

A PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL: KABLOONA
SOCIETY IN SMALL COMMUNITIES OF
THE EASTERN ARCTIC

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
Department of Anthropology

by
Lorne Smith
November 1971



ABSTRACT

A Problem of Survival:
Kabloona Society in Small Communities
of the Eastern Arctic
by
Lorne Smith

Kabloona are non-Eskimo residents of Arctic settlements. The Kabloona are teachers, missionaries, traders, policemen, government employees, and other non-Eskimo and their families who are in the Arctic usually because of their employment. The Kabloona minority form a small group which is separated from the larger Eskimo society by reasons of language and culture, and from their own society in southern Canada by geographical distance and transportation difficulties.

The Kabloona must interact with each other on the social and business level. Because of the small group size, conflict is an important factor in the interpersonal relations among the Kabloona; it disrupts or prevents socializing, friendly relations, and sometimes any kind of communication among Kabloona.

Conflict occurs on four levels: inter-agency, intra-agency, inter-family, intra-family. Conflict on one level can affect the state of the interpersonal relationships on other levels.

Conflict on any of the four levels occurs for various reasons. Conflict occurs because each individual, department, and separate agency has a "territory" or area of jurisdiction. This area is sometimes ill-defined, and conflict occurs where there is no agreement as to the extent of one's authority. For historical reasons some agencies are having their "territory" or spheres of influence reduced, which also promotes conflict.

In Arctic communities certain commodities are scarce and therefore assume high value. Competition for the control of these things, or the right to possess or redistribute them, is a second general reason for conflict. The commodities may be material articles such as the best house, home freezers or the use of a particular vehicle, or may be the opportunity of part or full time employment.

The third reason for conflict is the case where negative reciprocity situations develop among members of the Kabloona group as opposed to balanced reciprocity. Reciprocity among the Kabloona does not necessarily involve material exchange, but can include the exchange of "favours", and companionship. Where the reciprocal exchanges are perceived as being imbalanced by one or more of the Kabloona, conflict can result.

Although psychological factors are important I have chosen instead to identify patterns of relationships which exist between various members of the Kabloona group, concentrating my attention on: (1) the conflict which can occur because of the nature of the roles of the Kabloona, rather than (or inspite of) the personality of individuals who might occupy certain roles, (2) the four levels at which conflict occurs, and (3) the occurrence of conflict over territory, scarce resources, and reciprocity.

Because of the nature of the "employer/employee" roles, I have suggested

as a hypothesis that supervisors are more likely to socialize with Kabloona who are either co-workers or members of agencies other than their own, and "employees" socialize with co-workers and members of other agencies too. Data to support this hypothesis is presented, although further research must be done to collect more evidence to test the hypothesis satisfactorily.

Suggestions are made as to ways in which conflict might be reduced among Kabloona. Areas for further research are outlined.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to this thesis. To my committee, Dr. W.W. Koolage, Dr. R.E. Wiest, and Professor W. Zuk. I wish to express my sincere appreciation for their interest and assistance in the writing of this paper. Dr. Wiest encouraged me in my work in undergraduate years, and his continued interest and helpful co-operation have been invaluable in this thesis also.

Certain of my "Arctic friends", particularly Mr. D. Garrity and Mr. W. Berry, have, through their friendship and knowledge, contributed to this paper. Also Dr. J.S. Matthiasson, another "northern friend", can claim "responsibility" for having interested me initially, and encouraged me to continue in the field of anthropology.

Many others also deserve thanks, but the most significant contribution has been made by my wife Isabel, who shared all my "field time" with me, and who in typing numerous drafts and copies has relived it all over again.

LIST OF TABLES

CLIMATIC DATA 19

TABLE

I	Interpersonal Relations Settlement A	88
II	Interpersonal Relations Settlement B	89
III	Interpersonal Relations Settlement C	91
IV	Interpersonal Relations Settlement D	92

LIST OF MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

MAP OF EASTERN ARCTIC 7

PLATE

1	Arctic Settlement	10
2	School Hostels	10
3	Rental Housing	13
4	Eskimo Camp	13
5	Air Transport	15
6	Nursing Station	15
7	Arctic Bay 1962	17
8	Arctic Bay 1969	17
9	Midnight Sun	22
10	School Children	22
11	M.V. Pierre Radisson	24
12	Local Store	24
13	Water Truck	29
14	Residential School	29
15	Spring Games	32
16	Christmas Celebrations	32
17	Newer Staff Housing	35
18	Older Government House	35
19	Hudson's Bay Co. House	37
20	Kabloona Compound	37
21	Suspended Basement House	61
22	Official Dinner	79

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS	vii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II THE COMMUNITY OF BAFFIN FIORD	8
History of Baffin Fiord	9
The Climate of Baffin Fiord	20
Economic Base of Baffin Fiord	21
Communication and Transportation Links	25
Facilities at Baffin Fiord	27
Summary	36
III LEVELS OF CONFLICT	39
Historical Basis for Conflict	39
Inter-Agency Conflict	42
Intra-Agency Conflict	46
Inter-Family Conflict	48
Intra-Family Conflict	49
Summary	51
IV COMPETITION FOR SCARCE RESOURCES	53
The Case of the Christmas Tree	54
Of Houses and Things	57
Scarcity of Females	64
The Right to Work	66
Summary	69
V RECIPROCITY	72
The Missing Letters	74
The Ones who Came to Dinner	76
Generalized Reciprocity	78
VI FRIEND AND FOE	82
Settlement A	87
Settlement B	90
Settlement C	91
Settlement D	91
VII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	96
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While most anthropologists and other social scientists working in the Arctic focus their research on the Eskimo, in this thesis I direct my attention toward the Kabloona (non-Eskimo) minority group which is to be found in all small Arctic settlements. The Kabloona minority consists of traders, missionaries, policemen, teachers, administrators and other government employees and their families. This minority group, although generally neglected by anthropologists and other social scientists, provides a legitimate field for study in that group members are confronted with unique problems of survival. These survival problems are not what we usually associate with the Arctic, namely, finding sufficient food or combating extreme cold, since this minority group is generally well provided with adequate housing, sufficient food, and cash income by the agencies which employ them.

The problem all Kabloona face is basically how to "get along with each other". The Kabloona are not a homogeneous group. Besides English and French Canadians, there are usually people from the British Isles and Europe in the settlement as well. Different value systems are associated with their different cultural backgrounds. They also have had varying degrees of education, have different work skills, and may have entirely

dissimilar motives for coming to the Arctic. Certainly these factors affect interaction. However, despite different values, different life histories, and different motives of individuals, my experience leads me to believe that there are general patterns of relationships that are determined by such factors as size of the Kabloona group, isolation, access to scarce resources, as well as the peculiar developmental history of Arctic settlements. Because among other reasons, individuals of the Kabloona group are employed by different agencies having opposing aims, there is often conflict between group members.

Conflict here does not refer to physical violence (although on occasion this does occur) but rather to disagreements, arguments, and other factors which prevent or disrupt inter-personal relationships among members of the Kabloona group. As Boag (1966:139) says,

"It does seem that inter-personal problems in these groups are frequent, judging from personal accounts, though they rarely find their way into print. There is no convincing evidence that they are worse in any special and isolated group living under stress in other parts of the world."

Isolated from the larger southern communities by geography, and from the larger Eskimo community by language and cultural differences, the Kabloona group must try to maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships in spite of many factors which cause conflict. Unlike the situation in southern Canada where there is usually a wide choice of people with whom one may form social relationships (exceptions would be small "bush posts" without road connections), Kabloona in Arctic communities have a very limited number of individuals with whom they may form alliances or friendships. At the time, social relationships are increasingly important for the Kabloona, because socializing is often the only substitute for

accustomed entertainment such as movies, theatre, team sports, and outdoor recreation available in southern Canada. Maintaining satisfactory social relationships is more difficult in Arctic communities because the work group and the social group often involve the same people. Conflict which arises in the work situation carries over into the social sphere and vice versa. Also, because of the small size of the group and the isolation of the settlement, it is difficult to avoid those persons whom one does not like or with whom one has had disagreements, particularly when the persons involved may be required to work together on a day-to-day basis.

In this thesis I will discuss the Kabloona group and the factors that cause conflict between members of the group. Although Vallee (1967) and Honigmann (1965) make some mention of the Kabloona, these authors are more interested in the larger Eskimo society, and are concerned with the Kabloona minority primarily as to their effect on the Eskimo.

It is valid to consider the Kabloona as a distinct group. They form a separate and distinct entity by reason of race, language, and culture, and Parsons (1970) has shown that there is limited interaction between Kabloona and the natives outside of work or community organized social settings. Considering that the objective of this thesis is to examine the interpersonal relationships among the Kabloona, I suggest that it is legitimate to focus on Kabloona interaction and largely exclude the Eskimo group from consideration. However, this is not to say that the Eskimo have no effect on Kabloona interaction as Vallee (1967:105) has found at Baker Lake.

This thesis is the result of my observations over the period September

1962 to June 1969 and the period May 1970 to August 1970. During this extended period of time I was a full participant in a number of small communities in the eastern Arctic. I was employed as a teacher first for the Federal Government and later for the Territorial Government, and was able to observe Kabloona society in isolated communities for more than seven years. My observations combined with library research will enable me to give an ethnographic description of Kabloona society including examples of the causes of conflict in small communities.

I was a full participant in small settlements during my residence in the north. This may be regarded by some as a limitation. To acquire data for the thesis required that I act as my own principal informant. There are advantages to this approach as opposed to more conventional field work by an investigator because: (1) I was able to spend far more time in the field than most researchers are able to; (2) as full participant I was considered a group member; (3) the Kabloona group tends to be somewhat hostile to social scientists, and would be reluctant to be the subject of study; and (4) I was able to spend more than three months in each of four different settlements with different Kabloona groups, allowing for comparison of interpersonal relations in a variety of situations.

There are disadvantages in using myself as principal informant. The main disadvantage is that the views presented are those of only one person. By not making use of a number of informants, it is not possible to know if a majority or minority view is being presented. In addition, incidents in which I was personally involved are more likely to be presented than incidents involving other individuals, and incidents involving other persons are not likely to be presented as accurately. The material presented here

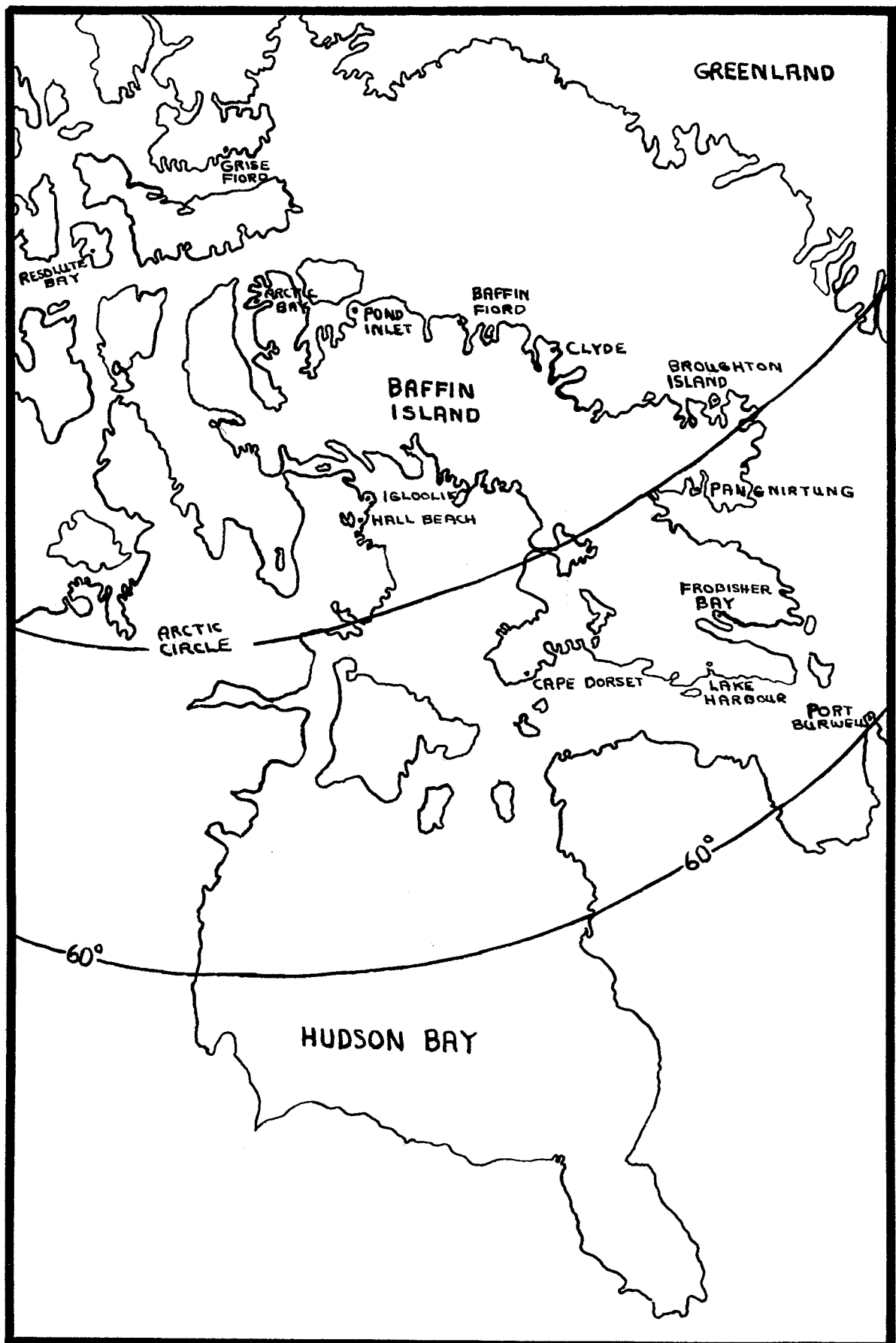
is highly selective and less objective than I would like. This is offset by the fact that my information is being examined in retrospect which may permit greater objectivity than if the "informant" were still a full participant.

There are also certain moral and ethical problems involved, particularly as the Kabloona group was not aware that they were to be the subjects for a thesis (nor did I expect at the time that my observations would be incorporated into one). For this reason specific names of individuals and places will be avoided as much as possible. As a result, general principles will become discernible and will be applicable to Kabloona groups in any small Arctic community. Boag's (1966:139) observations as well as my conversations with friends with experience in mission stations in Nepal and Liberia, suggest that a number of problems of conflict and stress are common to these areas as well as to the Canadian Arctic.

It is important that the reader is aware of the setting in which Kabloona interaction takes place. For those unfamiliar with Arctic communities, I will describe a "typical" (though fictional) settlement, outlining the historical development with emphasis on Kabloona settlement, and the agencies and facilities available. This fictional community provides a setting within which Kabloona interaction takes place, making the discussion of the causes of conflict more understandable to those not acquainted with Arctic communities. It also provides a frame in which I can present dialogue among Kabloona. The dialogues will serve to illustrate some of the examples of how and why conflict develops.

In conclusion, the aims of this thesis are to describe the environment of the Kabloona minority in isolated Arctic settlements, to discuss the

interpersonal relations within this minority group, and to consider reasons for conflict among members of the group. This approach will serve to indicate which problems create conflict and thereby provide suggestions for conflict resolution and avoidance. The thesis is intended to add to the general body of literature on conflict and stress in isolation, especially the causes of conflict and the mechanisms used to control it. By focusing on the Kabloona, a group receiving little attention from social scientists, my thesis can contribute to a greater understanding of adaptation to environmental stress and social isolation. I hope that the thesis will be of practical use to persons working in small isolated communities.



CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY OF BAFFIN FIORD

In this chapter I intend to describe the setting in which Kabloona social inter-action takes place, so that the reader can better understand the problems facing Kabloona in the Arctic.

The communities with which I am concerned are small, isolated communities in the Eastern Arctic. The Eastern Arctic Administration Area includes all of Baffin Island, the settlements of Hall Beach and Igloolik in Foxe Basin, the islands of the Queen Elizabeth Archipelago, bounded on the west by Cornwallis and Amund Ringnes Islands, extending to the Pole, and the islands off the Quebec coast in Hudson Strait. (See Map I).

By "small community" I mean one in which there are not more than about 600 Eskimos in the total trading area of the community, and one in which the Kabloona population does not exceed sixty, including children and dependents of government personnel and employees of other agencies. By imposing these size limits I exclude the large administrative centre of Frobisher Bay which has a Kabloona population in excess of 1,000.

Although each small Arctic community is unique in certain features, there are enough similarities of climate, history, and agencies represented that it is possible to construct a model community populated by fictional characters who would be representative of small communities in the Eastern

Arctic. In order to incorporate material from a number of settlements, protect the anonymity of people involved, and make the thesis applicable in some ways to settlements in general, I propose to construct just such a model community for this thesis rather than discuss one settlement. I will call my model community Baffin Fiord.

A History of Baffin Fiord

Baffin Fiord¹ is on the east side of Baffin Island inside the Arctic Circle. The settlement is on a flat area of land at the foot of five thousand foot mountains which surround the fiord. The settlement was originally a good sealing area, and evidence of Thule and Dorset cultures can be found close to the present settlement. Because of the sheltered harbour offered by the fiord, whalers often anchored and on occasion spent the winter there.

The first "permanent" Kabloona in the area was a Hudson's Bay Company trader, who opened a post in 1927. The original buildings are still being used as warehouse space, on the site of the present settlement. The site was chosen for its good harbour, sheltered location and level building ground. Although there was more than sufficient space for the Hudson's Bay Company facilities, it is now becoming increasingly difficult to find suitable building space on the present site for the rapidly growing settlement.

Following the establishment of a permanent settlement by the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican mission built a church in 1935. This has led some

¹ The reader is again reminded that Baffin Fiord is a "composite", fictitious settlement, incorporating the important features of many Arctic settlements into one.



Plate 1

The whitewashed rocks lining pathways and the breathing space between buildings identifies the "compound" of the original settlers, The Bay and the Mission.



Plate 2

Hostels such as these enable Eskimo parents who are still living in camps to leave their children in the settlement so they can attend school regularly.

Kabloona to suggest that the initials HBC stands for "here before Christ". Because of difficulties in recruiting for northern missions, the church has been represented only intermittently at Baffin Fiord. This shortage continues and the present missionary travels to settlements within a 500 mile radius to perform marriages and baptisms. He is assisted by a trained Eskimo lay catechist who conducts services when there is no minister resident in the settlement.

With the arrival of an RCMP constable in 1936, the "trinity" was completed. The white blue-trimmed buildings of the RCMP establishment, the red-roofed, white buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the grey asphalt shingled mission with their walk-ways outlined in white-washed rocks, occupy most of the best building ground on the site (see Plate 1), and stand out as an island of neatness and order among the mixture of colours, styles and sprawl of the government buildings and Eskimo rental houses (See Graburn 1969:4 for a similar description).

The real growth of the settlement has occurred in the last ten years. In 1960 the federal government sent in material for the construction of a one room school and a teacher's residence on one of the supply ships. In May 1961, a construction crew was flown in to erect the buildings during the summer season in preparation for the teacher's arrival and school opening in September of the same year. Construction did not go smoothly, as some of the prefabricated panels had been warped from exposure and the melting of the snow in the spring. These difficulties were overcome, however, and on September 17th, 1961, the Baffin Fiord Federal Day School opened its doors to 14 Eskimo pupils ranging in age from 6 to 14.

