-59	6 5	2.6
50-54	7 9	3.8
45-49	6 5	2.6
40-44	3 8	3.1
35-39	9 5	3.3
30-34	13 8	5.0
25-29	19 16	8.3
20-24	16 9	5.9
15-19	26 22	11.4
10-14	17 27	10.4
5-9	42 34	18.0
0-4	54 49	24.2
Total	223 199	99.9
Sex Ratio	1.12:1	

TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION

AGE GROUP	1968	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
75+		.0
70-74	1 1	.4
65-69		.0
60-64	2 3	1.1
55-59	6 4	2.1
50-54	8 10	3.8
45-49	5 6	2.3
40-44	8 8	3.4
35-39	7 5	2.6
30-34	15 10	5.3
25-29	19 16	7.4
20-24	21 29	10.6
15-19	26 25	10.9
10-14	22 27	10.4
5-9	46 43	18.9
0-4	49 48	20.6
Total	235 235	99.8
Sex Ratio	1.00:1	

1969

75+		.0
70-74	1	.2
65-69		.0
60-64	2 2	.9
55-59	6 7	2.8
50-54	6 6	2.6
45-49	6 7	2.8
40-44	8 8	3.5
35-39	11 6	3.7
30-34	12 13	5.4
25-29	17 13	6.5
20-24	23 23	9.9
15-19	19 23	9.1
10-14	32 26	12.5
5-9	49 39	19.0
0-4	51 47	21.2
Total	243 220	100.1
Sex Ratio	1.10:1	

TABLE I (continued)

RANKIN INLET INUIT POPULATION

AGE GROUP	1970	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
75+	1	.2
70-74	0	.0
65-69	0	.0
60-64	2 6	1.6
55-59	6 6	2.4
50-54	8 5	2.6
45-49	4 6	2.0
40-44	9 6	3.0
35-39	16 9	5.0
30-34	12 17	5.7
25-29	16 13	5.7
20-24	27 23	9.9
15-19	23 25	9.5
10-14	34 31	12.7
5-9	57 48	20.8
0-4	52 43	18.8
Total	266 239	99.9
Sex Ratio	1.11:1	

1971

75+	1	.2
70-74	1 1	.2
65-69	0	.0
60-64	3 4	1.5
55-59	6 5	2.5
50-54	7 5	2.5
45-49	4 5	2.1
40-44	9 7	3.3
35-39	16 7	4.8
30-34	11 17	5.9
25-29	17 11	5.9
20-24	15 14	6.7
15-19	24 30	11.3
10-14	43 29	15.1
5-9	47 42	18.6
0-4	49 34	19.5
Total	255 223	100.1
Sex Ratio	1.14:1	

TABLE II

RANKIN INLET INUIT INCOME (CURRENT DOLLARS) 1959-1969

Year	North Rankin Nickel Mines	Indian Affairs and Northern Development	Social Assistance	Fur Sales	Royal Canadian Mounted Police	National Health and Welfare	Arts and Crafts	Issatik Cannery	Kissarvik Co-op	Total	Per Capita**
1959	175,500 75%*	44,012 19%	5,531 2%	5,520 2%	2,780 1%	922 >1%				234,265	706
1960	156,600 72%	40,230 19%	9,856 5%	5,100 2%	3,684 1%	816 >1%				216,286	?
1961	153,900 68%	38,903 17%	11,025 5%	17,600 8%	4,699 2%	751 >1%				226,868	445
1962	113,400 42%	37,665 14%	89,234 34%	22,036 8%	4,993 2%	901 >1%				268,219	627
1963		66,822 45%	67,667 45%	8,540 6%	5,045 3%	878 >1%				148,952	308
1964		68,725 34%	49,300 25%	80,713 39%	5,181 2%	816 >1%				204,735	716
1965		99,729 51%	9,109 5%	30,590 16%	5,225 3%	945 >1%	49,254 25%			194,852	592
1966		145,756 61%	2,711 1%	2,552 1%	5,401 2%	1,141 >1%	82,907 35%			240,468	666
1967		214,849 68%	12,159 4%	10,360 3%	5,773 2%	1,111 >1%	72,872 23%			317,124	751
1968		287,625 73%	9,499 2%	2,897 1%	6,258 2%	5,812 2%	62,473 16%	20,249 5%		394,813	840
1969		262,911 66%	13,150 3%	2,653 1%	6,877 2%	5,612 2%	60,026 15%	36,938 9%	9,065 2%	397,232	858

