COMMUNITY RESISTANCE
LAND USE AND WAGE LABOUR IN PAULATUK, N.W.T.

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses community resistance to the imposition of an external industrial socio-economic system and the destruction of a distinctive land-based way of life. It shows how historically Inuvialuit independence has been eroded by contact with the external economic system and the assimilationist policies of the government. In spite of these pressures, however, the Inuvialuit have struggled to retain their culture and their land-based economy. This thesis shows that hunting and trapping continue to be viable and to contribute significant income, both cash and income-in-kind to the community. This "hidden" economic reality underlies the preference of community residents for hunting over wage labour. The thesis also discusses how hunting and trapping are more compatible with community values and independence and how Paulatuk people have fought to maintain their land-based identity; "land is the critical element of the past and the cornerstone of the future." It shows how Paulatuk people have struggled to adjust the outside system's rules, in order to enjoy some of its benefits, while retaining important economic and cultural elements of the community way of life.
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Introduction

Paulatuk, the site of this study, is a small Inuvialuit settlement in the Canadian Western Arctic - one hundred and sixty people, a scattering of houses, a school, church, nursing station, store and settlement office. It is an isolated community, located at the south end of Darnley Bay about two hundred and fifty miles east of Inuvik, connected to the outside world by the annual resupply sealift, irregular air traffic from Inuvik and satellite-telephone.

While far from the centres of population, economic activity and political power in Canada, Paulatuk is nevertheless affected by what happens 'outside'. At the turn of this century, the Inuvialuit lived without any contact with the wider world; they were self-sufficient. Since then, they have been incorporated, at an ever-accelerating pace, into a global system. Now, Paulatuk people depend on an external economy.

Tradition remains important however. People live in Paulatuk in order to continue their traditional resource harvesting. Hunting, fishing and trapping provide most of the food and income of the community directly from the land and sea. But hunting and trapping are more than economic
activities: they are a way of life for Paulatuk people. This lifestyle - freedom from routine, enjoyment of the land, traditional values and close community bonds - is highly valued because it provides security and respect, independence and well-being.

In this thesis, I examine the socio-economic history and development of Paulatuk in terms of the peoples' struggle to resolve problems that arise from a confrontation between the community culture and economy and the capitalist economic system. This confrontation is a process of dissolving the traditional society that began for Paulatuk at the turn of the century with contact with whalers and furtraders. The community is still struggling with the problems encountered in their integration into the capitalist system. Examination of the confrontation and the process of change is a major theme in this thesis.

The complementary theme is the identification of the resistance shown by Paulatuk residents to the destruction of their chosen way of life. Conflict, as E.P. Thompson says, may be clearly structured and articulated or it may be acted out "in ways that are less articulate, although often very specific, direct and turbulent". The observer's role, which I attempted to fill, must be "to supply the articulation, in part by decoding the evidence of behaviour".

2

3
In Paulatuk, I identified the community's struggle for independence in three main areas:

a) a struggle to continue to use subsistence food and independent commodity production, over which the people still exercise a significant degree of direct control;

b) a desire to limit involvement in wage labour and to resist subordination to the routine, hierarchy and compartmentalization that wage labour requires;

c) a struggle to ensure that the delivery of social services and economic development are compatible with community goals of increasing their independence, strengthening the land-based lifestyle of the community and obtaining more satisfaction in daily life.

In each of these areas, conflict between value-systems is experienced on a daily basis. The struggle to defend traditional social values in the family and community occurs informally in everyday life. Paulatuk people act in ways that they feel will maintain their independence and stop the intrusions of 'outsiders'. Their resistance takes a more explicit form in the development of the local council, the regional political organization and the land claims negotiations. In these, the conflict is gaining coherency and expression in 'native consciousness'. The Committee for
Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE)'s claims, in fact, confront a broader range of issues than compensation for land. They include guarantees of continued land-use, the basis for Paulatuk's way of life, political self-determination and the responsibility for comprehensive social and economic development.

This thesis is based on empirical data collected during field work in Paulatuk, N.W.T. in the summer of 1979 and the winter of 1980. The discussion will proceed as follows:

The first chapter gives a brief description of basic concepts and premises that provide a framework for analyzing the processes of conflict and resistance to the destruction of Paulatuk's social and economic way of life. Chapter Two describes the historical development of the community. Data on the economic activity of the settlement, both the 'native' and 'industrial' sectors are presented in Chapter Three. Patterns of economic behaviour, the persistence of land-use and attitudes toward wage labour are interpreted in Chapter Four. This is postulated mainly in terms of the social context of work and the role of hunting and trapping in the struggle for individual and community independence. Chapter Five reviews efforts to defend the community's way of life with reference to the implications of the struggle for development of policies and programs for socio-economic development in Paulatuk and similar communities.
Notes: Introduction

1. Inuvialuit is the name used by the Inuit of the Western Arctic to describe themselves. Inuvialuit communities include Aklavik, Inuvik, and Tuktoyaktuk, delta communities characterized by larger, mixed populations and greater contact economic development, and Sachs Harbour, Paulatuk, the "Rim" settlement typified by isolation, lack of services, little industrial economic activity and greater dependence on the land and sea. There are about twenty-five hundred Inuvialuit in the communities. These and Holman Island are represented in land claims negotiations by the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE). An Agreement-in-Principle between COPE and the Canadian Government to settle the claims was signed in 1978, but the final agreement is not yet concluded.

2. In very general terms, 'capitalist economic system' means an economic system that is based on the principles of private property, production of profit rather than immediate consumption and accumulation for its own sake. The capitalist system includes both market-exchange and a distinctive process of production, whereby the means of production--ie., land, machinery, raw materials--are controlled by a class of owners, or capitalists, and the production is done by a class of workers. The workers, because they do not control the means of production, must sell their 'labour-power' in order to provide a living for themselves. By paying the workers less for a product than it can be sold for, the owners can 'exploit' the workers' surplus labour. Capitalism implies an ongoing process of unequal accumulation of wealth and power and a polarization and conflict of interests between classes. In contrast to non-capitalist economic systems (i.e. peasant) which tend to operate in equilibrium, the capitalist system must continually expand both production and exchange. This imperative has been the basis for colonial and imperial activities in the Third World.


For instance, Thompson in The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworck: Penguin Books 1972) traced the development of 'coherency in protest' as the moral opposition of farm labourers and craftsmen to the forces pulling them into disciplined industrial labour during the Industrial Revolution changed from mob action to conscious "class" protest.
Map 1. Map of Western Canada showing Paulatuk.
Map. 2 Map of the Western Arctic.
Chapter One

Two systems in Conflict and Accommodation

A distinctive native culture persists in northern Canada today, in spite of the erosion and partial destruction of aboriginal traditions that are the legacy of colonial expansion. Although Canadians generally recognize the historic existence of separate native societies or nations, few appreciate the extent to which they persist today. Over twenty years ago, for instance, Jenness claimed that "they are Eskimos no longer" a phrase that is repeated frequently by southerners who see the Inuit using skidoos, televisions and the other trappings of modern industrial society.