The gasoline generator wet-battery power units in use by the other

Kabloona agencies were of inadequate size and of the wrong voltage to supply power to the school and teacherage, and operate the audio visual equipment in the new school. This demand for power required the construction of a power plant and the installation of a small diesel generator. Initially the plant was operated and maintained by an Eskimo power plant operator who had received a three month training course. However, materials for a house for a Kabloona mechanic arrived on the 1961 sealift and a house was erected that same autumn by the crew which had built the school. It did not remain vacant long. A Kabloona power plant operator was hired and arrived in Baffin Fiord in March 1962.

Vallee (1967:77) has recorded that Eskimo were discouraged from congregating around the Baker Lake trading post. The situation was similar at Baffin Fiord. Eskimo from the outlying hunting camps began to drift into the settlement and establish residence there only after government became involved in the settlement. The school and community activities such as dances and movies, the opportunity for casual labour in construction and service projects and the beginnings of a low-cost housing programme for Eskimos attracted people from camp life to the settlement. The Eskimo population in the settlement grew to the point that in 1964 an addition to the school building was required and a second teacher was added to the staff. The one teacher had been responsible to this point for all government administration work including payroll, monthly reports, annual requisitioning of supplies, development of a handicraft programme, and administering the social assistance programme which had formerly been the responsibility of the Police. This non-teaching workload had increased to the extent that in 1964 the teacher could no longer effectively carry out an education function as



Plate 3

Low rental plan three-bedroom and one-bedroom houses have hydro, water and sewage services provided. They are a strong incentive for Eskimo to leave the camps and take up residence in the settlements.



Plate 4

Small camps such as this one are disappearing as members are attracted to the settlement.

well as the administrative duties. In September 1964 a northern service officer arrived in Baffin Fiord to take over the responsibilities of administration.

A larger replacement diesel generator arrived in order to provide for the increased power demands of the rapidly growing settlement. Also, two small eight-pupil hostels were erected so that those parents living in hunting camps would be able to leave their children in the settlement to attend school. Throughout the Eastern Arctic these small hostels (see Plate 2) in each settlement were used for local boarding rather than transporting children to a single, large, far distant residential school as was previously done in the western Arctic. (See Hobart 1966 for a critique of remote school hostels). Many Eskimo parents, however, preferred to move into the settlement and take advantage of settlement facilities rather than leave their children at hostels while they returned to the land. By 1970, there were no longer enough pupils resident in the hostels to justify keeping them open.

The construction phase of a low-rental Eskimo housing scheme was begun in 1966. This scheme provided fully serviced houses with rents scaled to income, and made settlement living so attractive that only the most land-oriented Eskimos continued to live away from the settlement. (See Plate 3). From seven large hunting camps scattered up and down the coast in 1960, there remained only two small camps by 1970. (See Plate 4). This increase in favor of settlement living in turn required further additions to the school, increases in the education staff, and greater demands on the administrative and engineering departments. Of course increases in Kabloona housing were also inevitable.



Plate 5

Settlements which are fortunate enough to have some level ground may be able to construct airstrips suitable for S.T.O.L aircraft.



Plate 6

Both Eskimo and Kabloona parents make use of the services of the local nursing station.

In 1967 a short 1200 foot runway was constructed to accommodate STOL² aircraft. The strip was built only with much levelling and filling, since the area around Baffin Fiord does not lend itself to airport facilities. Landing on the short strip with the approach over the hills, and the drop off into the sea, continues to be an adventure for all who are used to 6000 feet of hard surfaced runway. (See Plate 5). The strip is invaluable to the community. During the freeze-up and break-up periods wheeled aircraft can continue to bring in mail, supplies and more importantly take out persons who require immediate medical attention. Formerly, when planes landed either on skis or floats, there was a period of six weeks to two months in both the spring and the fall, when air traffic was impossible.

Besides crowding the available building room, the settlement has also outgrown its water supply. The small creek which runs through the settlement could no longer meet community needs even if it had remained unpolluted. Water is now obtained from a fresh water lake about three miles away and is transported to the settlement by tracked water carriers. Although the site seems inadequate, the Hudson's Bay people who originally chose it could not have predicted the tremendous expansion of the community over the last few years.

Health needs of the community had been provided for by the annual medical survey ship the "C.D. Howe", occasional visits by doctors from Frobisher Bay, and most of the time through the efforts of the Police constable who acted as a lay dispenser. In 1968, however, the Indian and Northern Health Services shipped in Atco trailer units for use as a nursing

² Short Take-off and Landing aircraft.

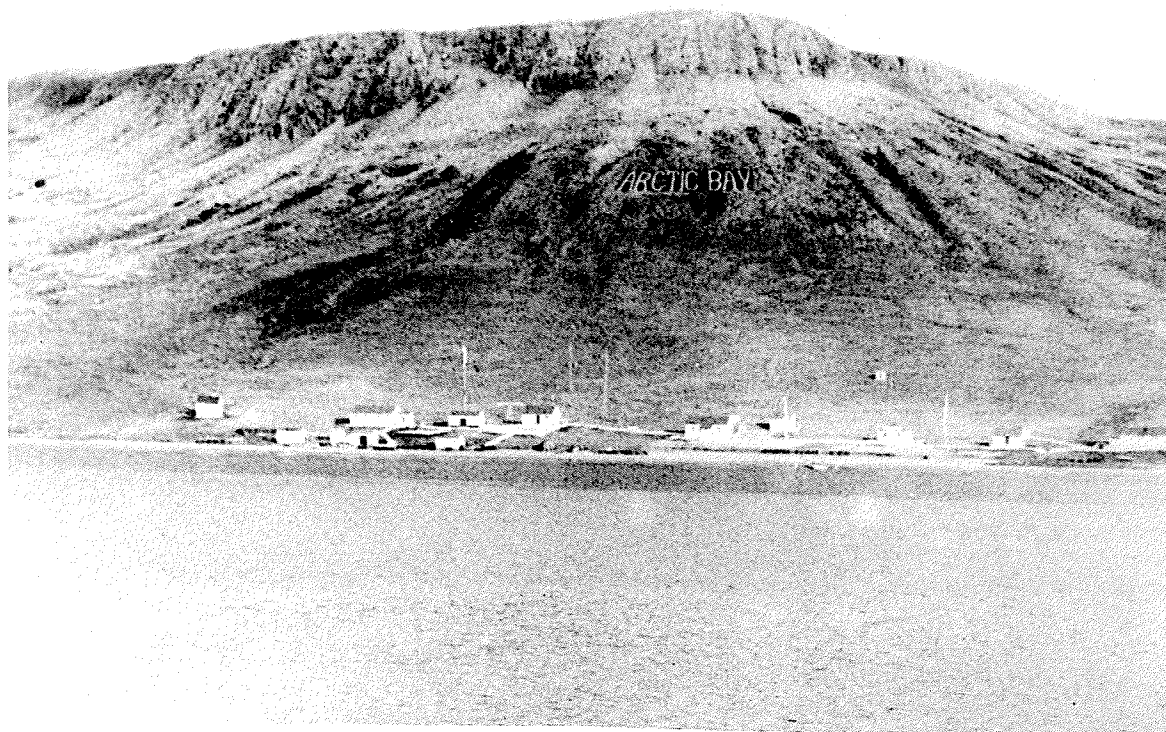


Plate 7

The settlement of Arctic Bay in September, 1962. Five or six Eskimo tents and shacks are out of sight to the left and right of the picture.



Plate 8

This view of Arctic Bay taken in April 1969, illustrates the rapid growth which has been common to many Arctic settlements. The original "white compound" has not been incorporated into the new "integrated" settlement.

station. The provision of trained medical personnel to some degree alleviated concern over health problems in the community, particularly among Kabloona with young children. (See Plate 6).

Since April 1, 1970, the government of the Northwest Territories has been responsible for administrative, educational, and engineering services in the whole community. The continued growth of Baffin Fiord and the development of other settlements suggests a continuing increase in Kabloona personnel at Baffin Fiord. Within the next few years it is likely there will be another increase in the number of teachers. There will probably be a second mechanic. Quite possibly tourist development officers, game management officers, and co-operative development officers will be added to the government establishment.

Baffin Fiord, like many other small Arctic communities, was originally only a small trading post serving a number of scattered Eskimo hunting camps on the northeast Baffin coast. The Kabloona establishment, and the number of Eskimo living at the community remained very small until the early sixties. With the beginning of the government school and social programmes, the settlement has rapidly expanded in size in a "snowball effect". (See Plate 7). The whole complex of improved facilities, including school services, health and welfare, proximity to the trading post, electric power, and the opportunity for wage labour, have attracted more Eskimo to the settlement. The increase in the Eskimo population in the settlement has meant that more Kabloona were needed to satisfy the demand for increased services (more teachers, for example). These Kabloona required an increased support staff, which again increased facilities and attracted even more Eskimo to the settlement. (See Graburn 1959: 147 for a similar analysis of this rapid expansion).

Climate Data for Stations in the Canadian Arctic

Clyde: LATITUDE 70°27'N LONGITUDE 68°33'W—ALTITUDE ABOVE M.S.L. 10 FEET

Month	AIR TEMPERATURE							PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY OF DAYS WITH MINIMUM TEMPERATURES AT OR BELOW —				Mean Cloud Amount —
	Mean Daily	Mean of Daily		Mean of Monthly		Absolute Extreme		-10°F	-20°F	-30°F	-40°F	10ths of Sky Covered
		Maximum	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Highest Recorded	Lowest Recorded					
	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F	°F					
Jan.....	-17.0	-10.1	-23.8	17	-43	23	-49	84	63	37	13	4.8
Feb.....	-20.1	-12.7	-27.5	11	-42	38	-48	91	76	43	16	4.3
Mar.....	-15.7	-7.2	-21.1	13	-40	28	-45	90	68	33	6	3.4
Apr.....	1.0	10.7	-8.8	29	-28	38	-42	53	22	2	0	4.1
May.....	20.9	28.8	13.0	41	-6	48	-14	1	0	0	0	6.7
June.....	34.6	40.5	28.6	52	17	59	10	0	0	0	0	6.6
July.....	40.5	47.3	33.6	63	28	71	22	0	0	0	0	6.8
Aug.....	39.3	44.7	33.8	58	28	66	22	0	0	0	0	7.0
Sept.....	32.3	36.7	27.9	48	18	55	12	0	0	0	0	7.2
Oct.....	20.2	25.0	15.3	35	0	42	-13	1	0	0	0	7.6
Nov.....	-0.4	5.9	-6.7	23	-22	41	-31	42	15	1	0	5.5
Dec.....	-14.1	-7.9	-20.2	11	-34	25	-47	81	53	24	2	3.8
Year.....	10.1	16.8	3.4	64	-46	71	-49					5.7
Period.....	1951-60					1942-60		1951-60				

Month	PRECIPITATION					WIND		MEAN DAYS WITH—		FREEZING AND THAWING DEGREE-DAYS		
	Rain		Snow		Total (water)	Most Prevalent		Average Speed	Fog-Visibility Less than 5/8 Mile	Blowing Snow-Visibility 6 Miles or Less	Below 32°F	Above 32°F
	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Days	Mean Amount	Direction	Percentage					
	in.	No.	in.	No.	in.			m.p.h.				
Jan.....	2	2	4.3	6	0.43	NW	29	4.6	2	5	1,572	0
Feb.....	0	0	2.6	4	0.26	NW	43	7.4	1	5	1,481	0
Mar.....	2	2	2.0	3	0.20	NW	35	4.9	2	2	1,457	0
Apr.....	0	0	4.9	5	0.49	NW	36	4.7	1	2	953	0
May.....	2	2	5.4	9	0.54	NW	43	6.4	3	3	342	7
June.....	0.08	2	3.2	6	0.40	NW	59	8.0	2	2	25	106
July.....	0.52	7	3.6	1	0.88	NW	59	8.5	5	0	0	271
Aug.....	1.10	8	1.5	2	1.31	NW	36	6.4	5	0	2	241
Sept.....	0.58	3	10.9	8	1.67	NW	48	8.1	1	1	53	57
Oct.....	2	2	12.1	13	1.24	NW	32	10.3	2	4	392	4
Nov.....	2	2	5.5	9	0.55	NW	46	7.0	2	4	1,003	0
Dec.....	2	2	1.7	4	0.17	NW	38	3.8	2	3	1,114	0
Year.....	2.34	18	38.0	70	8.11			6.7	18	31	8,697	689
Period.....	1951-60					1955-56		1951-60	1955-60	1950-59		

¹ Average of less than 1 p.c.

² Average of less than 0.005 in.

³ Average of less than 0.5 day.

Courtesy, Department of Transport

The Climate of Baffin Fiord

Arctic communities are generally described as having nine months winter and three months of tough sledding. Baffin Fiord is no different. For more than half of the year it is characterized by a continental type climate which is modified somewhat by the relatively warm waters beneath the ice. The mean temperatures of the three coldest months is below -15 degrees F. Kabloona from the Prairie provinces are surprised to find that minimum winter temperatures at Baffin Fiord are roughly equivalent to minimum temperatures experienced in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, however, continuous cold spells of -20 to -30°F weather exceed in duration anything found in southern Canada. Snowfall too is much less than in southern Canada, however the drifting effect of the wind and the absence of mid-winter thaws gives the impression of a great accumulation of snow. Chart 1 gives the climatic data for the settlement of Clyde, approximately one hundred and fifty miles from Baffin Fiord. There is a Department of Transport weather station at Clyde, therefore the data for that settlement are given. In Baffin Fiord, unofficial temperature readings are kept by the R.C.M.P. corporal.

Although Kabloona from southern Canada may be familiar with low winter temperatures, the length of the winter is quite different to what they have experienced, and in the summer, mean temperatures are much lower than those found in southern Canada. Located above the Arctic Circle, Baffin Fiord has a period of continuous sunlight, and a "dark" period during which the sun never rises. The sun appears above the horizon for the last time in early November, and does not return again until the first week in February. Smith (1965) has shown how the sun's return is an important event. Contrary

to popular belief, this three month period is not one of total darkness, because in high latitudes sunset is followed by an extremely long twilight. As a result, even on December 21 there is a period of an hour and a half to two hours during which it is "light". Nevertheless, the nights are extremely long, and the temperatures are extreme. The weather is not conducive to outdoor activities. In spring there is perpetual daylight even before the sun ceases to set because of the long twilight effect. There is no real night from mid-April through to mid-August, while the sun does not set at all from the last week in May until mid-July. (See Plate 9). The period of continual daylight is compensation for the dark winter, although a wet and cold summer can mean that after having been restricted indoors due to the winter temperatures Kabloona may find that even in the summer outdoor activity can be unpleasant.

Often April and May is the most pleasant time of the year. Although temperatures remain below or near freezing, after a long cold winter temperatures seem comparatively mild. As the sea is still ice-covered, there is usually little cloud cover, and not the damp cold of summer and fall. Bright blue sky and perpetual sunlight reflecting from the clean white snow make this the most pleasant time of year in Baffin Fiord.

Economic Base of Baffin Fiord

For the Eskimo of Baffin Fiord the economic base is hunting, trapping, manufacture of handicrafts, welfare, construction, and employment with the various Kabloona agencies. For the Kabloona, however, the economic base is service for the Eskimo and other Kabloona. The primary reason for Kabloona being at Baffin Fiord has been to provide a service on one sort or another



Plate 9

At high latitudes the midnight sun, shown here, is matched by a mid-winter "dark period."



Plate 10

Many Kabloona parents are concerned about the education their children will receive in classrooms where much of the time is spent learning English.

for the local Eskimo population. This service function varies depending on the agency the Kabloona represents.

The Kabloona at Baffin Fiord are not necessarily altruistic. Service to the Eskimo usually means that there are benefits to be derived from the association by the Kabloona agencies. For example, although the Hudson's Bay Company provides a service by maintaining a store from which Eskimo can buy goods that are now "essentials", the Hudson's Bay Company obtains furs which can be sold in the south for a profit. The church serves the Eskimo's spiritual needs, but first has to convert them to a Christian belief, which of course increases church membership. Even the government, which maintains expensive schools in order to educate Eskimo children, hopes that by doing so Eskimo will become sufficiently educated that they can enter the "mainstream of Canadian life" and thereby "become able to participate fully in Canadian Society if they so choose". (Graburn 1969: 223).

As the number of Kabloona in the settlement increases, Kabloona acquire a secondary function -- that of service to each other. The Hudson's Bay Company store begins to stock items which are designed to attract the Kabloona trade, although luxury items such as tape recorders and record players find a more ready outlet with the Eskimo people. The missionary may find that a service in English must be added to his list of Sunday services. And the school teacher who expected to be teaching only Eskimo children will find that a number of Kabloona children, the sons and daughters of other Kabloona in the settlement, are members of the class. (See Plate 10). The government mechanic is really in a support position, although he may have close personal contact with an Eskimo helper. He is not primarily

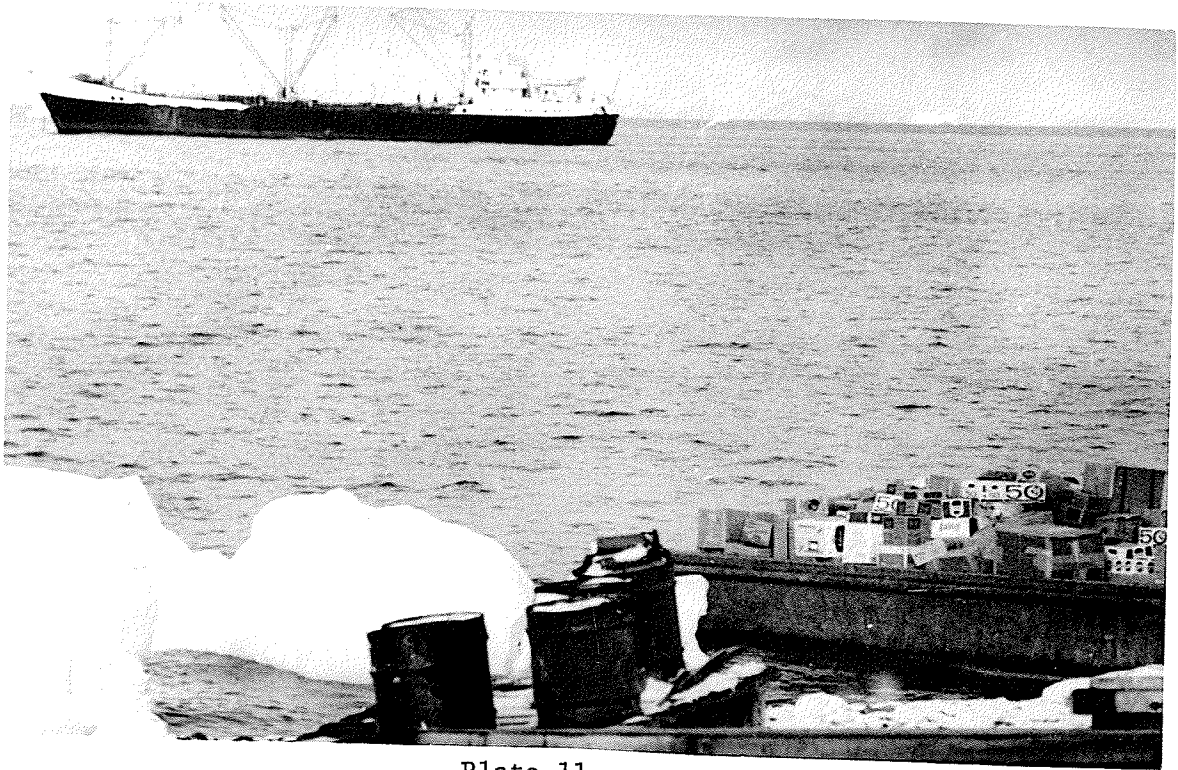


Plate 11

The absence of wharves or jetties at almost all Arctic settlements requires that ships like the "Radisson" transfer their cargo to small barges which then carry goods and materials to the shore.