* percentage of total income

** The per capita income is calculated from population figures presented in Table I.

Adapted from Foster 1971:40

TABLE III

KEEWATIN INUIT INCOME
1961-1962*

	Wages & Salaries	Trapping Hunting & Fishing	Self-Employment	Government Sources (unearned)	Total	Per Capita (population size)
RANKIN INLET	159,949	22,036	?	89,234	268,219	627
	59**	8		33		(428)
Baker Lake	76,166	4,531	5,136	78,928	164,761	330
	46	3	3	48		(499)
Chesterfield Inlet	22,800	3,729	?	6,125	32,654	454
	70	11		19		(72)
Coral Harbour	18,706	75,000	833	6,792	101,331	485
	18	74	1	7		(209)
Eskimo Point	42,150	21,350	?	30,075		
	45	23				
Repulse Bay	?	12,000 (approx.)	14,000 (approx.)	?	?	?
Whale Cove	19,567	14,320	1,362	6,117	41,366	276
	47	35	3	15		(150)
Average in percent	48	25	2	25		

* The information for Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay is for 1960-1961.
** percent of total income

Sources: for Rankin Inlet-see Table II.
for Coral Harbour and Repulse Bay-Brack 1962:51,77.
for others- Brack and McIntosh 1963:72,79,86,96.

TABLE IV

COMPARISONS OF STATISTICS PRESENTED IN TABLE III

RANKING ON A PER CAPITA BASIS

	RANKIN INLET	Baker Lake	Chesterfield Inlet	Coral Harbour	Eskimo Point	Repulse Bay	Whale Cove
Wages and Salaries	1*	4	2	6	3	?	5
Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing	4	6	4	1	3	?	2
Self-Employment	?	1	?	3	?	?	2
Government Sources	1	2	4	6	3	?	5
Total	1	5	3	2	4	?	6

RANKING BY THE PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME

Wages and Salaries	2	4	1	6	5	?	3
Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing	5	6	4	1	3	?	2
Self-Employment	?	1	?	3	?	?	1
Government Sources	2	1	4	6	3	?	5

* The ranking goes from 1 which represents the highest income to 6 representing the lowest.

TABLE V

KEEWATIN INUIT INCOME
JULY 1967-JUNE 1968

	Wages & Salaries	Trapping Hunting & Fishing	Self-Employment	Family Allowance	Pensions	Other Government Sources	Total	Per Capita
RANKIN INLET	232,745	13,489	62,039	21,031	900	7,673	337,827	751
	68.9*	4.0	18.4	6.2	.3	2.3		
Baker Lake	268.710	11,731	38,244	23,093	13,956	70,372	426,106	712
	63.1	2.8	9.0	5.4	3.3	16.5		
Chesterfield Inlet	109,557	500	6,650	9,566	3,636	12,762	142,671	669
	76.8	.4	4.7	6.7	2.6	9.0		
Coral Harbour	123,640	18,363	6,067	10,766	-----	8,997	167,833	567
	73.7	10.9	3.6	6.4	0.0	5.4		
Eskimo Point	129,379	12,675	17,015	17,522	15,552	26,737	218,880	441
	59.1	5.8	7.8	8.0	7.1	12.2		
Repulse Bay	15,278	23,400	10,303	6,158	2,225	7,169	64,533	334
	23.7	36.3	16.0	9.5	3.5	11.1		
Whale Cove	90,595	7,159	10,280	6,504	3,600	2,944	121,082	699
	74.8	5.9	8.5	5.4	3.0	2.4		
Average in percent	65.6	5.9	10.2	6.4	2.7	9.2		