There is evidence, however, that if documented and decoded, shows that a native society persists both in the vitality of land-based economic activity and in the culture. This enduring system of traditional values and practices blended with new elements conflicts both philosophically and practically with the values and institutions of the industrial system imposed on the northern scene:

We can no longer ignore the very significant fact that the native peoples' attachment to and dependence in the land does not appear to have decreased in that time. Today the North is indeed at the doorstep of industrial development but native people have been remarkably reluctant to
cross the threshold. Indeed, the overwhelming response by native people to recent large-scale non-renewable resource development proposals has been to assert the importance of their traditional land and life.... Most native people participate in both wage employment and traditional activities, and they want this dual option to continue. The issue is not jobs or hunting; it is jobs and hunting. The question is what and where those jobs are to be, who controls and benefits from them, and how they fit into native peoples' aspiration for themselves and their communities.  

Theoretical considerations

Underdevelopment with development

Paulatuk's history and characteristics suggest that is can be considered as a 'classic' case of what is commonly called "underdevelopment". Underdevelopment is a term used when regions or groups of people are disadvantaged relative to others. Access to power, material wealth and information are concentrated within society; those who are marginalized experience high levels of poverty, unemployment, and other forms of socio-economic inequality. Underdevelopment often takes a spatial quality, although it really represents disparities in power and prosperity between people with different interests. Countries in Africa, Asia and Central and South America that were once colonies of Europe are commonly considered underdeveloped, but we also have groups within Canada that can be described in this way.

The characteristics of societies that we call underdeveloped are certainly present in most native communities in Canada. Industrial society has brought the
Inuit in touch with greater material comfort and complexity than their traditional hunting system provided. Participation in this consumer society has removed the threat of starvation and destitution that periodically visited the Inuit in former days. But the Inuit have not achieved the standard of living of most working or middle-class Canadians. They remain among Canadians suffering unequally in the distribution of income, goods, services, opportunity and political power.5

Underdevelopment is not a condition inherent to societies; it arises "as an intrinsic process of western capitalist expansion"6. The increasing economic prosperity of advanced industrial nations and growth centres within them is based at least in part on the expansion of their control over non-industrialized groups. Through colonial expansion and economic imperialism, they are able to gain economic and political control of peoples' labour, land and resources and use these to their own advantage.

In northern Canada, we can identify two socio-economic systems in contact and conflict:

The northern economy consists of two distinct but structurally related components. One is the modern or industrial economy, motivated by the search for staple resource exports by large metropolitan interests, organized by corporate enterprise, heavily reliant on external support systems and production factors and in which income is unevenly distributed in the form of wages, salaries and profits, interests and rents...
The other is the traditional or native economy, exploiting a combination of readily available resources and economic opportunities, organized primarily at the level of household units of production, relying on small-scale, locally available factors of production and in which income is distributed in more or less egalitarian fashion in the form of domestically consumed produce... Viewed over time we see that these two components are not only unequal, but that the development of the former necessarily involves the degradation and absorption of the latter... 7

For native people, the first sector is part of a system that comprises, among other things, wage labour, a disciplined work routine and their separation from their land, their hunting and their community values. It implies the complexity of townlife and a loss of personal freedom. Hunting and trapping make up the second economic sector and are part of a way of life linking economic and social elements:

If the land and its resources provide the economic basis of native society, the small communities and outpost camps provide the social basis of it, and indeed each is the precondition of the other. The small communities and camps are the hearth of native society...8

The two systems compete in the north for use of the land, water, resources and labour-power. The result has generally been the degradation of the native economy and society. The more powerful, industrial system has expanded into the north, destroyed traditional, land-based self-sufficiency, transformed hunters into workers and welfare cases, and caused the loss of native cultural integrity.
The first effect of the expansion of the capitalist system is the destruction of the native economic system. For native people, the land is their source of livelihood and the means of reproduction and survival for their society. Taking control of the land and resources that an independent people use to provide their own subsistence is the main way that capitalism is able to subordinate them and support its own growth:

The producers, in this case the native people of Canada, were separated from the means of production, embodied essentially in the land and the products of the land. The means of production became concentrated and monopolized in the hands of a single social class, and natives became a class owning no possessions, and ultimately having no exchangeable commodity other than labour. Even this 'typical' model of capitalist development was surpassed by natives becoming a permanent underemployed class subsisting on social assistance. 10

While this complete separation was the case in southern Canada, where native people were forced off vast tracts of land onto reserves by agricultural and industrial development, the native people in the north have retained more access to the land because until recently the state and industry were not very interested in economic opportunities there. Now, with increasing interest in profitable non-renewable resource extraction, the Inuvialuit are facing immediate threats to their land, too.

Land, as the means of production, offers significant freedom to a society - freedom from the need to sell its labour power and from the final acceptance of subordination
to outside powers. Those people who remain directly linked to the land are, to some degree, less susceptible to the imperatives of industrial routine and the authority of the state. This element lies beneath the determination of native people to maintain their ownership of the land and their enjoyment of the way of life that the land supports.

Efforts to separate native people from their land-based economy are usually pursued in the context of bringing progress and prosperity to groups whose levels of consumption and material wellbeing are inadequate. It is assumed that societies with simple technologies and limited accumulation of material goods are in need of the benefits of the industrial economy:

Since the 'old way' had failed, the Eskimos were evidently in need of the new; the trappers had to be given access to the wage labour option; the route to the bottom rung of the southern class structure was begun. 11

Native people, however, feel that their wellbeing is threatened by so-called economic 'development'. It is questionable whether a shift from a mixed economy dominated by subsistence production to a wage economy does result in either an improved standard of living or a better quality of life:

Here we confront the paradox that is fundamental to all understanding of this kind of economy. Living off the land in general, or by hunting, trapping and fishing in particular, is associated with poverty; but a shift away from such harvesting creates the conditions of poverty...
Houses do not have much furniture, and they are not in good repair. The people do not own many cars or consumer goods. But to regard (native) homes as poor and destitute is often to fail to take into account the hidden economy. There is a great difference between a poor household that has a reliable and large supply of meat and a household that experiences the remorseless and debilitating effects of urban poverty.

**Acculturation**

Societies possess not only certain economic forms of production and consumption, but also distinctive, complementary values and practices, ranging from patterns of work and ownership, forms of political, social organization and family relations, to abstract legal and religious beliefs and forms of conceptualization of 'time', 'nature', and 'duty' for example. The capitalist system goes beyond destruction of economic patterns to bring change in these social, familial and personal spheres:

There is no area of human existence which is not influenced... The family becomes smaller, religion loses its important position, new social structures emerge, new power and 'class' patterns characterize the social structure and behaviour patterns are changed.