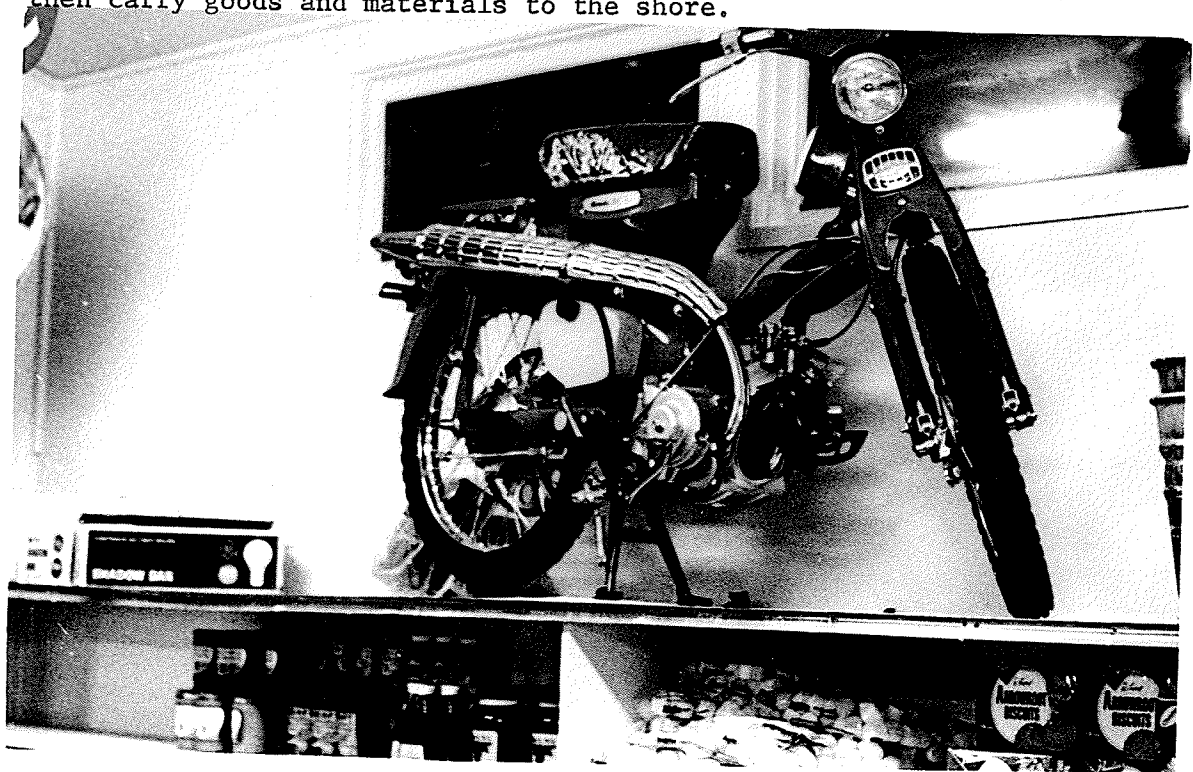


Plate 12

Arctic trading posts have changed from the days when the stock was mostly staples such as flour, tea and ammunition.

concerned with the Eskimo community, but is required to maintain the generator, vehicles, and other mechanical equipment which are required for the operation of the total settlement. In fact though, because he often works with adult Eskimo males at certain tasks, he may have more contact with a portion of the Eskimo community than many of the other Kabloona.

The economic reasons for the presence of Kabloona are to provide service to the Eskimo community, or to provide the service facilities for those who are dealing with the Eskimo. But in one form or another there is some return or gain expected from supplying this service. Increasingly, Kabloona are finding that they can no longer serve only the Eskimo but must also provide services to Kabloona in the settlement.

Communication and Transportation Links

Until the early 1960's, communication and transportation networks were very poorly developed. All supplies for the operation of the settlement were brought in by ship during the short ice-free season of late August and September. The supplies for the Hudson's Bay post were brought in by the M.V. Pierre Radisson, a Company vessel (See Plate 11). The Canadian ship, C.D. Howe, besides acting as a medical survey ship, also carried heating oil, building materials, food supplies, and mail for the settlements (see Graburn, 1969:143-144 for an account of travel on the "Howe"). During the winter the RCMP aircraft and occasional charter aircraft brought in mail. Crassweller and Smith (1968) describe how the RCAF dropped mail to the settlements by parachute on the annual Christmas airdrop. Telegram and voice communication were also maintained through the Hudson's Bay radio network, which would carry commercial traffic, while the RCMP radio was for the exclusive use of

the RCM Police (except in emergencies, when the Police would transmit or receive other messages). Smith (1968a) has indicated that some communities also made use of amateur radio networks to supplement the other systems of communication.

Communication and transportation have been vastly improved and now as many as four of five ships may "offload" during the summer shipping season. The air strip enables aircraft to land during the fall freeze-up and spring break-up, when formerly the settlement had no means of transportation to the "outside". The number of charter flights has increased from two or three per year to two or three per month, and in addition Nordair Limited has a scheduled weekly flight into Baffin Fiord from Frobisher Bay with twin Otter aircraft. This increased communication means a more regular mail service which enables Kabloona to maintain ties with friends and relatives in the south. It also allows Kabloona (and Eskimo) to shop C.O.D., using Simpsons-Sears and Eaton's catalogues. Although air freight is expensive, parts and supplies can be delivered to the settlement more frequently than once a year as was previously the case. This is especially important when parts are required to repair the diesel generators or other mechanical equipment essential for the operation of the settlement.

The development of transportation has meant an improvement in communication. This is especially important for the government agencies, as so much government business is conducted by memo and letter. There have also been improvements in other forms of communication. Bell Telephone Company installed radio telephone equipment in 1966. This system provides voice communication with other settlements on the Island and with the main administrative centre at Frobisher Bay. Telephone calls can also be made to

southern Canada and other parts of the world by a relay hook-up through the Bell Telephone facilities at Frobisher Bay. Because the Bell system is a radio telephone network private or personal communication can be overheard by any third party who wishes to take the trouble to tune in on a short-wave radio. Also, atmospheric conditions can affect the quality of transmission and there are periods when static makes it impossible to make use of this system (see Smith 1968b for one example of the effect of loss of radio communication).

Facilities at Baffin Fiord

Considering the geographic location of Baffin Fiord, Kabloona residents have most of the facilities of small southern towns available to them. The most notable exception to this is the absence of the network of roads and highways which enables small town dwellers in southern Canada to travel to larger towns and cities for shopping, entertainment, and socializing with friends and relatives.

The local Hudson's Bay store, because of the increased Kabloona population and the changed buying habits and incomes of the Eskimo, carries a much larger variety of stock than during fur trade days as Nichols (1966) has shown. Besides hunting and fishing equipment, Ski-doo parts, outboard motors, canoes, gasoline, food and clothing, luxury items such as tape recorders, record players, radios, and even Honda motor cycles are stocked. (See Plate 12). Food items include canned and frozen meats, and vegetables, but fresh food is only available just after shipping season, if at all. Prices are generally quite high, a result of the shipping costs and high overhead (and in part a monopoly position). Many Kabloona order food from southern

suppliers and have it shipped in by sea. They store the food in the community freezer (which the Eskimo can also use). Many items are sold out during the year as Berry (1968) has shown, and items which Kabloona are used to buying in the south may not be available locally. Kabloona who are used to living in large southern centers miss the opportunity of shopping at bargains or sales in order to save on the family budget, and being able to shop at a wide variety of stores in order to find a particular brand or item that is required or desired. However, with the improved mail service in recent years mail-order shopping can be used to supplement the local store stock. Still, there are two main drawbacks to mail-order shopping. There is at least a two-to-three week wait for delivery, and air freight or postage charges add to the cost of all items purchased.

Those Kabloona who wish to attend church can take part in Anglican Sunday services in the Eskimo language, or the non-denominational service held by the Anglican missionary on Sunday afternoons. Roman Catholics and non-Christians may have to do without spiritual advisers.

Police protection is provided by the RCMP. However, the crime rate at Baffin Fiord is very low, and the Kabloona make very little use of the RCMP facilities, except to obtain fur export permits and game licenses. The RCMP does operate the post office, a service which is very important to the Kabloona at Baffin Fiord. One disadvantage from the point of view of the Kabloona is that with the RCMP at Baffin Fiord they cannot hunt and fish as freely as they might do in settlements where there are no Police.

Much of the comfort and convenience of day-to-day living is due to government involvement in the settlement. Electric power from the government

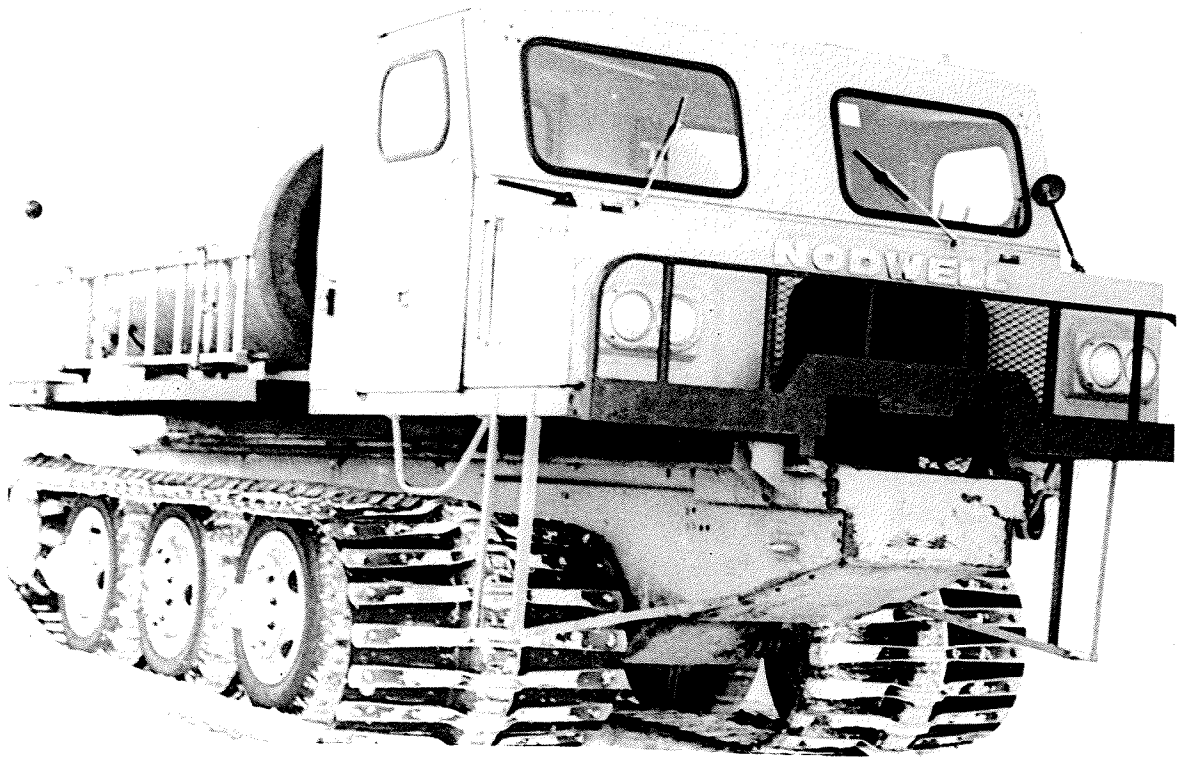


Plate 13

Door to door water delivery is provided in most settlements. To fill up, this water carrier might travel three to four miles to a lake back in the hills.



Plate 14

When completed, this residential school at Frobisher Bay will provide higher education to Eskimo children on Baffin Island.

generating plant provides lighting for the whole settlement and allows Kabloona to operate their tape recorders and high fidelity sets, and to operate forced-air furnaces and major appliances in those houses so equipped. Water is delivered to all houses by a tracked Nodwell water tanker (See Plate 13). This bulk delivery of water allows Kabloona to take showers and wash clothes more frequently than when summer water was obtained by the bucket-load from a stream, and winter water was melted from ice blocks cut from the surface of a lake. Sewage and garbage is also collected and transported to the dump by government employees. Formerly, garbage was placed on the sea ice in front of the settlement where it would float away during spring break-up. Unfortunately, the collection of garbage at a central dump has been no real solution to the problem of waste disposal because waste now collects "just over the hill".

Aside from Ski-doo's, the only vehicles belong to the government, but the administrator has the authority to rent vehicles with drivers to other agencies and individuals. In practice, charges are seldom made for those "rentals" (refer to Chapter V, Reciprocity). The dump truck and tractor save much hauling and lifting of heavy materials during ship-time off-loading. The Bombardier snowmobile is used for meeting aircraft, transporting patients from the nursing station to the airstrip, and carrying mail from planes to the post office.

Kabloona children of school age take their lessons in the same classrooms as the Eskimo children of the settlement. The modern school is well equipped with audio visual material and teaching aids. Grades 1 and 6 are taught in five classrooms, and a kindergarten for pre-school age children will open in September, 1971. The junior high grades are not offered at

Baffin Fiord except through correspondence courses. Eskimo children may go to the residential school at Churchill, or, commencing September 1971, to the residential school at Frobisher Bay (See Plate 14). However, of necessity Kabloona children must go to school in southern Canada, or, as often happens when they reach junior high school, the family as a whole leaves the north or transfers to a large centre where education at a higher level is offered.

The Indian and Northern Health Services (I.N.H.S.) nursing station is staffed by a registered nurse. Treatment for all but the most serious medical cases can be attended to locally. The nurse can also obtain advice from the doctors in Frobisher Bay through Bell Telephone or in emergencies via the Police radio system. When necessary, charter flights are arranged to transport emergency cases directly to the hospital at Frobisher Bay for immediate medical attention. On many occasions the pilots of chartered aircraft have made medical evacuations in weather conditions in which visibility was reduced to half a mile or less. The nurses do an excellent job of providing health services for the whole community, but those Kabloona with young children are usually concerned that they do not have as ready access to doctors, hospitals, and specialists as they would have in southern centres.

Dental care at Baffin Fiord is limited to extractions only. Generally, a dentist flies in two or three times a year with a portable chair and drill, but is usually kept very busy attending to the dental needs of the Eskimo population. Kabloona are expected to have dental work attended to during their vacations in southern Canada, and the dentist is usually reluctant to do dental work on Kabloona when this work could have been taken care of in



Plate 15

Although the spring games have many traditional Eskimo sports, Kabloona also participate.



Plate 16

The Christmas celebrations also involve Kabloona and Eskimo.

the south at vacation time. As a result, Kabloona who require dental work which cannot wait until vacation time may have to fly out to Frobisher Bay or perhaps even to Montreal for treatment.

Recreation facilities at Baffin Fiord are practically non-existent. Kabloona who have been used to going to ballet, cocktail lounges, night-clubs, beer parlours, football, and hockey games in the south have to find alternative means of filling their leisure time. In the absence of television, much more time is spent reading, and the lost art of visiting and conversation is revived. The community association also sponsors dances on a regular basis, but except for special occasions, only single male Kabloona regularly attend.

Christmas and the spring games are community activities in which Kabloona and Eskimo participate together. The spring games are usually held in April and include foot races, ski-doo races, and traditional Eskimo games. (See Plate 15). Usually there are also Ski-doo or dog team races for the Kabloona (see Smith 1967, for a description of the spring games at Arctic Bay). Christmas festivities include a school concert, a feast to which Kabloona and Eskimo contribute food, and a dance. (See Plate 16). Many Kabloona males take the opportunity of travelling with the Eskimo on hunting expeditions. Also, many Kabloona who remain in the settlement for the summer go fishing, camping, or have picnics. The primary recreation for most Kabloona, particularly the women, is visiting other Kabloona with whom they are on good terms. Morning coffee, afternoon coffee, and social evenings are the prime social activities. The occasional dinner party is a welcome break (for all but the hostess), for Kabloona women have not even a hamburger stand as an alternative to their own cooking.

In keeping with the need to provide one's own entertainment, new hobbies are developed and old ones assume more importance. Reading becomes the most popular past-time, although expensive camera equipment, stereo record and tape sound systems can be found in many homes, while a Ski-doo often sits outside ready for joy-riding. Those who are so inclined may make their own beers and wines. Many women turn to sewing and exotic cooking, while of necessity they bake their own bread.

Kabloona find that their customary means of entertainment are not to be found in Baffin Fiord, and they must find substitute ways of filling leisure time. Kabloona generally find that they no longer can be entertained, but must make their own entertainment or recreation.

Many Kabloona, especially those who have been living in apartments, find that the accommodation supplied by their employers in Baffin Fiord is more spacious and comfortable than what they were used to in southern Canada. There is, however, a range of Kabloona housing from agency to agency and even within houses belonging to the same agency. The newer government houses are large 3-bedroom homes with forced air furnaces, water pressure systems, large windows, and carpeted floors (See Plate 17). The older government houses which are gradually being converted to other uses are smaller two and three bedroom homes and, although having pressure systems and forced air oil fired furnaces, are not so well designed, are cramped and somewhat dark (See Plate 18).

The RCMP Corporal and his family live in a three-bedroom Atco trailer unit house brought in in 1968, while the old original staff house is used for office space and accommodation for the single constable. Three Atco units also are used for the nursing station complex -- one unit forms the

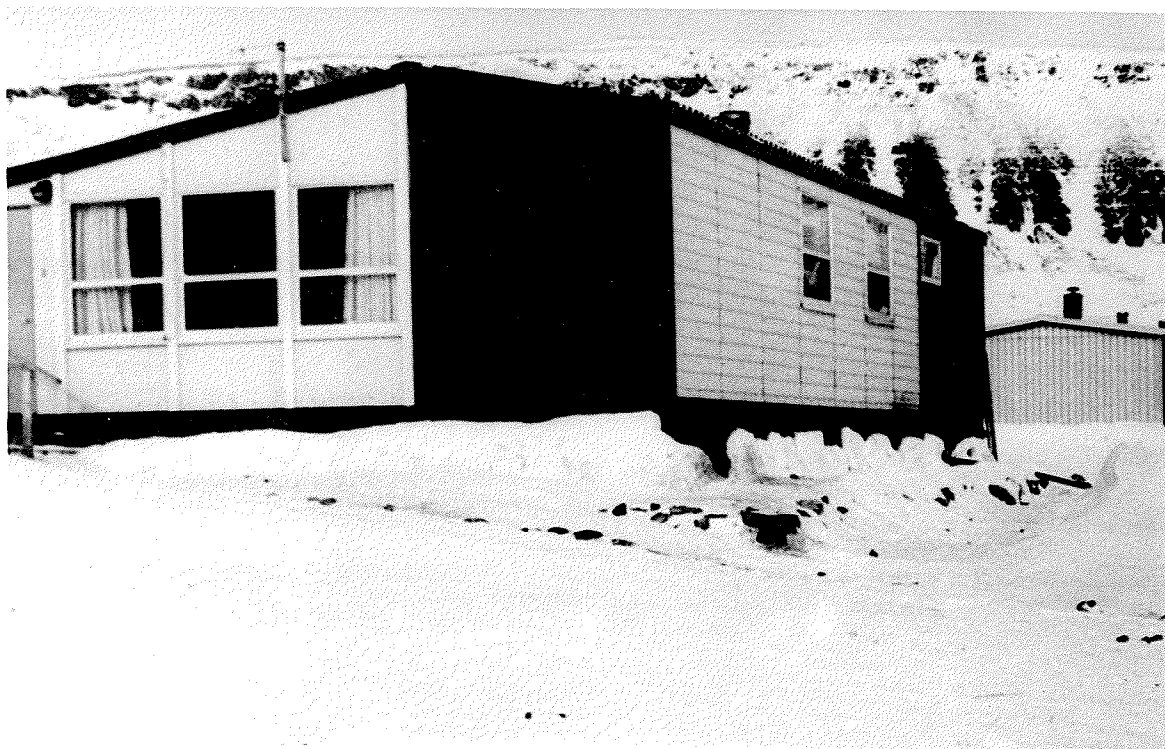


Plate 17

Most newer government design of houses have large windows which help to make the interior bright and cheerful, particularly in mid-winter.