*percent of total income

Source: MacBain (1969) Tables 59-64
Preston (1969) Table 23
Kuo (1974) Appendix B

TABLE VI

COMPARISONS OF STATISTICS PRESENTED IN TABLE V

RANKING ON A PER CAPITA BASIS

	RANKIN INLET	Baker Lake	Chesterfield Inlet	Coral Harbour	Eskimo Point	Repulse Bay	Whale Cove
Wages and Salaries	2	4	3	5	6	7	1
Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing	4	6	7	2	5	1	3
Self-Employment	1	2	6	7	2	4	3
Family Allowance	1	3	2	5	6	7	4
Pensions	6	2	4	7	1	5	3
Other Government Sources	6	1	2	5	3	4	7
Total	1	2	4	5	6	7	3

RANKING BY THE PERCENT OF TOTAL INCOME

Wages and Salaries	4	5	1	3	6	7	2
Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing	5	6	7	2	4	1	3
Self-Employment	1	3	6	7	5	2	4
Family Allowance	5	6	3	4	2	1	7
Pensions	6	3	5	7	1	2	4
Other Government Sources	7	1	4	5	2	3	6

TABLE VII

KEEWATIN INUIT FAMILY INCOME
JULY 1967-JUNE 1968

	$1-499	$500-999	$1,000-1,999	$2,000-2,999	$3,000-3,999	$4,000-4,999	$5,000-5,999	$6,000-9,999	$10,000+	Mean ($)	Median ($)
RANKIN INLET	2.3%	7.9%	16.7%	21.4%	12.4%	12.4%	6.7%	18.0%	2.3%	3,896	3,136
Baker Lake	2.8%	5.6%	16.8%	18.7%	17.8%	12.2%	5.6%	15.9%	4.7%	4,029	3,342
Chesterfield Inlet	5.4%	2.7%	8.1%	24.3%	2.7%	27.0%	18.9%	10.8%	---	3,988	4,250
Coral Harbour	5.7%	12.5%	25.0%	16.1%	17.9%	5.4%	1.8%	16.1%	---	3,144	2,444
Eskimo Point	12.5%	19.2%	43.3%	10.0%	2.5%	5.0%	2.5%	5.0%	---	1,935	1,423
Repulse Bay	7.7%	20.5%	41.0%	20.5%	10.3%	---	---	---	---	1,686	1,531
Whale Cove	3.1%	---	12.5%	18.8%	31.3%	15.6%	9.4%	6.2%	3.1%	3,816	3,500
Average	6.0%	10.8%	25.4%	17.3%	12.1%	10.0%	5.4%	11.3%	1.7%	3,170	2,446

Source: Kuo (1974) Appendices G and I

TABLE VIII

RANKIN INLET INUIT FAMILY INCOME

	Wages and Salaries	Trapping, Hunting, and Fishing	Self-Employment	Unearned*	Total
1-99	7	6	26	8	-
100-199	2	3	9	14	-
200-299	8	2	6	17	2
300-399	3	2	2	9	-
400-499	1	1	2	7	-
500-599	2	-	4	5	1
600-699	2	-	3	3	1
700-799	1	-	2	1	1
800-899	-	1	2	1	1
900-999	-	1	-	-	2
1000-1999	16	3	4	7	14
2000-2999	10	1	10	-	17
3000-3999	3	1	4	1	10
4000-4999	6	-	1	-	10
5000-5999	5	-	-	-	6
6000-7999	10	-	-	-	13
8000-9999	4	-	-	-	4
10,000+	1	-	-	-	4
None	5	65	11	13	-
Total	86	86	86	86	86

* This includes pensions, social assistance, family allowance and other government sources.