As the industrial economy expands into northern Canada, native people have found that their social organization, family practices and values-systems are under threat as well as their economic activities. They experience pressure to adopt the beliefs and behaviours of southerners, although these may contradict the highly-valued 'moral' economy of native communities. Western ideological tenets such as
materialism, individualism, competitiveness, hierarchy and the work ethic intrude into the social relations of traditional society. Inuit have had to adapt not only to changes arising spontaneously from contact with trade and industry, but also to the pressure of government policies designed intentionally to induce acculturation and assimilation of the Inuit into mainstream Canadian society. Government programs in education, housing, social and economic development have been based on the assumption that Inuit prosperity lies in complete social and economic change:

Today their Arctic has changed, and for most of the natives in Canada's north this sector has ceased to provide life's necessities. Everywhere their local resources have diminished, and the white man is absorbing them into his money economy without offering them enough work to feed and clothe themselves and their families. Small wonder that they are bewildered and unhappy. The dole which the government issues them and its schoolbooks and hymn books ... cannot make real men of them again, men of dignity and sturdy independence. Only steady wage employment can restore their lost independence and rescue them from the slough of despond into which they have fallen, and because only white men can provide that employment, they must acquire the white man's speech and the white man's education... The society which is engulfing them is dedicated to free enterprise and free enterprise compels even skilled workers to struggle against one another in their particular trades and professions, while it mercilessly pushes the unskilled and the half-skilled into the bottomless pit of the unemployed. Since there is no employment in the north, Eskimos should leave their homes and emigrate to wherever employment beckons; and it is the government's duty to help them pack their bags and move to that employment. 16

It is doubtful that industrial employment, particularly in the north where it is based on capital-intensive resource
extraction typified by 'boom and bust' scenarios and with limited demand for semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, in fact, presents the prospects for solving chronic poverty outlined above:

To suggest that the monopoly capitalism of the current energy era will adequately replace subsistence hunting flies in the face of the demonstrated preference of northerners and the fact that the promises of previous industrial intrusions to this effect have never been realized. 17

More significantly, this route has had negative impacts on native society, experienced by people as an acute loss of human relations and practices that gave meaning to life, even though they may actually have enjoyed some improvement in economic factors: 18

Nowadays everything is so different from when we used to be kids. We were free in a certain way. We didn't have alcohol and drugs to contend with or watch our loved ones dragged down by these afflictions... Life at times was hard, but it was peaceful because families were close. They did everything together, and since there were not too many distractions, like T.V., movies and so on, we had a chance to listen to our parents and elders. 19

The extreme effects of the destruction of the land-based economic system, the loss of traditional cultural values and the increasing authority of the government can be the total separation of a group of people from their land, from their way of earning a living, from their families and community values, and ultimately from any personal "sense of mattering or of humanity". Observers of this process, at the Grassy
Narrows Indian Reserve in northern Ontario, suggested that without these basic conditions that are the basis for an individual's sense of self-esteem and worth, community life cannot be supported; the people and the settlement become "unravelled".20

In extending its reach beyond economic affairs into the realm of cultural and moral values, the government's policies of acculturation were defined in terms of the prevalent social philosophy of southern Canadians:

Canadians stress that individual and personal satisfaction is based on material attainments; the group and the gratifications of intangible relationships within it are less important... Ottawa's southern values led it to interpret the native lifestyle as so unrewarding as to be dead... While this policy was assimilationist and highly judgemental, it was not necessarily malicious in its intent, for it was based on the individualistic and materialistic view that no alternative to "poverty" existed for northern natives.21

But native people have not been so sure that no alternative exists. If the intention of the bureaucracy has been to assimilate and to plant within native peoples the white value-system, native people have not responded by accepting this 'moral economy' wholeheartedly. Acceptance of the industrial economy and value-system have resulted only from protracted struggle and compromise:

Few societies have gracefully acquiesced to their own obliteration. Resistance is the normal response. 22
Resistance and Selective Adaptation
A Native Way of Life

The "alternatives in adaptation" available to societies that face changing circumstances from outside, are described by McElroy as a continuum from Rejection through Biculturation to Assimilation. Along the continuum, options for individuals and groups include withdrawal, denial of dependency, maintenance of the land-based economy, kinship solidarity, identification of foreign elements as part of traditional culture, joking about dependency, flexibility, selectivity and the assimilation of all the new ways.

Few Inuit adopt the option of assimilating the values and patterns of behaviour of the industrial system completely. Although many Inuit function successfully according to white codes when they must, very few totally reject their traditional ways and become "qabloonamuit". By and large, they do not pursue the option of total assimilation and are not prepared to see the destruction of a native way of life. They question the assumption that acculturation and assimilation must accompany economic and technological change:

Modernization is feasible and desirable, but they do not condone the full assimilation of European behaviour and values. The major goal of the concentrated effort of European socializing agents in educating, training and providing medical services for Inuit is to enable them to manage their own affairs in time. Inuit share this goal, but they are uncertain that loss of a distinctive sense of identity is a prerequisite for meeting this goal.
On the other hand, many tangible benefits come from contact with white society, so withdrawal may not be expedient. It may also not be seen as necessary, because the changes may have few negative side effects; they may not be "intolerable abuses" as Thompson calls the changes that are at the roots of resistance. For instance, the contact with whalers left Inuit social organization relatively intact and the missionaries exerted pressure on social and ritual practices but not on subsistence and land use patterns. Only since mid-century have the increased control and surveillance of a more far-reaching bureaucracy and the pace of technological and economic innovation created stressful pressures on the Inuit to change their lifestyle and assimilate completely.

The Inuit have had to make many adjustments in attitude and behaviour in order to resolve the conflicting demands of wage labour and the cash economy with traditional economic pursuit and cultural practices. At some point however, the changes mean sacrifices of existing cultural and economic values that are not worth the benefits accrued in exchange. The Inuit try to avoid such sacrifices, by actively adapting and integrating elements on their own terms, in order to maintain a positive rather than passive relationship with the larger society. Their adjustments are selective - what McElroy calls Biculturation - seeking to create compromises and use strategies that will increase the compatibility
between the two systems:

No culture has ever incorporated everything offered to it or adopted all it took over in the precise way it was taught. Selectivity, which inevitably conceals resistance, helps preserve coherence in values and compatibility between behaviours in different areas of life...28

Selectivity, the adoption of some new technological, social and economic elements, the rejection of others and the reaffirmation of traditional ways are responses that are often misunderstood by outsiders. The use of skidoos and the purchase of video-televisions are taken as signs that the Inuit have become acculturated and are "Eskimos no longer". On the other hand, native references to traditions are criticized as sentimental and unrealistic attempts to revert to a past that cannot be revived. Because native people cannot and do not want to avoid all contact with industrial society, it is claimed that all traditional practices are obsolete and that there are no options but to accept the new system - lock, stock and barrel. Inuit frequently refer to strengthening traditional ways when they speak of their rights to determine their way of life:

Contemporary Eskimos are quite sure that they do exist. They are, moreover, almost as sure that their traditional life is presently threatened and older people seek in every way possible to guarantee the survival if not the dominance of their ways. A sense of outside threat and insecurity about the future turn people's attention to tradition...29
The promotion and revival of traditional customs and values are often at the core of struggles to maintain a distinctive, independent way of life. Critics often take this to mean that native people are sentimentally and unrealistically trying to revert to a past that cannot be revived. Furthermore, it is noted that things which are often called 'traditional' by a group may in fact be elements recently incorporated from the outside. For instance, trapping itself and the clothing, music, boats, etc. that seem to be typically Inuit are really introductions from the commercial whaling days.