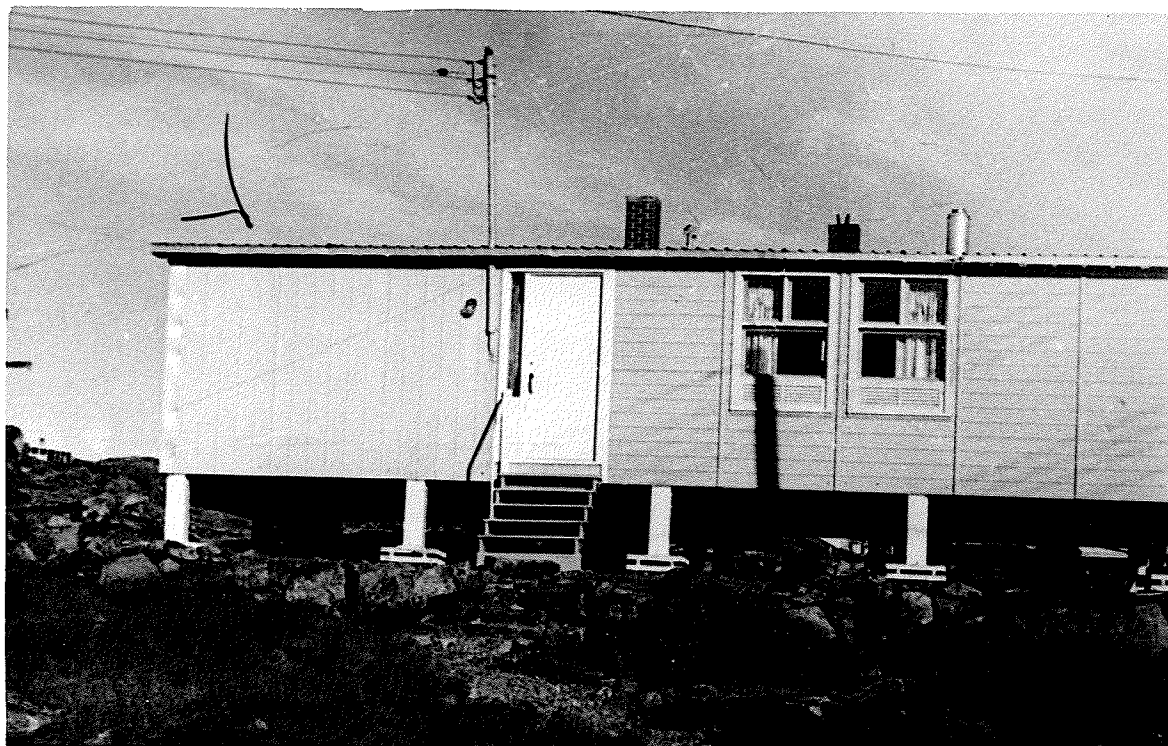


Plate 18

Older design of houses, besides being cramped are generally very dark inside.

living quarters, another for storage area, and a third makes up the clinic.

The Missionary's accommodation is much older and less comfortable than that of any of the other agencies. Although a pressure system for water has been installed, cooking is still done on an oil range and heat is provided by space heaters. In winter the floors are very cold and, although the small windows cut heat loss, they allow little light into the interior. Some of the newer government designs appear palatial in comparison.

The Hudson's Bay Company house is a standard design used by the Company throughout the Arctic and in many of their bush posts. Tested in Winnipeg winters, the Hudson's Bay designed house has proved quite satisfactory for Arctic winter conditions (See Plate 19). It incorporates an outside porch to prevent heat loss when entering and exiting, something which has only been recently added to government designs.

Electric power is expensive (12c/KW hour), so to reduce costs both the Hudson's Bay Company and the Mission do not make as much use of electrical appliances as do the government and the Police. Oil ranges and space heaters are still used in the Bay and Mission houses, while electric stoves, washers, dryers, and oil-fired furnaces are standard equipment in the newer government houses and have been put in as replacements in older designs.

Kabloona housing in general is quite comfortable but varied. The Mission and the Hudson's Bay are not as well off as the government agencies, particularly with regard to major electrical appliances and luxury furnishings such as wall to wall carpeting.

Summary

The history of Baffin Fiord, the description of the settlement, its climate, the agencies present, communication and economics, are paralleled

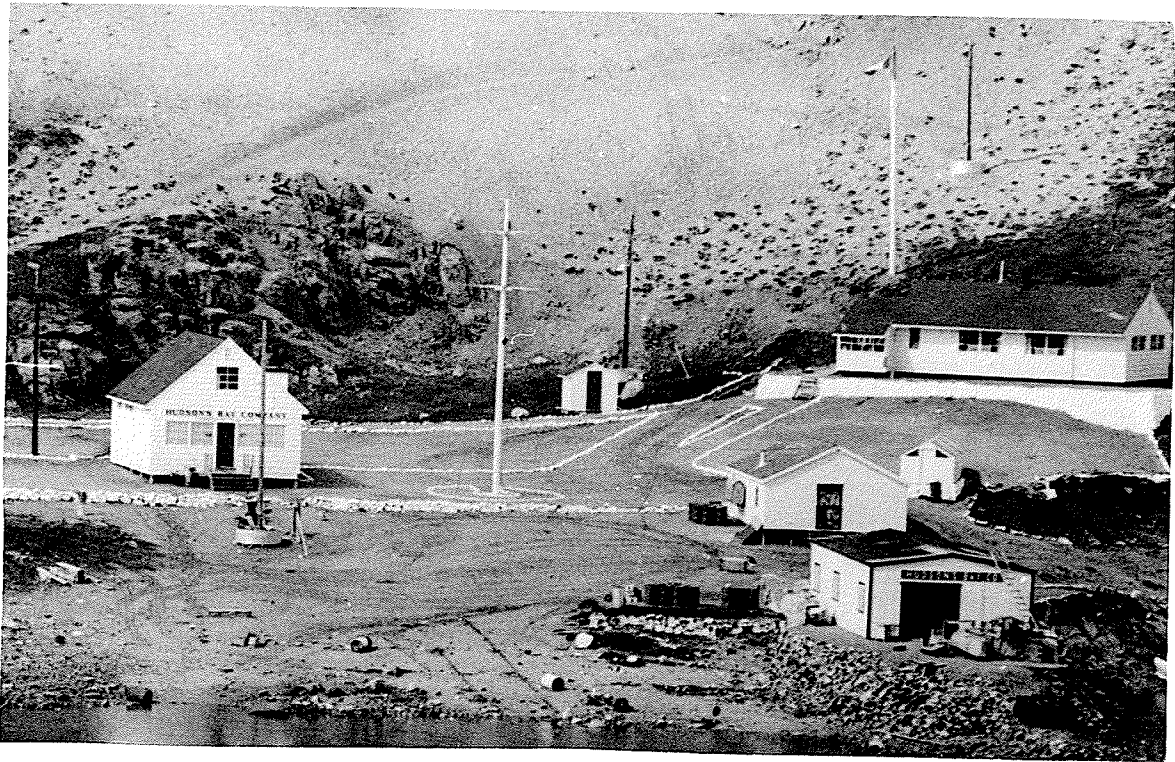


Plate 19

The house which the Hudson's Bay Company builds for its employees is a standard design which is used throughout the bush and the Arctic.

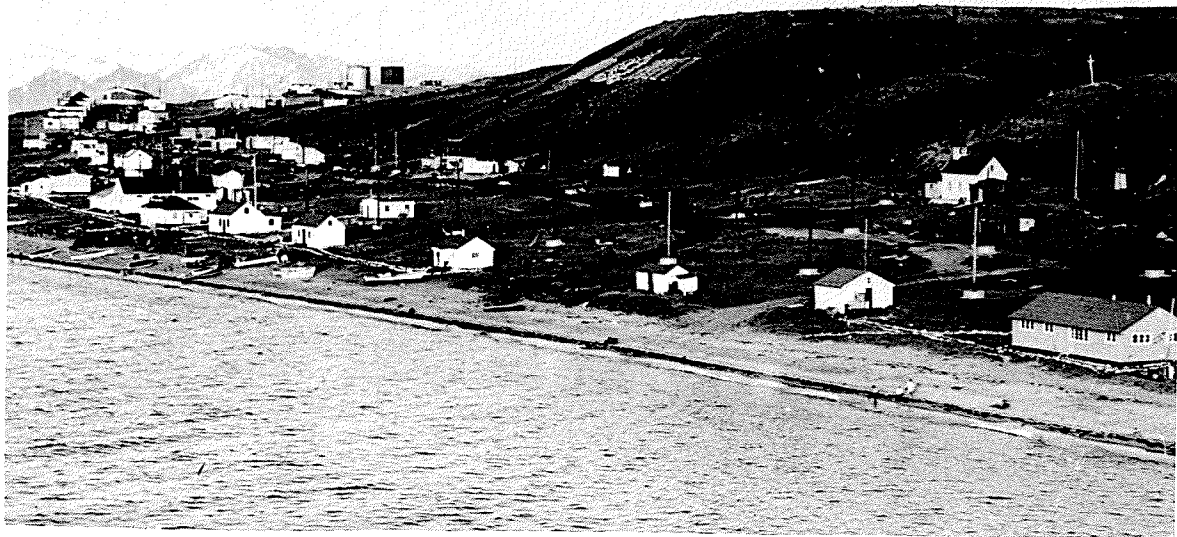


Plate 20

This aerial photo shows that at least in the "old section" of town Kabloona live in a "compound" separate from the larger Eskimo settlement.

in other small Arctic communities. In common with these other communities, the Kabloona group forms a distinct social entity within the larger Eskimo community. (See Plate 20). The Kabloona find themselves in a setting completely different to what they had been accustomed to in southern Canada. They experience a type of environmental deprivation. Kabloona are not deprived of the basic necessities of food, shelter and heat, but of their accustomed choice of entertainment and of the opportunity of having a wide choice of individuals with whom they can form social relationships.

The agencies, and the departments within agencies, established themselves at Baffin Fiord in different time periods, as I have shown. Each newly established agency or department has to some extent taken over the responsibility for services which had previously been performed by other agencies or departments. The encroachment on original "territories" by incoming departments and agencies, the opposing aims and objectives of these organizations, the overlapping areas of responsibility, and the ill-defined boundaries of legitimate authority each contribute a great deal to promoting conflict among members of the Kabloona group.

CHAPTER III

LEVELS OF CONFLICT

"In a small place like this we have to get along". This need for satisfactory interpersonal relationships is expressed by many Kabloona in small Arctic communities. Why does conflict frequently occur among the Kabloona in Baffin Fiord and other Arctic communities? In this chapter I will discuss how the unique historical development and the present characteristics of these northern settlements, as presented in Chapter II, provide a basis for conflict within the Kabloona group. I will show that conflict occurs at four levels: inter and intra-agency and inter and intra-family. I will also give examples of conflict at these levels.

Historical Basis for Conflict

Prior to the arrival of "D.N.A."³ at Baffin Fiord, the other Kabloona agencies (The Bay, Mission and Police) had held monopoly positions of power for a relatively long period of time. Each of these agencies had rather wide spheres of influence over the total area occupied by Eskimo bands. At the same time their sphere of influence were relatively distinct; the Mission was responsible for the spiritual needs of the Eskimo, the Hudson's

³ Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources now known as Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Bay looked after trade, while the Police maintained law and order.

".. but traditionally this [law enforcement] has been one of the least significant aspects of the role of the R.C.M.P. in the Arctic, where they have been administrators, registrars, census takers, ambulance operators, allocators of relief, mailmen, and rescuers. As other institutions move into the area, some of these functions are being taken over from the R.C.M.P." (Vallee 1967:100).

The arrival of the government school teacher in 1961 marked the beginning of a period of change for Baffin Fiord. As a representative of "D.N.A." the teacher took charge of the administration and implementation of government policies such as the responsibility for administering social assistance to the Eskimo, which had been done by the R.C.M.P. Having another Kabloona take over an area of responsibility which had been attended to by the police was met with resentment. Having one's sphere of influence reduced was made even more unpalatable by the fact that the teacher was a complete newcomer to the north, unlike the police, missionary, and trader who were old Arctic hands. Vallee (1967:112) has observed that often "D.N.A." is criticized not on a rational basis, but simply because they are newcomers.

As more Kabloona have come into the settlement, more and more power has been taken from the police and been assumed by other Kabloona. The arrival of an administrator meant that the police were no longer responsible for vital statistics, family allowances and old age pensions. The establishment of an I.N.H.S. nursing station resulted in the transfer of responsibility for medical treatment from the police to the registered nurse. In Baffin Fiord some of these transfers of authority took place relatively smoothly, due to the persons involved. In other cases these transfers created much ill-will and hard feeling among members of the Kabloona group as Vallee (1967: 101) has shown for Baker Lake.

A secondary erosion of power occurred within the government agency itself. The teacher was originally the sole government representative. At one time he was responsible for payroll, supervision of the mechanic, the hiring and firing of Eskimo employees, requisitioning of annual supplies, and so on. He had to hand over much of his authority to the administrator when one arrived. The administrator in turn, although he remains the senior civil servant in the settlement, may find his power reduced when specialists of various kinds take up residence in the settlement. For example, a co-op development officer may take over projects which the administrator has initiated, and begin new programmes in his own field of special interest.

Often there is some sense of relief when one Kabloona takes over responsibility from another. For example, the policeman may be relieved that a trained nurse will be taking care of the health needs of the community. It is a great responsibility for a lay person to have to administer drugs, "give needles", and treat serious cases of illness. It is a responsibility which they may be very pleased to hand over to a trained medical person. The teacher who is trying to teach school and in his after hours administer welfare, make up payroll slips, answer the numerous requests, memos and telegrammes from headquarters in Frobisher Bay, and supervise the mechanic, may be pleased that he is only required to teach school. At the same time, there is the ambivalent feeling that one who has been doing the job for so long is now in a sense being "put on the shelf" with little thanks. Also there is a natural reluctance to relinquish power and the fringe benefits which it entails. The policeman no longer knows who is getting welfare and how much, the teacher can no longer requisition what he

wants in the way of supplies and materials, and may no longer have exclusive use of the government Ski-doo. Vallee (1967:112) agrees that these negative feelings associated with a loss of power are no doubt some of the bases for conflict among members of the Kabloona group.

Leaving the discussion of the causes of conflict for later chapters, I would like to discuss certain general principles which are applicable to Arctic communities like Baffin Fiord. I suggest that conflict arises at four general levels which are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Inter-Agency Conflict

Inter-agency conflict generally arises because of the differing aims and objectives of the Kabloona agencies at Baffin Fiord. Conflict at this level may involve only two Kabloona agencies, or may be a case of one against all and all against one. For example, the Church is concerned with the "spiritual well-being of the Eskimo". As more and more Kabloona come into the settlement, there are more distractions and diversions which reduce the Eskimo's participation in church activities. Community Council meetings, Housing Association meetings, and Community Association meetings all compete with the Women's Auxilary, Vestry meetings, mid-week prayer meetings, choir practices, and other regular events held by the Church. Other Kabloona may make an effort to bring in movies to be shown in the settlement and these are often "B" movies such as wild west "shoot'em ups". The missionary becomes concerned about what impact this will have on the morals of "his people". If the missionary is also against dancing, as has been the case in some settlements, then he may wish for simpler times when the Eskimo were

unspoiled, lived on the land by hunting and trapping, and were not exposed to the evils of Kabloona society. The result in some cases is that the missionary is against all, and all are against the missionary.

The Hudson's Bay also comes in for criticism from the other Kabloona agencies. The Hudson's Bay company is a commercial organization and like all commercial firms is concerned with making a profit, which puts it in opposition to other Kabloona agencies. The Kabloona of other agencies are familiar with the price of goods in southern Canada, and contend that the Bay abuses its monopoly position at Baffin Fiord by charging excessively high prices for store goods. These other agencies tend to overlook that they too are concerned with making some kind of "profit", whether "profit" be measured by passing more children to grade five or saving more souls.

Not only do Kabloona of other agencies criticize The Bay for the price of the goods which are stocked in the store, but they are also critical of many of the items which the store brings in for sale to the Eskimos. For example, many Kabloona feel that luxury items such as high priced tape recorders, "gourmet" foods and Honda motorcycles are expensive and unnecessary luxuries, given the Eskimo's lower earning power. Many Kabloona, and the nurse in particular, resent the large quantities of soft drinks and candy bars which are brought in for sale. These items are consumed in great quantities, particularly by the Eskimo children, with the result that the incidence of tooth decay is reaching alarming proportions. At some settlements, children of six, seven, or eight years old have had to have all their teeth removed. Such extreme cases as this have not yet occurred at Baffin Fiord, probably because most of the Eskimo people have moved into the settlement only in the last five to six years, and prior to this time did not have as ready access to the soft drinks and candies at the store. In time,

however, the same problem will likely occur at Baffin Fiord.

This confrontation between the other Kabloona agencies and the Hudson's Bay Co. will continue to persist because of the basic difference in the aims and objectives of "The Bay" as opposed to the other agencies. The store at Baffin Fiord is there to make money (McLean 1849 (1932):326). While other Kabloona agencies may be concerned with educating the Eskimo, improving their health, or seeing to their "spiritual well-being", the Hudson's Bay Co. cannot be expected to change its policy and become a welfare agency. In fairness to the Hudson's Bay Co. it should be mentioned that it has neither exploited the Eskimo to the extent that some companies might have (given the same monopoly position), nor to the degree that some writers have suggested (e.g., Mowat 1951). The Company has not traded in liquor to the Eskimo as was common practice during the earlier fur trade period in Canada and the United States, and in times of extreme hardship due to poor hunting conditions, The Bay has extended credit and even opened warehouses in order to administer relief supplies to the Eskimo population (Personal Communication, P.A.C. Nichols).

The government is also roundly criticized by the other Kabloona in the settlement for its policies. The school is teaching Eskimo children writing, English and arithmetic with the result that Eskimo children are no longer learning the traditional skills which would enable them to make a living off the land. Low rental housing and the other amenities of settlement living which make life more attractive for the Kabloona in the settlement have attracted the Eskimo from camp life to settlement living. These policies, in the eyes of many Kabloona, have resulted in grave social problems and a decay of traditional Eskimo society. Self-reliance has been reduced, drink-

ing is becoming a problem, hunters are now content to live on welfare or through the effort of carving, and no longer have the "self-respect" or "honesty" which they had when they lived by hunting and trapping, or so many Kabloona would claim. These problems do exist, but their "reasons for being" are more complex than some Kabloona suggest. Vallee (1967:116) found that at Baker Lake many Kabloona there blamed D.N.A. in a similar fashion for all the ills of "urbanization" of the Eskimo.

Government involvement in co-operative schemes is viewed with mixed feelings by the Hudson's Bay Co. Fishing co-operatives, handicraft co-operatives, and other producer co-operatives are approved, because if they are successful they result in an influx of capital into the community. This capital means that the Eskimo have more money to spend, and this is usually spent at the Hudson's Bay Co. store. On the other hand, consumer co-operatives which might set up stores to compete with The Bay are seen as a government attempt to compete with private enterprise. The Bay has successfully opposed the establishment of consumer co-operatives to the extent that it is government policy that no government employee can be involved with consumer co-operatives (D.N.A. Policy Directives).