Source: MacBain (1969) Tables 37-42

TABLE IX

RANKIN INLET INUIT EMPLOYMENT JULY 1967-JUNE 1968

Labour Force and Average Earned Income by Sexes

Male		Female		Total	
number (%)	average income	number (%)	average income	number (%)	average income
90 (86.5)	$3,021	14 (13.5)	$1,482	104 (100.0)	$2,814

Labour Force and Average Earned Income by Age

15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+	
no. (%)	ave.	no. (%)	ave.	no. (%)	ave.	no. (%)	ave.	no. (%)	ave.	no. (%)	ave.
35 (33.4)	$2,134	31 (29.9)	$3,773	15 (14.4)	$2,713	13 (12.5)	$2,877	9 (8.7)	$2,261	1 (1.0)	$2,500

Male Inuit Members of the Labour Force without work 10-24 weeks and 25-52 weeks

10-24		25-52		Total	
number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
17	18.9	17	18.9	34	37.8

Monthly Employment Rates

	7/67	8/76	9/67	10/67	11/67	12/67	1/68	2/68	3/68	4/68	5/68	6/68
No.	83	87	92	93	91	88	81	75	80	79	77	83
%	79.1	82.9	87.6	88.6	86.7	83.8	77.1	71.4	76.2	75.2	73.3	80.1

Source: MacBain (1969) Tables 13,34,55
Preston (1969) Table 18
Kuo (1974) Appendices C,D,E

TABLE X

OCCUPATIONS HELD BY RANKIN INLET INUIT
FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
JANUARY 1961-JANUARY 1969

	Main*	Secondary
Teacher Assistant	2	-
Interpreter	2	1
Clerk	1	-
Special Constable	-	1
Cook	2	-
Baby Sitter	1	-
Nursing Aide	1	-
Janitor	2	-
Boat Charter	1	-
Ship Pilot	-	1
Truck Driver	-	1
Driver	1	1
Hunter, Trapper	7	2
Fishnet Repairman	1	-
Mill Operations	1	-
Mine Labourer	8	4
Underground Mine Crew	1	-
Cannery Work	3	-
Handicrafts	7	2
Power Plant Operator	1	-
Carver	5	1
Sealift Unloader	1	-
General Labourer	17	4
Carpenter's Helper	1	-
Plumber's Helper	1	2
Kitchen Helper	2	1
Fuel Delivery	-	2
Painter's Helper	3	-
Total	72	23

* primary occupation during this period

Source: MacBain (1969) Table 57

TABLE XI

LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF KEEWATIN INUIT FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER (JANUARY 1969)

	None		Grade 2 or Higher		Grade 4 or Higher		Grade 6 or Higher		No. Attended C.V.C.*	No. of Training Courses Taken
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
RANKIN INLET	43.8%	40.7%	41.1%	39.0%	31.4%	23.9%	12.6%	10.6%	34	57
Baker Lake	58.9%	64.9%	37.9%	31.3%	29.9%	26.1%	10.7%	14.4%	50	51
Chesterfield Inlet	41.9%	44.2%	41.7%	47.9%	30.1%	30.6%	9.2%	9.5%	5	13
Coral Harbour	55.3%	49.2%	34.3%	36.8%	25.0%	23.0%	9.2%	3.0%	15	16
Eskimo Point	57.0%	59.7%	29.3%	30.7%	17.8%	17.2%	4.9%	5.2%	17	14
Repulse Bay	73.5%	69.4%	18.2%	20.3%	14.2%	18.3%	6.0%	8.1%	10	3
Whale Cove	58.5%	64.3%	31.7%	26.1%	24.4%	11.9%	12.2%	2.4%	2	10

* Churchill Vocation Centre

Source: MacBain (1969) Tables 9,10,11
Preston (1969) Tables 5,6,8

TABLE XII

TRAINING COURSES TAKEN BY RANKIN INLET INUIT RESIDENTS
FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Airline Agent	1
Caretaker	1
Carpenter	17
Classroom Assistant	1
Clerk	1
Commercial	1
Power Plant Operator	2
Electrician	1
Firefighter	1
Fish Processor	6
Guide	3
Handicrafts Manager	3
Heavy Equipment Operator	3
Marine Mechanic	3
Heavy Equipment Mechanic	1
Nursing Aide	2
Outboard Motor Repair	3
Plumber	3
Prospector	2
Total	57

Source: MacBain (1969) Table 11
Preston (1969) Table 8