But this is not to say that the Inuit should therefore adopt all the mores and practices of industrial society. Our society tends to view the material benefits and values of modern capitalism as a single package, and as unquestionably TRUE and GOOD. We have assumed that native people, because their lifestyle was always materially simple, had no culture until we provided it. We have taken 'traditional' to mean static and unchanging, and have concluded that native people have nothing to lose by throwing away the old, unrewarding ways; the evidence, as we see it, is that they have already discarded much in exchange for our bright new package:

However, natives' traditional values are no more static and unchanging than non-natives' traditional values are: a culture applies its time-tested ideas and forms of social organization to new situations. In this way the culture evolves new forms, yet retains a coherence because the old forms are adapted to the new.
Native peoples' strategies have been to continue their hunting and trapping, integrating those new elements that make this community-oriented lifestyle more effective and more rewarding:

The social and economic system within which such traits have their place is not, however, that of a semi-nomadic subsistence hunter. The inumarruk's skills include those of the trapper... None of these skills are traditional in the sense of cultural anthropologists, but they are — to the contemporary Eskimo — among the skills that give a sense of distinctive identity... Most recently, many men who are regarded by their fellows as inummaruit are users of snowmobiles and the most modern high-powered rifles. For many Eskimos, many modern elements of economy and technology are perfectly reconcilable with being a genuine exponent of all that is today regarded as the essentially Eskimo tradition. It follows that when Eskimos worry about the loss of their tradition, they are thinking of the passing of the furtrade way of life. They are concerned with ensuring that further modernization of an already transformed economy will not result in complete separation of the Eskimos from land-based activities. Many are anxious about the possible eclipse of their traditional life; but none are interested in returning to subsistence hunting. Indeed, very few can remember such a life.33

Native people do sometimes use strategies of rejection in dealing with the infringement of industrial society upon their lives. Because of economic and technological dependency, however, self-segregating behaviour cannot often be very effective or powerful economically; it is often manifested in sabotage, hostility and deviancy:

I was depressed when I saw the disorder, apathy and psychological paralysis of most reserves. There seemed no evidence of political activity besides the pursuit of handouts from the government, and it was several months before I realized that here, right before everyone's eyes,
in all the chaos and withdrawal, was the real Indian resistance. Indian lives are a study in passive resistance. Other forms of political activity like band councils, were tokens to throw people off track. Reserve society is instinctively geared to alienating white people, whether by frightening them by drunkenness, begging and threats, intimidating them by silence or retreating from them through feigned stupidity and fake psychosis. Indians have instinctively patterned their lives to prevent whites from really knowing what is going on among the Indians.

Examples of this response were evident in Paulatuk; for example in the withdrawal and non-involvement in education, settlement council, co-op and health care and in the effective sabotage of government meetings and projects. However, while this response may hinder and irritate outsiders, it may not really be successful in halting the process of acculturation. As a strategy it seems to be adopted when there do not appear to be any more effective alternatives and people need to protect themselves from outside threats in any way they can. To some extent, there is satisfaction to be gained, when outsiders 'hold the winning hand' in being able to spoil the victory, but these tactics rarely enable one to steal the game. On the other hand, passive resistance may indeed provide diversions and screens to protect and support the formulation of more actively organized resistance.

Most of us living in modern, industrial society seem to find it hard to believe that native people may adopt some elements of our system to improve their lives according to
their definitions of what is good, without taking them all. We do not accept that a 'primitive' culture can accept high technology and big business and yet maintain its identity, remaining distinctively native. But this is what the Inuvialuit and other native people are doing. They are looking, as one Paulatuk person put it, for the best of both worlds, and they intend to keep it. They are saying, "Yes, I like this but not that... and I'm not willing to pay the price for the whole thing." Many Inuvialuit want education in technical skills, but they also want the option to transmit traditional knowledge and socialization. They want to find alternative forms that adopt advantageous traits from white society, but preserve important Inuvialuit values, to obtain the best results for their communities:

What Eskimos want is the possibility for at least a mixed economy where some flow of cash (either in the form of wages or earnings from foxskins) guarantees use of the land, foodstuffs, personal and interpersonal relationships, which are said to be those of the inummarik... a large majority of the Eskimos (in the areas with which I am familiar) emphatically do want to continue to live in close relationship with the land, and by doing so maintain traditional life as they understand it.

The continued use of renewable resource harvesting is the basis for the socio-economic lifestyle native people envision for themselves. This thesis will look at the vitality and viability of this sector in the case of Paulatuk. The selection and adaptation of forms of employment and economic development that are compatible with the land-based activities and community values are also
critical, as examination of attitudes toward trapping and hunting as opposed to wage labour will show. Community development must reflect the struggle to have a self-determined, Inuvialuit way of life.

In pursuing their goals of running their own affairs and enjoying economic prosperity on their own terms, native people do not necessarily accept the need for the values and business ethics of whites, such as competitiveness, individualism and accumulation, or their style of politics and management; non-consensus, adversarial, hierarchical and aggressive:

It is questionable whether Inuit parents share the goal of assimilation for their children or themselves. Flexible, willing to experiment and free of romantic nostalgia for the aboriginal past, Inuit have made many behavioural changes in adapting to town life. Yet only a minority believe that Qallunaatitut, the white man's way of acting and thinking, is superior to their own way. The Eurocanadian system provides valuable resources, such as medicine, airplanes, electricity and warm houses. It provides exciting and pleasurable novelties - television, movies, liquor and bingo. Yet Inuit are surprised that Qallunaat, who live so comfortably and have so much power, seem to be a discontented and anxiously competitive people.37

The Inuvialuit have accepted that changes must occur in their way of life, but they question the nature of those changes. As McElroy says, "they don't want their children to believe that the only way to achieve a sense of competence and self-esteem is to act like a Qallunaat." 38 Inuvialuit people wish to demonstrate that their culture has ways that are as valid and legitimate as white ways. They are therefore,
claiming guarantees for the economic activities that are the bases of those ways, and jurisdiction over the direction of changes in their lifestyle. Both at a regional and national level, and in the communities, native people are struggling to preserve valuable aspects of their socio-economic system and to exercise their rights to choose. In their land claims, they are seeking control of the land upon which their lifestyle is based. But, because they also want employment and the goods and services of industrial society - on their own terms -, they are also claiming the right to control the way these things are delivered to them, to modify them to suit their needs and to reject and divert those parts that are undesirable and conflict with their goals.

As McElroy notes, given the pluralism of Canadian society, the goal of self-determination is "neither militant nor separatist". To southerners used to a unilineal model of development, the fusion of selective traits to provide the Inuit with both security and autonomy, modernization and traditional identity is hardly conceivable. Even those who are genuinely committed to improving the material conditions of native life sometimes cannot see the advantages to building a lifestyle that offers a wide range of choices, yet builds on the traditional, overlooked richness of native life:

The concept of a new northern culture, a way of life which integrates both European and Inuit elements has occurred to only a few agents of change. Perhaps it is a threatening concept.
As we will see, people in Paulatuk have struggled to make that concept real, to maintain the vitality of the land and to structure economic development and socio-political relationships with outside institutions in ways that are compatible and supportive of the community-based way of life.
Notes: Chapter One


2. Following Usher and others, the terms native and traditional; and modern, western, industrial and southern are used more or less interchangeably, although "these terms are clearly inadequate and incomplete in the descriptions they imply"


4. An extensive review of the theoretical and empirical traditions within which this thesis is based is beyond its scope. Briefly, the approach begins with the critique by Frank and others of conventional modernization economics and their analyses of colonial experiences:


   F.G. Cardoso, "Dependency and development in Latin America", *New Left Review* 74, 1972, pp.83-95


Dependency theory and staples theory have been used in Canada to explain regional inequalities and underdevelopment. Models of unequal relations between 'metropolis' and 'hinterland' have been avidly applied to Canadian problems, giving a possibly misleading spatial emphasis to development problems:

   Cy Gonick, "Metropolis-hinterland themes", *Canadian Dimension* 8(6) 1972, pp.24-28

   Peter J. Usher, "The class-system, metropolitan domination and northern development in Canada", *Antipode* 8(3) 1976 pp.28-32

28
In the last decade, sociologists, economists and historians in the neo-marxist tradition have added refinement and sophistication and expanded empirical application to dependency theory. Many of the concepts that have been useful in the framework of this thesis are basic to analysis within this tradition. The theory of the articulation of modes of production developed by structuralist marxists begins with Marx' ideas on the internal logic of capitalism and the processes of producing surplus value. It has been applied to both the transition within Europe from feudalism to capitalism and the impact of expanding capitalism on 'primitive', non-capitalist societies in Africa and the New World. These concepts have helped understand the structural relationship of Inuit society with the modern system and in focusing attention on the process of articulation, the way a 'natural' economy is eroded, destroyed, assimilated or conserved:

Barbara Bradby, "The destruction of the natural economy", *Economy & Society* 4(2) 1975, pp.127-161
Ron Horvath & K.D. Jensen, "Capital and the Eskimo; The origins of Underdevelopment in the Canadian Arctic" (unpubl) 1980
John Prattis, "The structure of resource development in the Canadian North" (Ottawa: Carleton University) (unpubl)

The structuralist approach has been criticized by others within the marxist tradition for its tendency to excessive abstraction and dogmatism, overemphasis on the 'economic' and disregard for human concerns. Without invalidating the structural elements highlighted by this theory, this other stream has offered a balancing humanistic focus:


The approaches of researchers documenting land use and occupancy have also contributed to the framework and goals of this work. Description of social organization, hunting patterns and past and current harvesting levels have given us remarkable insights into traditional societies, their vitality and the impacts of the development process. Cultural-ecological models have illuminated socio-economic activity in terms of systems, resource options, roles and strategies. We have been
given new definitions of progress and development. Most of this work has been done from a primarily empirical perspective, without the explicit theoretical and political analysis of the other approaches. In combination, they are the academic expression of the native peoples' land claims and their struggle for self-determination and their way of life:

W.B. Kemp "The Harvest Potential of Inuit camps" unpubl. 1976
Ignatius E. LaRusic, "Issues Relating to Employment in the North" (unpubl) 1976
Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic"

5. The following statistics give some idea of the problems and the mishandling of native affairs under government programs:
Native drop-out rate: 90%; national average: 11%
Unemployment: estimated 90%
Housing: 11,000 units needed nationally
Native prison population: 9%; natives are only 3% of total population in Canada
Violent deaths: five times the national average
Suicides (reported): three times the national average
Social assistance: 60% of native population in 1979
Life expectancy: 10 years less than national average
(George Manual, address to the Native Land Rights Conference, Vancouver, February 1983)

8. ibid.
9. In marxist theory, this process is called "primitive accumulation", the process of expropriating the means of production from the actual producer's (peasant) control. This is the most fundamental requirement for the capitalist system of production, because capitalism cannot develop and expand while the major part of the working population are independent producing to meet immediate consumption needs. Capitalism can only fuel its accumulation when it has access to the surplus-value produced by workers who are dispossessed from their land and so forced to work for wages for their living.


Thompson examined the argument that the Industrial Revolution brought improved conditions to farm labourers and craftspeople absorbed into the factories and mines. He argued that for the masses, the few pennies increase in the average wage left them hungrier and more destitute. Cleared off the farms where they had been self-sufficient in domestic production, they were forced to emigrate, seek the poorhouse, or starve on workers' wages. *The Making of the English Working Class*, (Harmondswork: Penguin Books 1968)

13. There is a substantial literature dealing with the conflict between industrial and 'moral' economy (peasant) and the creation of a new value system to meet the needs of capitalist production. E.P. Thompson, Gutman, Braverman and others have dealt with this process historically, illuminating the struggle between industrial interests and peasants and the development of new capitalist ideologies, religions and institutions. Sociologists and philosophers such as Habermas, Sennet, Giddens and Illich examine the continuing dynamics of social change within modern society.


15. The Inuit ideology, value-system and cultural traits are discussed in:


*Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study*, various of the supporting studies in Vol.2.
Statistics indicating rising wages and consumption are frequently used to evaluate qualitative aspects of life. However, material improvements may be felt as degradations of conditions:

It is possible for statistical averages and human experiences to run in opposite directions. A per capita increase in quantitative factors may take place at the same time as a great qualitative disturbance in a peoples' way of life, traditional relationships and sanctions. People may consume more goods and become less happy or less free at the same time... Thus it is perfectly possible to maintain two propositions, which, on casual view, appear to be contradictory. Over the period 1790-1840, there was a slight improvement in average material standards. Over the same period, there was an intensified exploitation, greater insecurity and increasing human misery. By 1840, most people were 'better off' than their forerunners had been fifty years before, but they had suffered and continued to suffer this slight improvement as a catastrophic experience." Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p.231
Similar ideas are expressed by John Berry in his studies of Acculturation in Paint Hills and Fort George as described in Boyce Richardson, *Strangers Devour the Land* (Toronto: MacMillan 1975) p.153

24. "Qabloona" or "Kabloona" is an Eskimo term for white person. "Qabloonamuit" are Inuit people who behave like whites.


27. McElroy, *Alternatives in Modernization*, p. 376


31. Dacks p.38

32. An "inumarruk" is an Inuk (Eskimo) who behaves like a "real Inuk", or traditional Inuk.


34. Heather Robertson, *Reserves are for Indians* (Toronto: Lewis & Samuel, 1970) p.8

35. Transcripts, "Grassy Narrows", February 8, 1983


38. ibid., p.391

39. ibid., p.389
Chapter Two

The Erosion of a Way of Life: the Western Arctic

There may no longer be a Far West, but there is a Far North with the same nebulous and glamourous future within which shall rise stately cities and empires of productivity.

The expansion of European exploration and commerce into the Canadian Western Arctic in the nineteenth century began a process eroding the self-sufficiency and independence of the existing native society. Contact with the whalers and fur-traders resulted in the loss of many elements of the aboriginal culture and their replacement with new technology, values and practices. The peoples' adaptation to changing circumstances resulted in the restructuring and reformation of a distinctive, Inuvialuit way of life. This lifestyle, now considered traditional by the inhabitants, incorporated elements of pre-contact subsistence activity and social organization with market-oriented fur-trapping and western technology. The history of the Western Arctic shows the struggle of the Inuvialuit to come to terms with their deepening dependency on cash and southern technology, and their enduring commitment to the land and to their chosen way of life.
Exploration and early contact

Prior to contact with whites, the Western Arctic region was occupied by a people known collectively as the Mackenzie Eskimo. Conflicting estimates place their number between 2,000 and 4,000 individuals. Several sub-groups have been identified within the culture area, which extended from west of the Mackenzie Delta to the eastern rim of the Beaufort Sea.