The government administration of welfare is another area for inter-agency conflict. If the administrator is liberal with his welfare payments he is accused of giving hand-outs to the Eskimo, destroying their initiative and self-reliance. If he is "tough" about welfare, he will be accused of letting people "starve", or of being too harsh on people who are really in need. Wolcott (1967:52) discusses the same problem in an Indian village. The administration of welfare does not usually give rise to direct conflict between the administrator and other Kabloona groups but it remains a sore

point which is frequently discussed by other Kabloona when the administrator is not present. One exception to this general case occurs when the nurse requests welfare assistance for people whom she believes are medically unfit for hunting or otherwise unable to provide for themselves or their family. Conflict arises in these cases when the administrator does not agree with the nurse's assessment of the situation.

Inter-agency conflict is due to the opposed objectives of the Kabloona agencies at Baffin Fiord. As long as these aims remain different, the possibility of conflict at this level will undoubtedly persist.

Intra-agency Conflict

For intra-agency conflict to occur requires that there be at least two or more Kabloona employed by the same agency. Obviously, where there is only one missionary as at Baffin Fiord, one would not expect to find conflict associated with the Church at this level. Although there may be a manager with clerk or clerks and a corporal and a constable within the Hudson's Bay Co. and the R.C.M. Police, the roles of manager/clerk and corporal/constable are sufficiently well defined that the possibility of conflict is lessened within these agencies, although certainly not eliminated.

Intra-agency conflict is most common within the government organization. In part this is because the government has more Kabloona employed -- an administrator, a clerk, five teachers, and a mechanic. But it also has its basis in the differing aims of the departments within the government and the organizational structure of the department as a whole. The administrator is the senior civil servant in the settlement, but as Vallee (1967:102)

indicates, there is some disagreement as to what this means. Ideally he is responsible for the operation of the whole community. Although he is expected to institute community development programmes and perhaps establish a producers' co-op in the absence of co-op development officers, he is also in a supervisory capacity. He is responsible for seeing that the mechanic maintains the equipment, repairs the vehicles, and takes care of other engineering responsibilities throughout the settlement. He ensures that the principal holds school regularly, and in theory if not in fact, that the nurse attends to community health and medicine.

Although the successful administrator does not tell the mechanic how to maintain the diesel power plant or the vehicles, or tell the teacher how to instruct the children, there are areas of overlap between the government departments which can give rise to conflict. For example, government policy says that the vehicles such as Ski-doods, Bombardiers, and trucks are to be maintained by the mechanic for the operation of the settlement, and for the use of the administrator when he requires these vehicles. A mechanic on the other hand may take the attitude that the Bombardier or Ski-doo are "his" vehicles, and if he is required to maintain them then he alone is to drive them in order that they will not be damaged through careless handling. Similarly, the administrator has the right to make use of the school building for any purpose which he sees fit, such as dances, or public meetings outside of the normal school hours. The principal may attempt to disallow after-hour use of the school by the administrator or other groups, particularly if there has been abuse of the school facilities during these after-hours' activities.

Intra-agency conflict is difficult to avoid, particularly within the

government agencies, because the mechanic and the teacher in particular are specialists and do not readily accept as supervisor or "boss" an administrator who is not a specialist in their fields. Job descriptions and administrative authority policies exist (D.N.A. Policy Directives). But even if they were more widely publicized or distributed than they are at present they would not eliminate the problem of having a non-specialist as supervisor.

Inter-family Conflict

Inter-family conflict is not confined to Baffin Fiord or any other Arctic community for that matter. For example, in many communities neighbours have disagreements over whose child started the fight, or friendships are strained because one family was not invited to another's party. But at Baffin Fiord inter-family conflict can also arise because of conflict at the intra-agency or inter-agency level. Inter-family conflict is increased because of the plurality of roles occupied, particularly by males of the Kabloona group. During working hours the administrator and mechanic occupy the roles of supervisor ("boss") and employee respectively. After working hours these same two people may be required to occupy roles of friend or drinking buddy. If the administrator has had to discipline the mechanic during working hours, it is extremely difficult for this to be set aside so that satisfactory social relationships may be maintained. Strained relationships between the two husbands will affect the wives, with the result that socializing between the two families may cease, or at least be made more difficult.

These observations lead me to suggest a possible hypothesis. Because

intra-agency conflict can lead to inter-family conflict, Kabloona may form more stable friendships with Kabloona working for other agencies. For example, the administrator is more likely to socialize with the Hudson's Bay trader or the policeman than with the mechanic. The Hudson's Bay clerk will have the RCMP corporal or perhaps the nurse in his circle of friends (although there might be other reasons for that association). From my experience at different communities, I believe that there is good evidence to support my hypothesis, although there are exceptions; supervisor and subordinate are sometimes close friends. Such variables as the personalities of the individuals involved may account for these exceptions, but the nature of my data does not permit a systematic analysis of psychological variables. Although I will discuss the support for this hypothesis in Chapter VI, it should be noted here that additional evidence from a number of communities would permit a more rigorous test of the hypothesis.

Intra-family Conflict

Conflict between husband and wife is not unknown even in the most stable marriages, but environmental conditions of Baffin Fiord introduce other factors which can increase the possibility of intra-family conflict. Most male Kabloona are in the Arctic because they want to be. Many of their wives are there only because that is where their husbands are employed.

In Baffin Fiord all adult Kabloona males are employed by one or another of the Kabloona agencies. With the exception of one teacher their wives are not. For the employed Kabloona many of the hours of the day are occupied by job requirements. Not only does employment occupy time, but most of the jobs done by the Kabloona are interesting, challenging and of considerable

variety. During the course of a day, for example, the administrator may be required to answer some correspondence, interview a welfare applicant, meet the mail plane, and chair a meeting of the Community Council. The mechanic might have to repair a diesel tractor, service the power plant, and fix the oil furnace in one of the government houses. In addition to the variety of tasks associated with a job, there are other benefits to employment in the north. Pay is good. Generally the demands of the job are such that work may be done at a leisurely pace. Kabloona are to a considerable extent their own bosses. And instead of having to fight five o'clock traffic to and from work, the office may be a two minute walk from home.

The situation is entirely different for Kabloona females who are not employed. In the south, Kabloona women complain of being tied to the house and the children. In Baffin Fiord this becomes even more of a reality. Even if there were some place to go, much of the year the weather would discourage going, particularly if there are two or three young children who have to be bundled up before venturing across the doorstep. If there has been inter-family conflict, morning coffee hours, social evenings, and other opportunities for social interaction with other Kabloona may be reduced or eliminated. Some Kabloona women add to their problems of how to keep busy by employing Eskimo women as house-keepers and nursemaids. Having hired help increases the amount of leisure time which must be filled. A lack of satisfactory outlets can result in boredom, frustration, and hence increased marital strife. There is also the possibility that increased leisure time may lead to very frequent "coffee klatches". The resultant high frequency of interaction of Kabloona women who may have little in common

increases the opportunity for disagreements to arise. This in turn suggests that interaction which is too frequent can lead to controversy ultimately causing conflict at the inter-family level.

In addition, wherever there are children there is much concern for them. If the children play outside they could fall into the creek, drown in the ocean, or wander into the dog lines (although at Baffin Fiord they are more likely to be run over by a speeding Ski-doo). If one's child is to become seriously sick, would a plane be able to get them to the hospital in Frobisher Bay in time? What about the children's education? How will the children learn the skills they require in a school where much of the time is spent teaching Eskimo children to speak English? Concern for the children can result in conflict when women try to convince their husbands that they should leave the north.

Those Kabloona women who are employed full or part-time, or become involved in the community in some way, are generally able to cope better with the conditions of Arctic living. For those Kabloona women in Baffin Fiord and other Arctic settlements who do not have these outlets, life is not particularly easy. One doctor in Frobisher Bay said that 65-70% of his office time was spent treating neurotic Kabloona women (personal communication). Some of these reports and physical conditions make intra-family conflict more understandable.

Summary

In this chapter, I have dealt with the four levels at which conflict appears (inter-agency, intra-agency, inter-family and intra-family) and have given examples to show circumstances in which conflict can occur. While

similar kinds of conflict arise in communities everywhere, it is the relative isolation of the northern communities, the relatively small size of the interacting unit, and the plurality of roles occupied by the interacting individuals that makes an analysis of conflict among Kabloona special. In the chapters that follow I will discuss other reasons for conflict among members of the Kabloona group -- competition for scarce resources and reciprocity.

CHAPTER IV

COMPETITION FOR SCARCE RESOURCES

At Baffin Fiord some material and non-material resources are in short supply. In certain instances members of the Kabloona group may compete for access or control of these scarce resources. On some occasions the competition is between agencies while on other occasions it is within agencies or between families. In certain cases the conflict which develops may be more a result of a struggle for power than a case of competition for a certain scarce resource. I have chosen only a few examples to illustrate competition for scarce resources. People with Arctic experience can no doubt think of many other examples in which conflict has resulted from a struggle for control or possession of certain scarce resources.

In Chapters IV and V, I will give examples of conflict by using short dialogues. These dialogues are based on actual incidents, but have been altered slightly in order to make them fit the situation at Baffin Fiord and disguise the real people involved in the actual incidents. The use of a dialogue or narrative approach allows the reader to become more aware of Arctic living, and enables him to draw his own conclusions from the incidents described.

The examples of conflict over scarce resources that I give in this chapter are those involving competition for status items such as Christmas

trees, the important resource of housing, employment opportunities, and partners for mating and marriage.

The Case of the Christmas Tree

The first dialogue involves Ray, the government administrator, George, the school principal, the Bay manager, Colin, and John, the Bay clerk. Davidee is the Hudson's Bay Company Eskimo "handyman". Where it is not obvious who is speaking the name is in parentheses.

(Colin) "One thing before I go, Ray, what happened to the Christmas Tree that was dropped?"

(Ray) "I gave it to George so that he could put it up in the school."

"Uhuh, well I'll have to see him then. It's always been tradition that the tree goes in the Bay house, you know."

"Then it's about time somebody else had a chance, don't you think?"

"No, it's always been put in The Bay house. Besides, when Davidee and his family come for Christmas dinner they're going to be pretty disappointed if there's no tree there."

"Look, that tree was dropped as a community tree, not a Bay tree. In your place the only people that will see it will be you, John and Davidee and his family on Christmas day. In the school all the kids can enjoy it, and at the dances the adults can see it as well. Anyway, if it's going to any private home it should go to someone who's got kids."

"Who the hell do you think you are to dictate where the tree goes?"

"I live in this community too, and that gives me as much say as you. If you want to nitpick, it was an RCAF plane that dropped it and that's government, and I'm government. Anyway, we've got the tree and it's going in the school and don't give me any of that tradition crap!"

Although unsuccessful in getting the tree from Ray, the Bay men keep trying. John the Bay clerk calls on Ray the next day.

(Ray) "If Colin sent you over to try and get the tree, just forget it."

(John) "No, I just came by to say that Colin and I wouldn't be able to come to supper on Saturday. Besides, Colin went to see George this morning and George gave him the tree."

"George gave you the tree?!"

"Yeh, we explained to him about it being Bay tradition. I guess he figured it wasn't worth causing bad feeling over a little thing like a Christmas tree, so he gave it to us."

Ray is not pleased at George for giving up the tree. Shortly after, George calls on Ray.

(George) "Ray, you've been around longer than I have, what the hell is this business about a Bay tree?"

"There's no such thing as a Bay tree, the tree is supposed to be for the whole community and I think it should have gone in the school so the whole community could enjoy it."

"That's what I thought, that's why I didn't give it to them."

"You didn't give it to them? John was just around here and said that you had given them the tree."

"No, I didn't, but I almost did. Colin and he were both around last night and again this morning pestering the daylights out of me. They've got my wife all upset over the whole business. I wish to hell they had dropped half a dozen trees or none at all. I was about ready to give it to them just to get them off my back."

"Well, I'm sure glad you didn't, George. When John said you had given them the tree I could have killed you."

"Well, I didn't, but I was sure tempted. I'll tell you though, there's sure no pleasure left in that tree for us. All this bloody hassle over one lousy tree."

Although on Baffin Island Christmas trees are certainly a scarce resource, one might not expect that a Christmas tree would be the cause for conflict. The preceding incidents indicate, however, that items which are not particularly scarce or valuable in southern Canada, assume a high value in the Arctic.

At Christmas-time many of the Kabloona in Baffin Fiord become more aware of, or have a greater feeling of, a sense of isolation. There is no chance to visit with old acquaintances, good friends, or to have Christmas dinners with kin. There is not the excitement of Christmas shopping in stores filled with people. Instead, there may be concern that the mail plane may not arrive in time with the Christmas presents which have been ordered from mail order houses, or that cards and Christmas letters from friends and relatives in the south may not be on hand for Christmas day. Conflict which has arisen among members of the group also serves to remind Kabloona that this Christmas will somehow be different from Christmas in the south. Also, Baffin Fiord is in the depth of the dark period. A Christmas tree is something which could make Christmas seem somewhat more like Christmas "down south". It therefore becomes a scarce and desired commodity.

There is no longer any RCAF airdrop at Christmas, as communications have now improved to the extent that mail delivery no longer depends on the single Christmas mid-winter airdrop. Christmas trees therefore are not the source of conflict that they once were, although there may be considerable rush by Kabloona to purchase the limited stock of artificial trees which The Bay has in stock. And The Bay manager can "put someone's name on" one or two of the artificial trees for certain "preferred customers".

As with most instances of conflict, there may be more than one reason for conflict arising. At a deeper level, the conflict is over more serious matters. In the case of the Christmas tree, by directing that the tree be placed in the school, the administrator is upsetting the status quo. By tradition the Hudson's Bay has always had the tree. If the Bay manager

allows the tree to go up in the school, then everyone, Kabloona and Eskimo alike, can see that the administrator (i.e., government) has won this particular round. For the Hudson's Bay manager it is another instance of the administrator (government) trying to increase his sphere of influence at the expense of the other Kabloona agencies at Baffin Fiord, in this case in an area where the Bay manager may feel that the government has no legitimate claim to power. Thus, there is conflict here because of competition for scarce resources, and also because there is a struggle to maintain or gain control and to decide who has the power to distribute or allocate certain scarce resources.

Of Houses and Things

Although a scarce resource in Baffin Fiord, a Christmas tree is not an essential for survival. The next "play" records a situation of intra-agency conflict over the allocation of housing. The persons involved are the government administrator, Ray, the school principal, George, the government mechanic, Len, and Grace, a single school teacher.

(George) "Ray, something's got to be done about our accommodation."

(Ray) "Why? What's the matter with the house you're in?"

"There just isn't any room".

"It's a 2-bedroom house, you've only got one kid. Look at Len, he has three kids in a 2-bedroom. We had to make the pantry into a third bedroom for their girl. If anyone needs a bigger house, he does."

"Yeah, but it's not just the size. That place of ours is up on those wooden piles so high that the wind roars underneath. The linoleum is so cold the kid can't play on the floor. There's no closet or storage space for any of our things, and the laundry room is so crowded with the furnace and water tank that the wife can't

move once the laundry tubs are in place. And that furnace blows the heat out at ceiling height. You're warm enough if you stand on a chair. Sure, Len's got a two-bedroom, but with the baseboard heating and broadloom the place is warm. His rooms are bigger too, and with the storage space. Besides, he knows he will be moving into that new three-bedroom when it's finished."

"Well, look George, I can't help it if you've got an older house, it's still pretty good accommodation for the rent you're paying. Besides, there's nothing else available."

"What about the three-bedroom on the hill? You've got one single girl there. You mean to tell me she needs three bedrooms and I'm supposed to stay where I am?"

"That's only temporary. I'll be moving her out soon. I'm holding that house for the new clerk who's supposed to be here around the new year."

"Come on now, you've been promised a clerk for the last six months and he's never arrived. You're holding the house for someone who might not arrive for another year? How about looking after the people that are here now? Why can't the new clerk use the house I'm in now, and I'll take the three-bedroom?"

"But we don't know how big a family the clerk has. What if he's got three or four kids?"

"Damn it, you don't even know if he's coming, what if he doesn't have any kids? Are you still going to give him the three-bedroom house? You said yourself Len needs more space, why don't you move Len into the three-bedroom on the hill and I can move into his old two-bedroom. You can put Grace into my old house and when that clerk comes, if he ever does, he can go into the new three-bedroom. It's sure to be finished in the next couple of months and would be ready in time."

"No, that wouldn't work. Len and his wife are looking forward to moving into that suspended basement.⁴ It's got three bedrooms and that big play area underneath. Len has been crowded for so long that he's willing to wait a month or two until the suspended basement is completed."

"Well, if my house is so great, why don't you move into it and let me move into your's?"

"No, that wouldn't do, as administrator I need a big house because when all these visiting firemen come to the settlement I have to put

⁴ A particular design of government house. See plate 21.

them up, and I can't have them sleeping in a laundry room. Look, if you can wait a couple of months we can fix this up. You said that Len's house was better than the one you're in now, when Len goes to the suspended basement you can move into his two-bedroom. I'll move Grace from the three-bedroom on the hill into your house and that will still leave it open for the clerk when he comes."

"Okay, I'll buy that, but I want that pantry changed back into a food storage room. I don't want my food scattered all over the house."

"Okay, we'll do it that way, and if the budget allows it maybe we can even get the interior painted for you."

Not only can the house itself be a scarce resource. Conflict can also occur over the distribution of furniture, carpets, and major appliances such as stoves and deep freezers. For example, oil-fired cook stoves were standard equipment in the first government houses, but the newer ones are equipped with electric ranges. The older oil-fired cook stoves are being replaced by electric stoves, but it is easy to imagine the problems which can arise when three electric stoves arrive on sealift and there are five people who want them.

Inter-agency conflict does not usually result from competition for housing. Although the Kabloona missionary or The Bay manager may be envious of the government personnel with their larger, better furnished, and more comfortable homes, they do not expect the administrator to provide them with better housing. However, when the Bishop pays his annual visit to Baffin Fiord, the missionary may request rugs for the cold floor or a water pressure system for the kitchen. Similarly, the Hudson's Bay manager might request an electric stove for his house from his superior (although he will probably be turned down because electric stoves require "too much expensive electrical power"). Intra-agency conflict over housing is a common occurrence, particularly among the government Kabloona. This is not

so much because any of the housing is not livable, but because at Baffin Fiord there is quite a variety of housing available to the government Kabloona employees. The "poorest" house is likely to be far less spacious and comfortable than the "best" government house. Therefore there is considerable opportunity for invidious comparison and for conflict to arise as the government employees compete for the best, most comfortable housing available in the settlement. If all government housing was identical, or at least of a similar age, roughly equal in size, similarly furnished and equipped with major appliances, the conflict over housing would be far less likely to occur.