The distinctive features of the Mackenzie adaptation related to the communal harvest of bowhead and beluga whales; subterranean sodhouses, and the seasonal concentration of the population in semi-permanent villages such as Kittigazuit.

No permanent contact resulted from early exploration by Alexander Mackenzie, Richardson and others. The early fur-trade, following the establishment of the first far northern post on the Peel River in 1840, represented the real beginning of Inuvialuit involvement in commercial production and dependency on manufactured goods. Although the impact of trade was limited in its early stages, it initiated the breakdown of self-sufficiency and the ever-increasing European presence that later produced severe disruption and the "rapid and massive change", if not destruction, of the Mackenzie population.

Initially, contact with whites was experienced by the Inuvialuit population at second-hand. They engaged in trade with the Kutchin Indians who visited the Hudson Bay.
Map. 3 Pre-contact Mackenzie Eskimo Settlement.  
Company (HBC) post on the Peel River and with Inupiats who were in contact with Russian traders toward the Bering Sea. Although the Hudson Bay Company trade with the Indians was expanding, its progress to the coastal Inuvialuit was tempered by traditional Indian-Inuit enmity and the Inuvialuit's reputation for bloodthirstiness, earned by the violence of early contacts with explorers.7

In the second half of the nineteenth century, contact became more direct. Spurred by the potentially lucrative returns, the Hudson Bay Company made special efforts to engage the Inuvialuit in trade. Over time, they managed to dispel most of the Inuvialuit's distrust for the outsiders and to settle the hostility between the Indians and Inuit. The Inuvialuit had to be taught and encouraged to take on the role of fur producer; to the Hudson Bay Company's consternation, the Inuvialuit persisted for some time in demanding gifts from the post without bringing furs to exchange. The Hudson Bay Company encouraged their desire to trade and become indebted by offering goods of special interest to the coastal Inuit, such as wolverine skins and metal seal-harpoon points.8 The spread of this trade with the Inuvialuit was slow, in spite of such incentives; in 1861 a post was established on the Anderson River especially for Inuvialuit trade, but it closed in 1866 due to the low volume of trade.9
The impact of trade was minimal in the initial stages. The Inuvialuit recognized the advantages of metal tools, traps, harpoons and knives, but adopted these items for use in pursuit of traditional activities. Although the coast Inuvialuit began to include a short, late-summer trip to the Peel River post in their seasonal land-use cycle, hunting for subsistence remained the basic economic strategy. The trading of surplus furs was a sideline:

The annual visits to the fort had now (1871) become well established and were incorporated into the yearly cycle of most families. After the spring fishing and the visit to Fort MacPherson to trade, the Eskimos returned to the coast to hunt seal, some sea otter and walrus, the meat of which they cached until the following winter. Whales and caribou were also hunted along the coast during the summer months and fish nets were set on the rivers for whitefish, inconnu and jackfish, while muskrat were taken by the Eskimos as they passed through the Delta on their way to the fort. Though some fox and bear skins and some whale oil were traded for tobacco and iron pots and kettles, the Mackenzie Eskimos were by no means strongly dependent upon trade at this time.10

The Inuvialuit appear to have been indifferent to the larger potential for trade and expended little effort on trapping in its own right:

Although 117 Eskimos visited the post that year, they brought few furs, and apparently hunted only enough to exchange for a winter's supply of tobacco, which had now taken the place of wolverines as the trade item most desired.11

The impact was moderated in part by the nature of trading operations. The existing transportation system, by water and over land thousands of miles from the east, limited the capacity of the posts to supply goods and ship out furs.
The HBC also enjoyed a de facto monopoly and did not have to compete for trade by offering larger quantities of goods. Furthermore, it was in Company interest to have the Inuvialuit continue their traditional land use, slightly modified by surplus fur-trapping, instead of integrating fully into white society. The more time the natives spent away from the posts, the more surplus they were likely to produce and the more they supported themselves. Inuvialuit who lingered at the posts wasted time and Company food supplies. Missionaries, who encouraged the Inuvialuit to give up their subsistence pursuits, were considered a distraction and hazardous to HBC interests.

The most serious impact from this early contact came from the introduction of diseases that swept through the unprotected native population. Scarlet fever epidemics among the Anderson River group in 1865 and 1867, in addition to the closing of the post, induced the survivors to join the main Mackenzie population in the coastal delta area. The area beyond Cape Dalhousie was left unpopulated.

Influenza struck the Mackenzie Eskimo in 1868, small pox broke out at Peel River in 1871 and two years of hunger followed the failure of whaling in 1870 and 1871, further weakening and reducing the population.
Whaling

The whaling industry, moving into the Beaufort Sea in the 1870's, brought more disease and greater disruption to the native economy. Commercial whaling was based on the slaughter of the bowhead whale (*Balaena mystecetus*) for oil rendered from the blubber (fat) and for baleen, the boney plates in the whale's mouth used to filter food from the water. The bowhead was an ideal target for whaling; large and slow, it proved relatively easy to kill by harpoon from open boats. The carcase floats well, it has the largest, most numerous baleen, and renders the most oil of any whale species. The baleen and oil from a single bowhead could bring as much as $20,000 in whaling times.16

Whaling was conducted from schooners outfitted in San Francisco or Seattle and sent north each spring through the Bering Strait to the Arctic Ocean. Based at Point Barrow, Alaska, whalers had been active along the Alaska coast since the 1850's. Steamships, introduced in 1883 by the Pacific Steam Whaling Co., were quickly adopted by other companies. Steampower allowed the whalers to travel more rapidly to Barrow and to extend both the length of the season and their range in the northern waters. These 'schooners' could cruise further afield, following the whale migration to its eastern limits and seeking stocks in Canadian seas as the Alaskan pods were depleted. By 1886, steam whalers reached Barter Island and by 1889, Herschel Island and the Mackenzie Delta.
Most of these whaling boats over-wintered. This practice allowed two extended seasons of whaling between trips south and resulted in intensive contact between Inuit and whites. Within a few years, as many as fifty ships and over eight hundred men wintered at Herschel Island, a lively boomtown described as "the world's last jumping off place...where no law existed". In winter, the idled whalers engaged in some hunting and trapping, organized sports, theatricals and musicals and passed much time gambling and drinking.

The whaling boom did not last long. Stocks were quickly depleted and harvests declined. Today, the bowhead numbers only a few thousand animals and is considered an endangered species. It was probably saved from extinction by a decline in the demand for baleen and oil as cheaper substitutes were developed. Prices for baleen, for example, fell rapidly in 1906-7 from a high of $5.00/pound to less than fifty cents per pound. In the course of a single year, whaling activity ceased.

Even before the whaling reached the Canadian Beaufort Sea, the restructuring of the native economy and society along the Alaskan coast showed the results of contact with commercial whaling. The Alaskan natives were quickly introduced to cash, to material goods and to wage-labour as navigators, crew and hunters for the whalers. They were encouraged to live at whaling stations and missions. This
concentration, combined with the demand for meat and the introduction of firearms, had a devastating effect on caribou, musk-ox, walrus and other wildlife in the vicinity of any settlement. Most of the original coastal Alaskans were killed by disease and were replaced by people flocking from the interior to partake of new opportunities. The Inupiat were encouraged to trade their warm fur-clothing for woolens, trinkets and alcohol. Converted by missionaries to sedentary living, native subsistence practices were given up. The impact on the Mackenzie Inuvialuit was equally, if not more severe and rapid. The whaling fleet arrived suddenly at their villages in 1889, and:

by 1896 the breakdown of the Eskimo social life which had accompanied the coming of the whalers had reached major proportions.19

McGhee estimates that the true aboriginal Mackenzie culture (if not the population as well) had changed so much that it could be considered to have been extinct by 1900.20

The native people were swept up into the economic boom and exposed to a vast array of consumer goods:

The ships brought, too, an abundance of provisions. At first the Eskimos would have nothing to do with any of these; but in the course of a few years, they learned the use of flour, molasses, sugar, etc., which became first luxuries and then necessities.21
Whaling's production and profit structure was different from the fur-trade; this contributed to its greater impact. Commodities transported by sea were cheaper and of better quality, quantity and variety. Trading was conducted as a sideline and diversion rather than a main profit-making activity, so whalers could afford to be generous with much-demanded items. Sexual favours were often the motivation for exchanges of goods. The sheer volume of goods and interactions also contributed to a liberality and comprehensiveness in trade that contrasted to the Hudson Bay Company's more restrained introduction of western technology.

Economic gain also prompted the whalers to disrupt the aboriginal culture, as they tried to strengthen their control of native labour:

It was important for whaling ships to get plenty of fresh meat to keep their crews from scurvy and they employed practically the whole population in the pursuit of caribou, fish and ptarmigan. Such things as flour, hard bread, sugar, tinned meats and vegetables, butter, etc., they gave with a free hand to the Eskimos, urging their use in order to save the fresh meat.22

The changes brought about affected not merely economic patterns and material artifacts, but also local culture and social life. The native peoples' confidence in their way of life was shaken by exposure to the whites' superior technological base:

...Their spiritual equilibrium had been profoundly shaken when the world of their ancestors crumbled under the impact of white civilization.23
The further physical decimation of the population also weakened local culture. Diseases had been transmitted in the 1860's and 70's from Alaskan Inuit in contact with whalers further west. Measles epidemics hit in 1900 and 1902, and by 1920, only a handful of the original population remained. Acculturation was speeded by contact with the Alaskan population who immigrated into the Mackenzie coast area as the original population declined:

Shock by the materially rewarding involvement with the American whaling ships, the Mackenzie Eskimo culture was susceptible to wholesale adoption of the cultural traits of the American-oriented Alaskan Eskimo.

Acculturation was hastened, too, by liaisons between Inuvialuit women and whalers, some of whom established long-term relationships and remained in the north long after the whaling industry died. Children from these marriages, raised in part in both languages and customs, often represented a blend and bridging of the two cultures.

As a result of contact with whaling, a new way of life took shape among the native population in the Mackenzie delta region:

Now men, women and children alike were in close contact with American whalers, as well as acculturated Alaskan Eskimos for extended periods. They worked with them, traded with them, socialized with them, even intermarried with them; they learned their language, their customs, their technology and the value systems and economic goals. They did not adopt all of them to be sure, but they did become aware of them as alternatives.
Wage employment and trapping became acceptable ways to earn a living along with hunting. People became accustomed to money, to western food and clothing and to living in permanent, wooden houses. These things were added to the repertoire of their lifestyle.

The Inuvialuit living in the western arctic at the end of the first decade of this century were familiar with consumer goods, enjoyed using them and had become dependent on some of them. Their basic needs for guns and traps to survive created conditions of crisis when the whaling industry collapsed:

The whalers ... had unconcernedly decimated the Eskimo inhabitants ... and had destroyed their independence by replacing with manufactured goods the tools and weapons, the stone cooking vessels and the skin boats that they could make with their own hands. Now at the century's end, having shattered the aboriginal economy, the whalers were departing and the Eskimos, no longer possessing their ancient skills or food resources had to build their economy on a new base or perish.27

The Fur Trade

The Inuvialuit's new economic base turned out to be the revitalized fur trade. The trade in muskrat, fox, marten and other pelts that had been originally conducted as a sideline, became a "profitable enterprise in its own right."28 In the hiatus following the collapse of the whaling industry, many whalers seemed reluctant to leave the north. Although the large fleet no longer ventured north, several captains converted their schooners to 'floating trading posts'. They
travelled the Beaufort Sea and explored its eastern fringes. Stefansson's scientific expedition in 1908 and 1911 also generated interest in the unknown territory toward Coronation Gulf. Individual members of his parties, as well as former whaling crews, set up small outposts throughout the region from which they operated as both independent traders and furtrappers.

During the second decade of this century, fur prices began to climb, rising steadily at first and skyrocketing after World War I. New fashions and techniques for dyeing and styling fox stimulated demand; white fox pelts rose in value from $2.50 in 1915 to $50.00 in 1919.29

With the combination of a booming market for furs and increased awareness of the region's potential, the fur-trapping frontier was pushed eastward along the arctic coast and south into the delta. The former whalers were joined in intense and competitive activity by independent trappers and traders and the established fur companies, Canalaska, Northern Traders and the Hudson Bay Company. The Bay opened northern posts in Aklavik and Kittigazuit in 1912, Herschel Island in 1915, and the Baillie Islands in 1916. Within the decade, they had established a string of outposts over 600 kilometres of coast as far east as King William Island.30 Small trapping cabins and trading posts proliferated along the intervening coast; by 1926, as many as 15 non-native trappers were active around Cape Parry alone:31
Virtually all protected harbours along the coast were used for winter trapping and trading sites. 32

Inuit were among those who pushed the frontier east from the mouth of the Mackenzie delta. The migration east was in response to expanding fur-trapping opportunities that offered to supply the material goods withdrawn by the decline of the whaling industry:

With the withdrawal of the whalers, it was no longer in the interests of the captains of the vessels to have the coastal Eskimos congregate in a few locations as they had during the whaling days, but rather to disperse along the coast, where they could more efficiently trap white fox. Thus Eskimo families now tended to break into small groups and dispersed along the coast as far to the east as Pearce Point. Those that did congregate at one point waiting the whalers suffered considerable hardship if the ships did not arrive, so great was their dependence upon them. 33

The Inuvialuit were recruited by white traders to work as cooks, navigators, engineers and crew on trading boats and to trap for them in a quasi-employee role. The depleted stocks of caribou, fish and musk-ox around the Mackenzie and Tuktoyaktuk peninsula also stimulated the migration to areas better endowed with game. By spreading out, the Inuvialuit could obtain their basic subsistence. Returns from trapping provided the capital for rifles and ammunition. Boats were used to extend their range and to assist in making the transition from whaling to a hunting-trapping lifestyle. New territory also offered an escape from the crowded and complex conditions created by the whites and Alaskan natives moving into the western arctic. 34
Map 4. Fur Trade Posts in the Western Arctic.
(Source: P.J. Usher, Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study vol. 2 (Ottawa 1976).)
Trapping as a Way of Life

The trapping lifestyle established in the 1920's set a pattern that persists, somewhat modified, as the basis of community routine today. The seasonal cycle of economic activity focused on trapping, of course. The trap-lines were checked by the men, who took a series of trips, each lasting two to three weeks away from the family's winter base. The season lasted from about November to April, broken by Christmas festivities that drew families together from their camps to the mission or post for celebrations.