The differences in the types of government houses available to the Kabloona employees is a result of the way in which the community has developed (See Chapter III). The government has used a number of different types of housing in Baffin Fiord. The first teacher's house was one of the first designs, and was intended to provide adequate housing in a minimum of floor space. (See Plate 18). This first house has small windows and is somewhat dark and gloomy on the interior. The heating system has the air vents at ceiling height with the result that floors are quite cold. Also there is a limited amount of floor space and all the rooms are relatively small. Each new model of house has been an improvement over the preceding one as mistakes and poor engineering designs have been corrected, based on the experience with the previous plan of home. As the Kabloona establishment at Baffin Fiord grew, the increased requirements for housing were met by building whatever type of house was current that year. This has resulted in a variety of different models of houses at Baffin Fiord. The current design of house is one which has remained unchanged since it was introduced

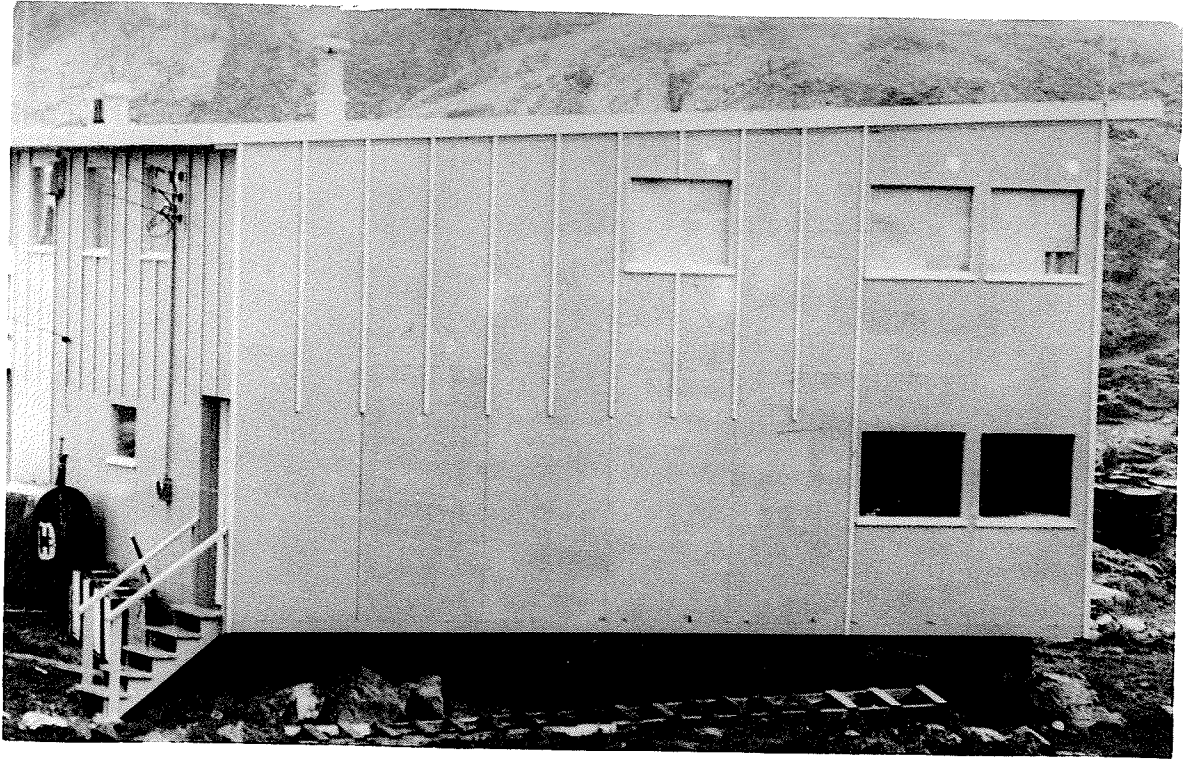


Plate 21

A suspended basement house shown here from the back, has all utilities, services and a large play area on the first level. Living quarters are on the second floor.

in 1966/67. This is a plan referred to as a suspended basement, three-bedroom house (See Plate 21). In this design the ground floor level contains the entrance, furnace room, laundry room and storage area. Upstairs are three bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, dining area, and living room. There is even a small outside patio off the dining area. These houses are quite spacious, well designed and comfortable. They are palatial compared to the first teacher's house.

Government policy for the allocation of housing in Baffin Fiord is also responsible for conflict. Each separate government department such as education, administration, and engineering allocates funds from their budget to cover the material and construction costs of housing for their employees. Thus there are houses which have been paid for by the different government departments. However, the allocation of the housing in Baffin Fiord is the responsibility of the administrator. He is supposed to decide who gets what house on the basis of need, i.e., the family with several children ideally would be given a larger house than a husband and wife or a single person. The result often is that the mechanic may be living in a house which was paid for by the education department and the teacher may be living in a house which was originally built by administration for a clerk. If all housing was of the same standard this would not create problems, but if a teacher is dissatisfied with his housing and knows that a mechanic or administrator is living in a house which was paid for by education, then conflict is almost certain to result.

Conflict at the local level is difficult to resolve because it remains unresolved at the regional level of administration. The superintendent of schools, among other things, is concerned with keeping the morale of his

teachers at a high level. Similarly, the regional engineer hopes to keep his mechanics happy. If a teacher at Baffin Fiord is not content with his housing, and an "education house" is occupied by a mechanic, administrator, clerk, etc., then the superintendent of schools may try at the regional level to have the housing arrangement changed so that the teacher is occupying the "education house". The regional engineer or the regional administrator would counter that there is no such thing as an "education house" and that allocation of housing is based on need, to be decided by the administrator in the settlement. All antagonists (or parties) concerned work "both sides of the fence" by claiming that "housing should be allocated by need", or that "houses belong to the department which paid for them" and should be occupied by their employees, whichever argument suits their ends at that particular time. Conflict among government employees over housing at Baffin Fiord is slowly being resolved, as older houses are "brought up to standard" by the addition of wall to wall carpeting, major appliances, and improved heating systems. Also, as new housing catches up to the existing need, older houses can be "phased out" and used for other purposes such as transient "hotels" and office space.

The importance of housing as a factor contributing to conflict cannot be overestimated. This is particularly so because the Kabloona women spend the majority of their time inside their own homes. If a woman is confined to a house which she feels to be substandard, cold, or gloomy, then this is likely to have a profound effect on her morale. If the wives are unhappy, then intra-family conflict is far more likely to occur.

Status considerations are also involved in the competition for housing. The administrator may feel that because he is the senior civil servant in

Baffin Fiord, he should have the privilege of living in a "better" house than the mechanic, the clerk, or the teachers. Similarly, the school principal may hold the view that his position entitles him to better housing than the teachers under him or other Kabloona who occupy less prestigious positions.

Scarcity of Females

Although not so rare at Baffin Fiord as on Dewline sites and military bases, females are a scarce resource for which there may be competition. The majority of Kabloona males at Baffin Fiord are married, and therefore not concerned about the availability of single females, but the Bay clerk and the RCMP constable are always single males, and usually there are two or three other single Kabloona males employed by one or another of the agencies at Baffin Fiord. These single males are usually in the 18-25 year age bracket, an age group which in southern Canada would normally be spending a considerable amount of time with single members of the opposite sex. These single Kabloona must compete for the three or four single school teachers or nurses, or the eligible Eskimo girls in the community. There are, however, difficulties connected with attempting to draw on the Eskimo community for eligible females. Although the age of marriage of Eskimo females is rising, there are still relatively few unmarried Eskimo females above the age of 20 and, of course, some of the unmarried Eskimo females are already engaged to Eskimo males. Differences of language, culture, and education between Kabloona and Eskimo also restrict the number of females desirable to the single Kabloona males. The degree of acculturation of single Eskimo girls may be unimportant for those Kabloona male who are

looking for sexual partners only, but for mate selection the more acculturated the female the more sought after she is likely to be. It should be noted here that those Eskimo girls who have been to school "outside" and are therefore more acculturated, are likely to remain unmarried longer, because they do not want to marry Eskimo hunters; they may hope to marry Kabloona males.

While there may be conflict among males as a result of competition for the few available single females, there is more likely to be conflict with married Kabloona, particularly the missionary, because of the Kabloona group's attitude towards "screwing around with the Eskimo girls" (see Vallee 1967:105). This is not to say that marriage between Kabloona males and Eskimo females does not occur. On the contrary, these mixed marriages are becoming more common at Baffin Fiord and elsewhere in the Arctic, a trend which Vallee (1967) noticed as early as 1960. Vallee has also indicated that the majority of Kabloona do not have negative feelings toward inter-racial marriage, and interact with "mixed" couples as with Kabloona/Kabloona marriages. However, during the courting stages there is likely to be considerable discussion and anxiety until it can be decided that the single Kabloona's intentions are "honourable". Graburn (1969:184) has shown that the Hudson's Bay Company had regulations designed to prevent its employees from having "improper" relations with Eskimo females, and other agencies have had similar policies. Infractions of the rules could result in transfers or dismissals. These rules were not always strictly enforced by the agencies concerned, but in some cases acted as negative sanctions against inter-racial sexual relations and/or marriage.

There have been occasional instances where the lack of single females

has resulted in single Kabloona having affairs with married Kabloona women. In a small community like Baffin Fiord, such affairs cannot be kept secret for very long. No comment need be made on the conflict which can arise out of these situations. Even long after the parties concerned have left the settlement (which they almost of necessity must do) the "scandal" remains a topic of conversation. Separation or divorce is often the result.

Those who are married are not usually concerned about the availability of either Kabloona or Eskimo single females. For the single male Kabloona in the settlement, however, the availability of marriage or mating partners is of some interest. The usual situation is one where single Kabloona males outnumber the females. The threat of negative sanctions from the Kabloona agencies and the members of the Kabloona group in some cases limits interaction with Eskimo females. The differences in language and culture can also limit the interaction of Kabloona male and Eskimo female, particularly where the male is seeking a marriage partner. The small size of the community makes it rather hazardous for Kabloona males to attempt to have relations with married women. There is the possibility of rivalry and conflict arising among Kabloona males competing for the same females, but conflict is more likely between the Kabloona group as a whole and those Kabloona males who are thought to be "taking advantage" of the local girls.

The Right to Work

Jobs are another scarce resource over which there may be competition and conflict. All male and single female Kabloona have a high likelihood of being permanently employed; the jobs for which there is competition are

full-time or part-time positions which can be held by the wives of the Kabloona in Baffin Fiord. There is competition among the Kabloona women and/or the Kabloona men on behalf of their wives for these positions because it is an opportunity to earn extra money, and more importantly, it is a means of filling time. As I have indicated in Chapter III, part-time work or involvement in the community can contribute to the Kabloona females making an adjustment to settlement living.

The position of Bell Telephone operator is one of the jobs which is usually performed by a Kabloona female. When the Bell radio telephone system was first installed, the RCMP corporal's wife took on the job as operator. As a result the Bell radio equipment was installed in the RCMP dwelling. Because the Bell Company is reluctant to move the equipment from place to place (which is understandable) the position of telephone operator has become almost an inherited position. Each time there has been a change in Police staff, the new corporal's wife has taken over the job from the one who has left. Because of the relative permanency of the radio installation, it is extremely difficult for other Kabloona women to compete successfully for the position of telephone operator. It is just as difficult for the RCMP wife to get out of being the telephone operator if she is reluctant to do the job. Besides the monthly wage paid for this part-time position, there are fringe benefits to be derived from being telephone operator. Both sides of the conversation of all incoming and outgoing telephone calls can be overheard. Since the radios may be left on continuously, conversations with other settlements can also be heard. And in the Arctic information, news, and gossip is a valuable commodity.

Nordair employs a part-time agent in Baffin Fiord. Duties consist of

making up bills for freight and passenger lists, work that can be performed in the home. It is therefore a position which can easily be held by Kabloona women. When necessary, the husband of the Nordair agent can look after the refueling of aircraft. Unlike the position of telephone operator which has been kept in the RCMP "lineage", the Nordair agent's job can be "up for grabs" when the agent leaves Baffin Fiord. Again there are fringe benefits associated with the position. The pilots will sometimes bring fresh foods for the agent, at no charge or for reduced freight rates. Air freight is sometimes carried free and there is the occasional "free ride" when there is a return flight to a nearby settlement.

Although the post office has always been operated by the RCMP corporal and constable there is a possibility that in the future someone else will be given the job as postmaster. The majority of Baffin Fiord Kabloona and Eskimo are in favour of someone other than the RCMP operating the post office, because at this time there is some dissatisfaction with this service. We can expect that there will be competition for the job of postmaster when it becomes available.

The Hudson's Bay Company sometimes hires extra help for the store. There is not the competition for jobs with the Hudson's Bay that there is for some of the other positions available to Kabloona women. This is because the work cannot be done in the home and therefore may require baby sitters. In addition, The Bay does not pay as high wages as some of the other agencies.

Besides being the major employer of Kabloona and Eskimo males in Baffin Fiord, the government is also the principal employer for part-time or short-term contract positions for which Kabloona female can compete.

Some of these jobs are: substitute teaching in the school, part-time stenographic work for the administrator, and conducting adult education courses such as home-making, cooking, and sewing. Although some of these positions require specialized skills (e.g., substitute teaching and typing) and therefore eliminate competition, others require no special skills and may be sought after by a number of Kabloona women in the settlement.

In the past there has been competition and therefore conflict among Kabloona females for the few part-time and short-term jobs which are available, but the nature of this conflict is changing. Some of these part-time and contract jobs such as clerking in the Bay or being the telephone operator or postmaster, are positions which require a knowledge of English but no specialized training or skills. Some of the Kabloona, particularly the teachers and the administrator, are suggesting that many of the jobs which are held by the wives of employed Kabloona could just as well be performed by some of the young educated Eskimo, male and female. This is particularly so since many of these trained Eskimo have difficulty finding employment in Baffin Fiord, and the husbands of the Kabloona females who are working part-time already hold jobs which provide a considerable income. A new aspect to the conflict over part-time employment is developing among the Kabloona, not because some Kabloona do not have the part-time employment and others have, but because some Kabloona would like to see Eskimo occupying the positions held by Kabloona women in the settlement.

Summary

These examples indicate some of the scarce resources for which there is competition among the Kabloona of Baffin Fiord. Competition for these

resources can in turn result in conflict between agencies, among Kabloona of the same agencies, and of course among the different Kabloona families at Baffin Fiord. In some cases this conflict arises because the resources themselves are sufficiently valued that Kabloona actively compete to possess them. In other cases such as the Christmas tree, the conflict is really a result of a struggle for power. Also, there is conflict because the Kabloona at Baffin Fiord do not have a consensus as to who can legitimately wield power and control and distribute certain scarce resources.

It is interesting to note here that the administrator ideally holds a position somewhat like a chieftain of Polynesia, but in practice his behaviour must be more akin to the "big man" in Melanesia (⁵see Sahlins 1963). Like the Polynesian chiefs, the administrator "inherits" a role. Power is a property associates with the role, not the role holder. Ideally, the administrator does not need to "gather followers" the way a Melanesian "big man" does. His status is ascribed and in this respect his position is like the Polynesian chief. The government structure assumes the "ideal"; the role of administrator will be respected, and that the administrator will be "obeyed" by the other government employees because he occupies a role which has legitimate authority.

⁵ Sahlins contrasts "chieftains" of Polynesia with "big men" of Melanesia. Polynesian chiefs have power because they inherit the role. They have ascribed status. They are obeyed as long as they do not go too far beyond the limits of chiefly behaviour, and as long as they fulfill their obligations such as redistributing wealth and food. The "big men" of melanesia hold no inherited position of authority, (except that as in our society the sons of "big men" may have advantages which may permit them also to become "big men"). "Big men" must gain support by gathering followers who will support them in the economic and political spheres. This support can be withdrawn at anytime, so that "big men" must continually use their skill and resources (economic and political) to maintain their position.

In fact, however, at the local level the "actual" does not correspond to the "ideal". All government employees do not always "obey" the administrator as I have shown. I believe that it is at the local level that the administrator must be a "big man" rather than a "chief". Not all the government employees (and certainly not all the Kabloona of other agencies) acknowledge that the administrator has legitimate power, so it is to the administrator's advantage to develop a group of "followers" by being a "good" administrator (big man). Whether the Kabloona (and Eskimo) see the administrator as being "good" or "bad" depends to some degree on how he distributes the scarce resources over which he has control. On the one hand, if he retains exclusive use of the Bombardier for himself or his close friends (kinsmen), if he lives in the best house and keeps the new furniture for himself (and for the Eskimo, if he is strict with welfare), he will probably be considered a "bad" administrator (big man).

If on the other hand he allows other Kabloona to use the Bombardier, have lumber and nails, or some of the new furniture, carpets, and other such things which come into the settlement (and is easy on welfare), then he will probably be viewed as a "good" administrator and he will gain "followers", because giving "gifts" places obligations on the receiver of a gift to return a favour. This "return of favours" or "reciprocity" is the subject of my next chapter.

CHAPTER V

RECIPROCITY

"Balanced reciprocity is the classic vehicle of peace and alliance contracts, substance-as-symbol of the transformation from separate to harmonious interests" (Sahlins 1965:175). Among the Kabloona at Baffin Fiord this certainly holds true (Vallee 1967:106). But the converse of this statement also holds in that negative reciprocity as defined by Sahlins (1965) leads to conflict and the breakdown of harmonious interpersonal relationships. In this chapter I intend to show how reciprocity can affect the state of interpersonal relationships among Kabloona.

Although we may often think of reciprocity in association with exchange of goods, among the Kabloona of Baffin Fiord reciprocity is an exchange of favours, not necessarily material goods. Normally this exchange of favours is balanced; when one Kabloona does a favour for another, it is expected that some time in the future the "giver" will in turn receive. For reciprocity to exist does not require that one favour be returned by a similar favour. For example, the Hudson's Bay manager may require a part for his stove. The part can be obtained from the south, but delivery would require three or four weeks. The government has the required part in their stores, and the administrator gives the part to The Bay manager on the understanding that when the replacement part from the south comes in it will be returned. Some time later The Bay manager may invite the admin-

istrator and his wife for a meal. Afterward there may be a social evening to which a number of other Kabloona are invited. In this way, there has been a reciprocal exchange -- material goods for companionship.

Conflict develops when Kabloona do not "play the game". The Kabloona keep a rough kind of "score", and if one of the Kabloona is always doing favours for another with no favour being given in return, then balanced reciprocity becomes negative reciprocity. Conflict results and/or the Kabloona who is "wronged" will cease to do favours for those Kabloona who do not reciprocate.

There are difficulties for the social scientist in dealing with reciprocity because balanced and negative reciprocity cannot be viewed as entities. They are part of a continuum ranging from generalized reciprocity to negative reciprocity as Sahlins (1965) has shown. One problem is to determine what constitutes "equivalence". What imbalance between what "A" gives to "B" and what "A" receives from "B" with "A" tolerate before balanced reciprocity becomes negative reciprocity? The Kabloona may have difficulty evaluating what constitutes equivalence in the exchange of goods or services (including favours). For example, two Kabloona may do favours for each other, but because of their diverse backgrounds and different value systems have different ideas as to what constitutes equivalence. Kabloona "A" on the one hand believes that he has done more for "B" than "B" has done for him, and the disparity is greater than can be tolerated. "B" on the other hand believes that the favours which he has done for "A" have been sufficient repayment. Not only do different Kabloona hold different views as to what constitutes equivalence but the same Kabloona may change his definition of equivalence for different "trading partners". For instance,

because the missionary is not so well paid, has a poorer standard of housing, and has a respected status position in the community, he is not usually expected to return favours to the same degree that other Kabloona are.

Two short "plays" follow. These plays illustrate how a change in the nature of reciprocity leads to conflict. They also serve to illustrate how some of the Kabloona judge what constitutes equivalence in reciprocal relationships. In the first play the persons involved are the government administrator, Ray, a school principal, George, the mechanic, Len, and Leon, the RCMP corporal.

The Missing Letters

(George) "Hi, Ray. Much mail come on the plane?"

(Ray) "Yeah, pretty fair load, there wasn't too much freight so they were able to clean up the backlog."

"Leon say when he would be finished sorting it?"

"No, and I didn't bother to ask. The plane didn't get in till 3:30 so we didn't get it moved down to the detachment until after 4:00. The post office's hours are 4:00 to 5:00. We probably won't get it till Monday now."

"Think I should phone and ask?"

"Can if you like, but it probably won't do much good. Usually when people call about it, he gets his back up and bitches about people pestering him for the mail."

"That son-of-a-bitch, we wait two weeks for the mail to come and then when it gets here we have to wait until post office hours to get our stuff. And what really pisses me off is that he gets his own mail right away. Remember about a month ago when the mail came in too late to be sorted and we had to wait till the next day to get it? Well, that morning in school before we had our mail his kid was saying how he'd got a birthday gift from his Grandma."

"Well, at least it's not a long week-end or we'd have to wait till Tuesday. Is that the truck out front?"

"Yeah, and Len's coming in."

(Len) "hi, Ray, George, you know what that bastard's done now?"

(Ray) "Now, now, Len, is that any way to refer to our guardian of justice, and the custodian of the Queen's Royal Mail?"

"I can think of plenty worse names for him about now. I phoned to see if the mail would be sorted today and the officious bastard said they wouldn't be finished sorting until after 5:00 so we would have to wait till post office hours on Monday for pick-up!"

(Ray) "Well, you can't expect them to work overtime, they need a rest too you know."

"Horse's ass they do, we don't get a mail plane for two weeks and now we have to wait over the week-end with it sitting right down at the other end of the settlement? Sure, the C.O.D.'s could wait till Monday, but would it hurt him to open up for half an hour so we could at least get the first class stuff?"

(Ray) "Leon's been pretty busy you know, fighting crime, all these bank robberies the last week."

"Damn it, we help him out plenty. Any time he has trouble with his furnace or his plumbing he expects us to come running day or night. We even use out truck to carry the mail down to the detachment for him."

(Ray) "But Len, you have to help each other out up north."

"Right, but damn it, it's got to go both ways!"

The arrival of the mail plane is a great event in Baffin Fiord for Eskimo as well as Kabloona. It is more important to the Kabloona, because mail is the prime means of keeping in touch with friends and relatives "outside," and as such is an important morale booster. Although the whole community is affected by not getting the mail, the administrator and mechanic in particular have been offended in this case because the policeman, instead of maintaining balanced reciprocity, has caused a change from balanced reciprocity to a negative reciprocity situation. The result is that in the future the policeman may find it extremely difficult to receive favours or assistance from the mechanic or the administrator. The only way in which

the conflict can be resolved and the only way in which a semblance of balanced reciprocity can be restored is for the policeman to "make amends" in some manner. He may do this by giving a party (provided relations are not so strained that no one would be willing to come), by suddenly becoming more co-operative, or perhaps not pressing charges for some minor infraction of the law such as a hunting offence.

An unfortunate side effect of this type of conflict involving all against one is that the wife of the "offender" is damned by association, with the result that she becomes excluded from the social interaction of the Kabloona group, not through any fault of her own, but solely because of her husband's actions.

The ones who came to Dinner

This next "play" involves the school principal, George, his wife, and Fred and Joan, who are both teachers.

(George's wife) "George, should we ask Fred and Joan for supper Saturday?"

(George) "Well, I don't know. It means a lot of work for you."

"I have to cook anyway, and two more doesn't make much difference."

"I know that, but you go to a lot more trouble than when it's just for us. Besides, when was the last time they ever invited us for supper, or even over for a drink?"

"We were there for coffee two weeks ago after the movie."

"Yeah, but that was only because Ray practically twisted their arms, and they couldn't get out of it very well."

"Well, if we don't have them, what are we going to do? Sit around and play crib again?"

"Damn it, it's about time they cooked you a meal! We've had them over a lot and they've never once invited us for a meal. Don't they think

you'd like a break once in a while too? And when we drop in or they ask us for coffee Fred's always just run out of booze or he's got a bottle and hasn't a drop of mix in the house, which is fine for him because he takes water. And he never has anything but Scotch which neither of us like, but he sure laps up rye, or rum or whatever anyone else has."

"But we always have a nice evening with them. And that's a lot better than doing nothing on a Saturday night. After all, I don't get to see many people through the week like you do."

"Yeah, I know, I'm sorry, but I get kind of mad when it's always you who has to do all the entertaining. I just think it's about time they had us over for a change. They're both working so they could sure afford to give us a meal."

"Well, perhaps that's part of the reason. You don't feel like entertaining after working all day. And weekends Joan has to do her housework."

"Sure, sure, I don't expect tit for tat, but in all this time they could have had us over once anyway. We'll have them over but that's it, Taima⁶. No more meals until they have us for something."

In this case, reciprocity has failed, not because there has been no return of material goods (food and drink), although this is in part a factor, but because the social gesture of a prepared meal and an evening "out of the house" has not been extended. Although conflict may not result, certainly there will be a lessening of the frequency of social interaction between the Kabloona involved. Because of the need for a break from monotony, and the need to socialize with other Kabloona, Kabloona may continue to give their defaulting "trading partner" one more chance, even though they feel they are being taken advantage of.

The converse of this situation can also occur. That is, Kabloona "A" may welcome people dropping in and invite people to his home, always treating them very hospitably. He therefore becomes a centre of entertain-

⁶ Eskimo for "finished".

ment for the Kabloona group and his house becomes the place which people always visit. As a result, he acquires prestige, and because he regularly has company he feels no need to visit other Kabloona in their homes. In time, some of the other Kabloona may feel that there has been a breakdown in reciprocity in that they always have to visit "A", while "A" never makes any effort to visit them in their homes, and in fact may go so far as to turn down invitations to social evenings in the homes of other Kabloona.

An alternate interpretation is that tension may be created because the other Kabloona may feel that they are in debt to "A" and are unable to discharge these debts or obligations because they are prevented from doing so by "A" refusing to return a visit.

In cases where one Kabloona continually plays the role of "host" the tension or conflict which is felt by the other Kabloona is probably due to both factors; they feel that there is not a balanced reciprocity situation because "A" will not return their visits, and furthermore, because they are unable to repay "A" for his hospitality they continue to feel an obligation to him.

Generalized Reciprocity

Although balanced and negative reciprocity are the more common type of "exchanges" in Baffin Fiord, a third type of reciprocal exchange does occasionally occur. This type of exchange is what Sahlins (1965) refers to as generalized reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity is at the opposite end of the continuum to negative reciprocity. It tends towards the ideal of a "free gift" for which "repayment" is not expected. Sahlins (1965:152) suggests that generalized reciprocity is usually associated with kin ties.



Plate 22

The visits of important officials and dignitaries, often creates problems for the local administrator. Not the least of these problems may be deciding who will sit at the head table.

At Baffin Fiord kin relationships are rare among the Kabloona. Generalized reciprocity cuts across kin groups.⁷

At Baffin Fiord generalized reciprocity occurs when special events, emergencies or disasters involve one or more of the Kabloona group. For example, if the Prime Minister or the Governor General or some other equally high placed government official is due to visit the settlement, the administrator is responsible for arranging entertainment, a reception, and other activities connected with the visit. However, many of the Kabloona group are likely to co-operate and assist with the preparation of meals and the accommodation of the visiting dignitaries. This co-operation occurs despite prior conflict and despite the fact that the administrator will get the major "credit" if things go well (of course he may also be held responsible by his superiors if things go wrong). In cases where a large party is visiting, the administrator and his wife would be unable to feed and house the visitors without the help of other Kabloona and therefore are dependent on these other Kabloona coming to their aid (see Plate 22). The administrator can of course "repay" those who assisted him, but the fact that "repayment" is not obligatory suggests that these acts can be viewed as generalized reciprocity. It could be argued that "community pride" and the possibility of associating with the visitors constitutes repayment for those Kabloona who come to the aid of the administrator, and that this is an example of balanced reciprocity. A more clear-cut example of generalized reciprocity can be cited, however. If one of the Kabloona women must go to

⁷ I am eliminating from this discussion the obvious kin ties and generalized reciprocity associated with members of the same nuclear family among the Kabloona.

Frobisher Bay to have a baby or go for some other medical or personal reason, she may leave her children in the settlement. Other Kabloona will board the children left behind or see that they are taken care of in some other way. In these unusual or emergency situations, generalized reciprocity will take place even among Kabloona who may be in conflict. In the face of emergency or disaster, conflict is forgotten and reciprocity is extended freely with no expectation that a favour need be returned. Often, of course, those who have benefited from an act of generalized reciprocity will in some way or other "say thanks" to those who have assisted them, even though it is not expected (or where conflict exists it may not even be desired). Acts of generalized reciprocity in these instances can sometimes result in conflict resolution and the establishment of more harmonious social relations between Kabloona who have been in conflict.

This chapter demonstrates how an understanding of the principle of reciprocity can be important to Kabloona in small settlements. Those who are aware of the "rules of the game" and are able to maintain balanced reciprocity relationships can avoid a great deal of conflict with other members of the Kabloona group. Those who do not know the rules of the game, or do not wish to play it, are more likely to be in conflict with other members of the Kabloona. The least result is that they are likely to find that life is made more difficult for them because they cannot count on other Kabloona for needed support and assistance.

CHAPTER VI

FRIEND AND FOE

In an early chapter I suggest a possible hypothesis -- that Kabloona occupying the roles of supervisor/employee were unlikely to also occupy the roles of friend/friend. For example the mechanic is more likely to socialize with the policeman or The Bay man than he is with the administrator who is his supervisor. This hypothesis is related to Homans's rule (1950:247) that,

When two persons interact with one another, the more frequently one of the two originates interaction for the other, the stronger will be the latter's sentiment of respect (or hostility) toward him, and the more nearly will the frequency of interaction be kept to the amount characteristic of the external system.⁸

In this chapter I would like to discuss this point more fully and offer evidence to test this hypothesis.

In a previous chapter I have indicated that intra-agency conflict can easily occur between those Kabloona who occupy superior/subordinate roles. Conflict between these Kabloona may arise (1) because there may be disagreement as to how a certain role or task is to be performed, (2) because the roles are so poorly defined that there is no clear boundary to the limits on one's authority, (3) because a Kabloona occupying one of the roles may

⁸ External system in this study would refer to the organization to which both belong, e.g., The Bay, D.N.A.

not acknowledge that a Kabloona occupying a second role has legitimate authority, (4) because of the characteristics of the role holders (e.g., two authoritarian individuals) or, (5) because the supervisor finds it necessary to discipline one of his "employees" due to poor work performance, (e.g., absenteeism, lengthy coffee breaks). Conflict which occurs between "nine and five" on the job is not forgotten in the social situation after working hours. Or as Homans (1950:246) says,

Few men are flexible enough to work out a two stage emotional relationship, one for times when authority must be exercised and another for everyday relaxed routine.

I believe therefore that Kabloona are more likely to form social relationships with Kabloona other than those for whom they work.

Another aspect which must be considered is that of inner conflict or role strain which occurs when a person in a supervisory position is friendly after hours with his "employee." As an example, let us assume that the school principal and one of the teachers have formed a close social relationship. Let us suppose then that some time after the friendly interpersonal relationships have been established, the teacher begins to "slack off" in the performance of his teaching duties. Perhaps he frequently begins to arrive late for school, or in the opinion of the principal is spending too much time giving his class "busy work." The principal may then feel that he should discipline the teacher or direct that the teacher perform his role more satisfactorily. However, the principal is aware that if he takes disciplinary action against the teacher this conflict will result in the disruption of the social relationship. By bringing about a conflict situation, the principal may effectively destroy the only satisfactory social alliance which he has in the community, because he may not be on good

terms with other Kabloona in the settlement. What is more likely is that the other Kabloona may have already formed social groupings (cliques) which he would find extremely difficult to break into. The principal then has a difficult choice. He may overlook the job situation in order to preserve the social relationship, or he may insist on proper job performance at the expense of the social relationship. Those Kabloona who are aware of the possibility of strains developing when there are close social relationships between employer and employee, may purposely avoid forming close social ties with their "employees" in order to reduce the possibility of finding themselves in a situation such as that just described.

The following tables show that in the majority of cases which I was able to observe, supervisory personnel more often have close social relations with Kabloona who were not their "employees." There are four tables which cover eight years in four separate communities (for obvious reasons they are unnamed). Changeover and transfer of Kabloona personnel usually occurs in the fall or spring, therefore in three of the four cases the tables represent the state of social relationships as they existed in February (settlements A, B, D). The month of February has been chosen since by this time interpersonal relationships among the Kabloona have had time to stabilize, which would not be the case if the tables had been compiled for a time period immediately following the influx of new Kabloona (teachers primarily) into the settlements. In the fourth case (settlement C) I was not in the settlement over the winter but only for the period May to August. This table represents the situation as it stood in August, when relationships had been stabilized following the "spring changeover", and had not yet been upset by the arrivals of the new teachers.

In these four tables the state of the social relationships between all employed Kabloona is indicated by the use of a three point scale. Interpersonal relations between the Kabloona are differentiated as positive, neutral, or negative, and are indicated in the tables by the signs +, 0, and -. A relationship is considered positive when there is frequent visiting, and when conflict seldom occurs between the Kabloona involved. When conflict does occur it is resolved quickly and satisfactorily, without destroying the social relationship. A neutral relationship is one in which the Kabloona involved are neither close friends nor "sworn enemies." There is always the possibility that a neutral relationship may become a positive one, or, in the event that there is intense conflict between these Kabloona, a negative one. Kabloona having a neutral relationship visit less frequently than Kabloona with a positive relationship. There may be some conflict but it is not particularly intense or long-lasting. A neutral relationship does not necessarily indicate unfriendliness, but may simply be the result of Kabloona having little in common. There is therefore little social interaction between them after working hours. Kabloona with a neutral relationship neither actively avoid, nor seek each other out. Where interpersonal relationships are classified as negative, there has been a serious breakdown in the social relationships between these Kabloona. Social contacts are avoided, conflict is frequent, and in extreme cases all communication between the two may cease except such communication as is required to continue the conflict.

There are some definite problems in attempting to diagram interpersonal relationships in this manner. Obviously the state of interpersonal relationships is a continuum, not three separate categories. The problem is not in

determining the end points, but rather the border-line cases or boundaries between a positive and a neutral relationship and a neutral and negative one. This is a problem which any investigator would find in constructing matrices such as these. It is quite possible that two investigators working in the same settlement at the same time would categorize the relationships in a different manner. The use of a sociogram would perhaps alleviate some of the problems in constructing these tables, however, at the time I was in these settlements it was not possible for me to make use of this method of recording inter-personal relations. As a result, I have had to rely on my observations of the apparent state of interpersonal relations among the various Kabloona in these settlements.

The other problem is that these relationships are being recorded on the basis of recall. As such, they are my subjective assessment of the situation as it existed several years earlier. My recall of the situation may be less than perfect. Nevertheless, I have been forced to carefully go through each set of inter-personal relations and attempt to give them a value on the three point scale. Removed from the actual situation in which I was a full participant by both time and space increases the likelihood of a more objective assessment, I will argue. As the positive and negative relationships are more important to test my hypothesis, borderline cases between positive and neutral or negative and neutral have been recorded as neutral in order that "errors" will result in more conservative results.

The tables list the agencies and the title and sex of the Kabloona filling a particular role in the agency. Interpersonal relationships involving Kabloona women are not included in the table unless these females are fully employed. This excludes from consideration interpersonal relations

among most of the Kabloona women. This is not because the state of interpersonal relations among the wives of Kabloona males are not important, but because I cannot be as certain of the state of the interpersonal relationships among Kabloona women who were not fully employed as I am about Kabloona who are employed full time, particularly the male Kabloona. Although it might prove interesting to include interpersonal relationships of the Kabloona wives, it would not contribute significantly to the test of my hypothesis, although the interpersonal relationships among the wives can affect interpersonal relations among the husbands. If the wife of a Kabloona has a negative relationship with another Kabloona male or female, then it is unlikely that her husband will have a positive relation with this Kabloona. They would not necessarily be in conflict, but the relationship is more likely to be a neutral (0) one.

Settlement A

From an examination of table I recording the state of interpersonal relationships, it is apparent that in settlement A over a four year period, the data supports my hypothesis. That is, positive relationships between persons in a supervisory/subordinate role are less frequent than between persons who are either co-workers or in an entirely different agency. Of six possible supervisor/subordinate dyads, none are positive, two are neutral and four are negative. However, because of the small number of cases considered, because of the impressionistic nature of the assessment of the variables, and because I have not considered the personality characteristics of the individuals involved, the evidence is far from conclusive.

Table I

Interpersonal Relationships Among Kabloona
in Settlement A over 4 years

YEAR 1

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>			
Government	Teacher/ Admin.		-	+
H.B.C.	Manager	-		-
	Clerk	+	-	
		Tchr	Mgr	Clerk
		Adm.		

YEAR 2

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>			
Government	Teacher/ Admin.		0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	0		-
	Clerk	0	-	
		Tchr	Mgr	Clerk
		Adm.		

YEAR 3

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>				
Government	Teacher/ Admin.		-	0	0
	Mechanic	-		0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	0	0		0
	Clerk	0	0	0	
		Tchr	Mech	Mgr	Clerk
		Adm.			

YEAR 4

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>				
Government	Teacher/ Admin.		-	0	+
	Mechanic	-		0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	0	0		0
	Clerk	+	0	0	
		Tchr	Mech	Mgr	Clerk
		Adm.			

Table II

Interpersonal Relations Among Kabloona in Settlement B

YEAR 1

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>																	
Gov.	Admin.	M	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mech.	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Princ.	M	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Teach.	F	0	0	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	+	+
	Teach.	M	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	+	+
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	0
	Teach.	F	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+
H.B.C.	Manager	M	0	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	+	0	0
	Clerk	M	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	0
R.C.M.P.	Cpl.	M	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
Co-op	Art Dir.	M	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	+	+
	Str. Mgr.	M	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
I.N.H.S.	Nurse	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	-	-	0	0	+	+	0	0
	Nurse	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	-	-	0	0	+	+	0	0
Anglican																		
Mission	Priest	M	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0
		M	M	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	M	M	M	F	F	M		
		A.	M.	P.	T.	T.	T.	T.	M.	C.	Cp.	M	A.	S.	N.	N.	M.	

YEAR 2

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>																	
Gov.	Admin.	M	-	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+
	Clerk	M	-	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mech.	M	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Princ.	M	+	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+
	Teach.	F	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	+	+	0	+	+
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0
	Teach.	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	M	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	0	0	0	0
	Clerk	M	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
R.C.M.P.	Crpl.	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I.N.H.S.	Nurse	M	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0
	Nurse	F	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	+	0	0	0
Co-op	Art Dir.	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+
	Str. Mgr	M	0	0	0	+	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0
	Clerk	M	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+
Anglican																		
Mission	Missnry	M	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	+
		M	M	M	M	F	F	F	M	F	M	M	M	M	F	M	M	M
		A.	C.	M.	P.	T.	T.	T.	T.	T.	M.	C.	C.	N.	N.	A.	S.	C.

Settlement B

The tables for settlement B (over two years), contrary to expectations, show that there are a number of positive relationships between superior/subordinate Kabloona. I suggest that there may be special circumstances which account for the higher frequency of positive relationships in this settlement. In settlement B (Year 1), of eight possible relationships three are positive and five are neutral. However, of the three positive relationships, one of them (principal and teacher) involved a husband and wife. In a second positive relationship, the head nurse and nurse had been close personal friends in the south, and would not take a nursing post unless the two of them could remain together as a team. In other words, a strong positive relationship had been firmly established prior to their arrival in the settlement. Of the three positive relationships, only one had developed "on the spot." Similarly, in year 2 in settlement B, of the three positive relationships, one of these involved a husband and wife nursing team.

That there remain three "unaccountable" positive relationships is not unusual. Indeed, if the data were to show that in no case did a "boss" and "employee" get along, then there would be a good reason to seriously question the reliability of my assessment of the state of interpersonal relationship among the Kabloona. On the one hand, when we consider settlement B over two years, of nineteen possible dyads involving a supervisor/subordinate relationship, only three (approximately 10%) are positive. On the other hand, of 239 possible dyads involving co-workers and inter-agency pairs, fifty (approximately 20% are positive). These figures then seem to support my hypothesis, in that a higher percentage of positive relationships occur between people who are not in a supervisor/subordinate role.

Table III

Interpersonal Relationships Among Kabloona in Settlement C

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>							
Gov.	Tchr/Adm.	M	+	0	0	0	0	+
	Stdn Tchr	M	+	+	0	0	0	+
	Mechanic	M	0	+	+	-	0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	M	0	0	+	-	0	0
R.C.M.P.	Cpl.	M	0	0	-	-	0	0
Anglican								
Mission	Missnry	M	0	0	0	0	0	+
Indpndt.	Anthrop.	M	+	+	0	0	0	+
		M	M	M	M	M	M	M
		T/A	St.	M.	M.	C.	M.	A.

Settlement C (year 1) also has a positive relationship involving persons in supervisor/subordinate roles. Here again, however, the positive nature of the relationship can be explained by special circumstances surrounding the two role holders. In this case, the subordinate Kabloona (student/teacher) was enrolled in a special cross-cultural education course at a southern university. He had been hired as a summer student in order that he might work under the auspices of a teacher with Arctic experience. The teacher/administrator and the student/teacher had met each other prior to going into the settlement, had travelled into the settlement together and were sharing accommodation and food. The roles in this case were similar to "teacher/disciple" association rather than a supervisor/subordinate one.

Settlement D

Settlement D represents an unusual case for two reasons: (1) the high number of positive relationships involving supervisor/subordinate Kabloona (7 of 9 possible), of which only three can be explained by previously

Table IV

Interpersonal Relationships Among Kabloona in Settlement D

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Role</u>																
Gov.	Admin.	M		+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	+	-	0	0	0	+
	Mech.	M	+		0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	-	0	0	0	0
	Clerk	M	+	0		+	0	0	0	+	+	0	-	0	0	0	0
	Princ.	M	0	0	+		+	+	+	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	+
Tea	Teach.	M	+	0	0	+		0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	+
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	+	0		+	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0
	Teach.	F	0	0	0	+	0	+		+	0	0	-	0	0	0	0
	Teach.	F	+	0	+	0	0	0	+		0	0	-	0	0	0	0
H.B.C.	Manager	M	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	+	+	0
	Clerk	M	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0
R.C.M.P.	Cpl.	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	0	0
	Const.	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0
I.N.H.S.	Nurse	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	-	0	+	0	0
	Nurse	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	-	0	+	0	0
Anglican																	
Mission	Missnry	M	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R.C.																	
Mission	Priest	M	+	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			M	M	M	M	M	F	F	F	M	M	M	M	F	F	M
			A.	M.	C.	P.	T.	T.	T.	T.	M.	C.	C.	C.	N.	N.	M.

established positive relationships, and (2) the high number (twelve) of negative relationships on the interagency level. Without having a larger sample of settlements from which data is available, it is not possible to offer any refined analysis as to why there should be so many positive relationships in settlement D. However, there are certain factors present at settlement D which may account for the high number of positive relationships. If these factors are also present in other Arctic settlements where there are also a high number of positive relationships between Kabloona supervisors and subordinates, it may indicate a positive correlation between these factors and positive relations. For example, one possible factor might be the presence of a "scapegoat". Through his actions during the year, the RCMP corporal had come into conflict with almost all of the

Kabloona in the settlement. As a result, the only other Kabloona with whom he could have a positive social relationship was the constable, his "employee." "Banding together against a common enemy" resulted in alliances between Kabloona of the same agency, who may not otherwise have formed positive interpersonal relationships. Simmel (1955:87-8) and Coser (1956: 87) both suggest that a "scapegoat" can be a cohesive force for members of a group.

A second factor which may be responsible for the high number of positive relationships is that all of the Kabloona had experience at living in Arctic or other isolated settlements. For instance, the Roman Catholic priest had over twenty years of Arctic experience, the administrator had more than ten, the Anglican missionary, mechanic, principal, and The Bay man all had more than five years of Arctic experience. It would appear that prior experience with living in isolated settlements gave the Kabloona insights into northern living, to the extent that they were able to avoid conflict with all other Kabloona except the RCMP corporal (although Arctic experience seems not to have helped the RCMP corporal to avoid conflict).

The environment is a third factor which may have contributed to the relatively high frequency of positive interpersonal relationships. Certain amenities were available in settlement D (unrelated to climate) which were not present in all of the other settlements. Government housing was on the whole extremely good, and this was a critical area among government personnel. (See Chapter IV). Only two houses were "substandard"; the remainder were from good to excellent. Moreover, housing was sufficient so that there was no need for Kabloona to share accommodation unless they so desired. Air communication was also relatively frequent, with the result

that mail was usually received once a week. The good housing and frequent mail delivery contributed to maintaining a high morale among Kabloona in the settlement, which in turn lessened the possibility of serious conflict developing.

Another point which should be mentioned with regard to the state of interpersonal relationships (Tables I, II, III, IV) is that there appears to be some difference between the frequency of positive, neutral and negative relationships in small and larger settlements. As the number of Kabloona increases, the number of neutral relationships tends to increase more than the number of positive and negative relationships. This is probably due to the fact that with the greater number of Kabloona within any single agency it is possible to have a wider choice of persons with whom one can interact. It is not as necessary to interact with individuals with whom one has had conflict, so that a neutral relationship can be maintained without developing into a negative one. Group size may be the most critical variable in relation to frequency of conflict. Because of the limitations of the data, the method of assessing the nature of interpersonal relations, and the limited number of cases observed, I cannot investigate the effect of this aspect of environment on Kabloona relations. Certainly though, population size may be a critical factor in the frequency of conflict. This is an area of research which would merit further investigation. It would also be valuable to consider how social relationships change over time. I believe that Kabloona who have been good friends through the winter often come into conflict and form new alliances in February or March. Homans's (1950:112) suggestion that frequent interaction leads to a change in sentiment among the people involved sheds some light

on why the nature of relationships among Kabloona changes over time; they will either become "friends" or "enemies", but will not likely remain indifferent to each other. A diachronic analysis of role relationships in one or more settlements would give additional information on the whole question of conflict and Kabloona relations.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The principal aim of in this thesis has been to describe the interpersonal relations among the Kabloona (non-Eskimo minority) in isolated Arctic settlements with special emphasis on an analysis of conflict.

In order to place Kabloona interaction in context, I have chosen to construct a composite settlement, which I have called Baffin Fiord. This composite "typical" Arctic settlement has helped to preserve the anonymity of the Kabloona involved⁹ while it has allowed me to accomplish a number of specific things: (1) to indicate the general pattern of development of a typical Arctic community, (2) to suggest what facilities and agencies can be found in most Arctic communities, (3) to describe the environment in which the Kabloona minority lives, in order to make more understandable to the reader why certain problems might arise among members of the Kabloona group.

With regard to Kabloona interpersonal relations, I have shown that conflict can arise at four different levels: (1) inter-agency, (2) intra-agency, (3) inter-family, and (4) intra-family. Examples show how conflict arises on each of these four levels. Also, the four levels are shown to be

⁹ The use of a composite does not set any precedent, for example, see Whiting's The Bride Wore White (Whiting, 1965).

interrelated, and conflict which originates at one of the levels can have an effect on the other three.

I have also formulated a hypothesis and have included data to test it. I suggested that because of conflict or the possibility of conflict being more prevalent between those in a supervisory/subordinate role, persons in these roles will tend to have more satisfactory interpersonal relationships either with co-workers, or with persons who are in a different agency (Homans 1950:247).

I recognize that there are other factors contributing to conflict besides the ones which I have dealt with. In particular, psychological factors such as personality and the effects of stress and environmental deprivation on individuals in isolation definitely affect the frequency of conflict in the interpersonal relations among Kabloona in the Arctic settlements. My training is not as a psychologist, therefore in this thesis I have not attempted to deal in any great detail with the psychological reasons for conflict. I have chosen instead to identify patterns of relationships which exist between various members of the Kabloona group, concentrating my attention on: (1) the conflict which can occur because of the nature of the roles of the Kabloona, rather than (or inspite of) the personality of individuals who might occupy certain roles, (2) the four levels at which conflict occurs, and (3) the occurrence of conflict over territory, scarce resources, and reciprocity.

To an outsider many of the incidents which I have described may seem unimportant and hardly a reason for conflict to develop. However, to the Kabloona in isolated settlements these incidents are far from trivial. For Kabloona in the Arctic who are removed from television, radio, and the daily

newspaper, the "outside" world fades in importance, and the only world that matters is the small settlement in which the Kabloona live. National and international problems such as unemployment, pollution, Vietnam and atomic tests become of less and less concern. With less activities to fill leisure time, and with no need to worry about employment, a decent wage, sufficient food or a good place to live, the Kabloona can fret about the R.C.M.P. corporal not giving out the mail, or that the neighbours did not extend a coffee invitation. These seemingly trivial problems become ever so important to the Kabloona involved.

While I have dealt with conflict in this thesis, this does not mean that the Kabloona in small Arctic settlements are in a state of constant "warfare". Many Kabloona form long-lasting friendships with people they have met in Arctic settlements. In emergencies, Kabloona assist one another. With no constant entertainment such as theatre, cocktail lounges and curling to fill leisure time Kabloona have to make their own entertainment, so that people have more time for other people. Visiting and conversation become important social activities once again. Certain community functions such as the Christmas festivities and the spring games, or the rare occurrence of a Kabloona wedding, are events which usually result in co-operation among the Kabloona of the settlement. There is also a distinct "we" feeling among the Kabloona when outsiders (e.g., social scientists or government visitors) are in the settlement. Nevertheless, in the absence of other problems, conflict is of considerable importance to the Kabloona in isolated Arctic settlements because it can seriously affect the interpersonal relations that are so important to maintaining morale and permitting survival in these remote, isolated settlements.

From the material presented in this thesis, I believe it is possible to draw certain conclusions with regard to the interpersonal relations among Kabloona in isolated Arctic settlements in particular, and in general with regard to all small groups in isolation. The degree to which my conclusions apply to other small groups in isolation depends on the degree and extent of similarity of conditions between the Kabloona group which I have dealt with and other small groups. The important conditions which must be met so that my thesis has application to other groups are: (1) that the group size be small enough so that each individual can know every other individual reasonably well (i.e., about 50 people, including children), (2) that group size be small enough that those who work together also associate with one another in other ways, (3) that the group be isolated geographically from their own society and socially and culturally from the "native" population, (4) that the members of the group work for and represent more than one agency and/or different divisions within the same agency, (5) that members of the group (except for nuclear families) are not kin, (6) that members of the group have formed no consensus as to who has legitimate power and authority in all situations, and (7) that there be certain scarce resources for which there is competition. The more closely any group fits these conditions the more I expect conflict to be an important factor in the interpersonal relations among the individuals in the group, and that this conflict would develop at the same levels and for similar reasons as among the Kabloona in Baffin Fiord.

My analysis points to three underlying reasons for conflict: (1) "territoriality" and the differing aims of the separate Kabloona agencies, (2) competition for scarce resources, and (3) acts which are interpreted as negative reciprocity.

Conflict over territory is a result of (a) the unique historical development of the settlement, which has resulted in the original agencies (Bay, R.C.M.P., and mission) losing power and influence to government employees, (b) the government employees having to give up power to other members of their own agency (e.g., principal to administrator), (c) the lack of agreement on who has legitimate authority in certain instances, and (d) the overlap or ill-defined boundaries of authority of some roles, particularly within the government.

Conflict over scarce resources may occur on the interagency level, but most commonly is among Kabloona employed by the government. The most frequent reason for conflict to occur is over housing, major appliances, and furnishings.

Conflict with regard to reciprocity is due to the fact that equivalence of exchange is difficult to determine because often material goods are not involved. The exchange may involve alternating of visits, the loan of certain items, or simply the giving of information. Moreover some Kabloona are not aware of the importance of balanced reciprocity in preventing conflict.

Although there are no formal or accepted means of dealing with conflict, the strong internal force of "self-interest" does work to limit conflict and/or restore harmony (even if only to the extent of maintaining an uneasy peace). The majority of Kabloona recognize that they are dependent on each other. They recognize that they need people with whom they can visit and socialize and from whom they can request favours, whether these favours be the loan of a sheet of plywood or obtaining a special Ski-doo part. Although the Kabloona recognize that they are dependent on each other, I have shown that conflict still develops.

Berry (1966) suggests a means of setting up a psychological testing programme so that agencies employing Kabloona in the north could screen their employees before giving them northern postings in order that job performance (which in part depends on maintaining morale and lessening conflict) would be improved, and personnel "turn over" be reduced. Although I would agree that the frequency of conflict among Kabloona may be lessened by "changing the people", conflict may also be lessened by "changing the environment". Conflict among members of the same agency (intra-agency conflict) would be lessened if the areas of responsibilities of the holders of particular roles were better defined and made known to all other Kabloona within that agency. The authority of Kabloona who are in administrative positions in a particular agency would have to be strengthened and given increased legitimacy with regard to their own "employees". Often in the past when supervisor and subordinate of a particular agency have had serious conflict they were left in the settlement to "fight it out" for themselves. This "leave it be" policy has often proved detrimental to the work performance of both individuals, and even to the morale of the whole of the Kabloona community. Cases of serious conflict between members of the same agency requires that a senior administrator from that agency be brought in to attempt to resolve conflict between the two Kabloona. If conflict cannot be resolved in this way it may be necessary to move one or both of the individuals involved. Although transfers of personnel are costly, they are less expensive than the disruption of work programmes which can result from serious conflict in the settlement.

A second means of reducing intra-agency conflict is to ensure that housing available to Kabloona of the same agency be roughly equivalent, and

that the furnishings, particularly major appliances such as washers, dryers, and stoves be similar (e.g., conflict will be lessened if all stoves are oil-fired or electric rather than some being oil and some electric).

Conflict can be lessened among all the Kabloona in a settlement if facilities which contribute to high morale are improved (e.g., mail service and radio communication). As I have shown, much inter-agency conflict arises because of conflicting aims and the absence of a "leader" who has legitimate authority. More local autonomy might have the effect of developing a power structure which all Kabloona agree has legitimate authority. This becomes more apparent when we recognize that the government administrator is somewhat like the reeve of a small town, with the important difference that he is an appointed rather than an elected official. The election of officials which would come with increased local autonomy might reduce conflict which now arises because one agency does not recognize the other as having legitimate authority in certain areas.¹⁰

Heslin and Dumphy (1964), in their study of member satisfaction in small groups, suggest that agreement as to whom will be leader, perceived freedom to participate, and perceived progress toward group goals, contribute significantly to high morale. Increased local autonomy and the election of certain community officers would satisfy the first two of these requirements for group satisfaction.

I believe that the changes which I have suggested, if implemented, would reduce inter and intra-agency conflict. The frequency of inter and intra-family conflict would also be reduced directly as a result of changes

¹⁰ It should be noted here that the Territorial Government is now promoting the concept of local government and autonomy.

in communication and housing and indirectly because of reduced inter and intra-agency conflict.

In this thesis I have described a "typical" Arctic settlement and discussed the interpersonal relations among the Kabloona minority. I have dealt primarily with conflict between members of the Kabloona group and shown why and how conflict occurs. In addition, I have suggested how the frequency of conflict might be lessened.

I believe that this thesis contributes to an understanding of small groups in isolation, wherever there is conflict among group members. My findings have practical applications for teachers, government workers, and others working in isolated situations, and suggest areas of further study. I have suggested that the presence of a "common enemy," size of settlement, years of experience of group members, and a comfortable environment for all members are factors which help to reduce conflict at all levels. However, further evidence must be gathered from a number of settlements in order to determine if these factors correlate with lessened conflict among Kabloona members. This too suggests areas for further social science research among small groups in isolation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balikci, Ansen
1960 "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada: A Comment", Human Organization. Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 170-171.
- Becker, Howard S.
1958 "Inference and Proof in Participant Observation", American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, pp. 652-660.
- Berry, W., R. Hasler, Bruce Petrie, D. Parker, W. Peterson, and I. Sturdee
1966 Unpublished paper. London: University of Western Ontario.
- Berry, W.
1968 "The Great Tobacco Famine", North, Vol. 15, No. 3. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Boag, Tom
1966 "Mental Health in the North", People of Light and Dark. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Coser, Lewis
1956 The Functions of Social Conflict. New York: Free Press.
- Crassweller, L. and Lorne Smith
1968 "Christmas in the North", North, Vol. 15, No. 6. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Dunning, R.W.
1959 "Ethnic Relations and the Marginal Man in Canada" Human Organization, Vol. 18, No. 3, pp. 117-122.
- Fried, Jacob
1964 Urbanization and Ecology in the Canadian Northwest Territories. Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 56-60.
- Goode, William
1965 "A Theory of Role Strain" American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 pp. 483-496.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H.
1969 Eskimos Without Igloos. Social and Economic Development in Sugluk. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

- Gross, Neal, Ward S. Mason and Alexander McEachern
1958 "Role Conflict and Its Resolution" Readings in Social Psychology.
Maccoby, Eleanor E., Theodore M. Newcombe and Eugene L. Hartley,
Editors. N.Y.: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.
- Heslin, Richard, and Dexter Dunphy
1964 "Three Dimensions of Member Satisfaction in Small Groups".
Human Relations, Vol. 17, pp. 99-112.
- Hobart, Charles
1966 "Local Schools Versus Hostels" People of Light and Dark Ottawa:
Queen's Printer.
- Homans, George C.
1950 The Human Group. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Honigmann, John
1965 Eskimo Townsmen Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthro-
pology, University of Ottawa.
- Jenness, Diamond
1964 Eskimo Administration Montreal: Arctic Institute of North
America.
- Mattiasson, John S.
1967 Eskimo Legal Acculturation. The Adjustment of Baffin Island
Eskimos to Canadian Law. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell
University.
- Moody, Joseph P.
1955 Arctic Doctor New York: Dodd Mead.
- McLean, J.
1894 Notes of a 25 Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory.
Publication of the Champlain Society, Vol. 19 (1932).
- Nichols, Peter
1966 "Since the Days of Barter", People of Light and Dark Ottawa:
Queen's Printer.
- Olmsted, Michael S.
1959 The Small Group New York: Random House.
- Parsons, G.F.
1970 Arctic Suburb: A Look at the North's Newcomers. Ottawa: Queen's
Printer.

Sahlins, Marshall D.

1963 "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia". Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol. 5, pp. 285-303.

1965 "On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange", The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology. A.S.A. Monographs 1. London: Oxford University Press.

Secord, Paul F. and Carl W. Backman

1964 Social Psychology New York: McGraw and Hill Book Co.

Simmel, George

1955 Conflict, Trans. Kurt H. Wolff. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press.

Smith, Lorne

1965 "The Day the Sun Came Back", Intercom, Vol. 3, No. 1. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

1967 "An Eskimo Sports Day in Arctic Bay", The Bay News, Vol. 11, No. 2. Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company.

1968a "Canada's Other Northern Messenger", North, Vol. 15, No. 4. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

1968b "Radio Blackout Foils Bid to Gain City a Narwhal". Vancouver Sun, Vol. 83, No. 30, November 5, 1968.

1972 "The Mechanical Dog Team: The Ski-doo in the Canadian Arctic". Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 9, 1.

Vallee, Frank G.

1967 Kabloonaa and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, University of Ottawa.

1971 "Eskimos of Canada as a Minority Group". Minority Canadians Native Peoples. Scarborough: Prentice Hall

Whiting, Alfred F.

1965 "The Bride Wore White", Plateau, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 128-140

Willmott, W.E.

1961 The Eskimo Community at Port Harrison, P.Q., Canada Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, N.C.R.C. pp. 62-3.

Wolcott, Harry F.

1967 A Kwakiutl Village and School New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.