In spring, the trapper visited the local post to trade. Sealing and geese hunting provided a change of activity and diet. Easter celebrations highlighted this relaxed, social period. In summer, the people fished, hunted seal or travelled inland with dogs to hunt caribou. Much of this harvest was cached for the coming winter. The trapper and his family often travelled by boat to trade at the Baillie Islands or Aklavik after ice break-up. Children attending school at Aklavik might even be taken home for a brief holiday. Fall brought a visit to the post for outfitting, caribou hunting and fishing, and finally the start of trapping once again.

Trapping was part of a tightly integrated family life. Men were responsible for trapping and hunting big game. Women assisted in the household economy by housekeeping, making clothing, cleaning furs and feeding the dogs. They
and the children also pitched in for fishing, hunting small animals and birds, and berrypicking. Young boys began to hunt ground squirrel and ptarmigan and run short 'day-lines' (a few traps set around camp) at around the age of twelve. By sixteen, they were operating their own teams and traplines. Girls were often married and starting families of their own by that age. Although trapping was undoubtedly a hard life, the daily and seasonal routine of family life provided personal and social satisfactions.

Fur-trapping was also financially rewarding with high prices paid in the 1920's and 30's. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the actual incomes of Inuvialuit trappers at this time, the evidence indicates relative affluence:

Trappers attained unprecedented prosperity; indeed many had far greater income than the Canadian average at the time. Although much of their money was dissipated on ephemeral luxuries, the Eskimos began to invest considerable sums in capital equipment. Gas-powered whaleboats and schooners were the most popular items. In 1924, the Eskimo fleet at Aklavik consisted of 34 schooners (19 of which had auxiliary power), 28 whaleboats and two other vessels. This was estimated to have represented an investment of $128,000 which had all been made in the previous 5 years.

Apart from the investment in boats, rifles and other tools needed to obtain food and furs, surplus income from trapping went toward a broad range of "ephemeral luxuries":

Naturally there were motors in nearly all these schooners; in fact, machinery had been taken into use wherever possible. Whereas the expedition up to this stage of its journey had had constant opportunities for admiring the great skill of the women at sewing skins, it was found here that the
sewing machine was in use almost universally; many of the men had typewriters, though their correspondence was, of course, very small. Machine hair-clippers and safety razors too were looked upon as necessities, and people going about armed with cameras were quite common. The houses were illuminated with gasoline, or at a pinch, petroleum lamps, the ancient blubber lamps being regarded as antiquities and sold as such to tourists for up to thirty dollars each.

For all that it represents a deepening dependence on external markets and technology and an adjustment to new values and institutions, this period was also a time of relative affluence and personal autonomy. It was the foundation of the way of life people still seek, even as they adopt modern techniques:

When native people today nostalgically refer to the 'old Eskimo way of life', they do not mean the pre-contact aboriginal culture, but rather the 'good old days' of the furtrade... The fur trade represents to many a sort of golden age in which there was relative affluence, a measure of personal economic and social independence, a measure of security and an age in which personal skills seemed more consistently valued than they are today.

The Declining Fur Trade

After a burst of expansion and intense activity, the fur trade began to weaken. Boom conditions had prompted a series of legislative acts which restricted non-native trapping and foreign trading. The measures, beginning with the N.W.T. Game Act in 1917 were intended to conserve wildlife, protect the native population, demonstrate Canadian sovereignty, raise tax revenues, ensure that incoming white traders did
not fall destitute and burden the government or natives, and incidentally protect the interests of the large Canadian fur companies, primarily the Hudson Bay Company. In 1918, Victoria Island, and subsequently all the Arctic Archipelago and most of the central mainland, were set aside for native trapping. Foreign trading was curtailed in 1924. After 1926, licenses were issued only to posts with fixed locations, bringing an end to floating posts. This also ended the practice of 'tripping', whereby traders purchased furs at camps before the Inuvialuit made trips to the larger posts. This legislation, finishing off the independent traders, also reduced the independence of the trappers by extending the control of the trading posts. The Inuvialuit could no longer play one dealer off against another for better prices or avoid the posts at which they had substantial debts.38

In the early 1930's the effects of the depression were felt gradually in the north; this highlights the links by which "this region was now inextricably bound to the world economy".39 Muskrat prices fell by seventy-five percent at the start of the depression, causing great hardships for the Delta trappers. Fox prices fell more gradually, but with similar effects along the coast. Independent posts closed. Pederson, the Hudson Bay's chief competitor, sold out to them in 1938. The Bay itself, suffered financially and began to rationalize its operations, closing many of the less
profitable outposts.

As a result, for the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic, and indeed across the north, the 1940's and 50's were a period of losing ground:

Although the war years brought higher prices and breathed new life into the trapping economy, its days were now numbered. White fox prices in the N.W.T. fell from a high of $36.00 in 1945 to $6.50 in 1950. Coupled with the sharp postwar increases in the cost of living, this caused severe hardship all across the Arctic.

As economic pressures resulted in a loss of material affluence and independence, the Inuvialuit faced simplification of their lifestyle, a return to greater subsistence-orientation, and a greater desire for security.

The Dewline

The next transformation of Inuvialuit society was prompted by events of the international stage, the Cold War, and construction of a system of radar stations across the north (Distant Early Warning Line, or Dewline).

Construction of the Dewline began in 1955. Inuvialuit were employed as casual labourers in carpentry, road and airstrip construction, machine operation, maintenance and other manual work. They were paid about $1.50/hour; working shifts of 12 hours, six days per week with overtime, they could earn $400-600 per month. Income was also earned hauling water, fishing and hunting, selling handcrafts and furs and hiring out dogteams. Following construction,
permanent employment was available for one or two men at each site.

Inuit across the north found Dewline employment attractive, to a point. It offered solutions to the insecurity and low standard of living that existed in the crisis conditions of the 1940's and 50's. Wages provided the capital for equipment to hunt and trap effectively, and for food staples and luxuries.

During construction, workers were housed in bunkhouses, but many Inuit moved to semi-permanent native villages a few kilometres from the sites. This marked the beginning of sedentarism; camps were "abandoned in favour of settled life in one community." Uninsulated, one-room shacks were built of Dewline scraps and people began to accumulate non-essential material goods available at the site.

The material security of wage labour was evidently a major motivation for moving near the Dewline stations, but access to health-care, airstrips, radio and telephone service, recreation and consumer goods was an important drawing card as well.

In fact, patterns of employment suggest that the secondary advantages of the Dewline were more important than the opportunities for wage employment. Cash income was certainly welcome and was directed toward subsidizing hunting activity. Ferguson reported very high rates of turnover and absenteeism among Inuvialuit workers, indicating a lack of
commitment to wage labour and the on-going importance of subsistence production. Household heads spent about one-third of their time meeting family needs for country-food; as a result, Dewline employers were obliged to allow men to take time off every two or three weeks, in order to attract and retain Inuvialuit employees.  

Inuvialuit workers were unwilling to undertake even seasonal work away from their families, a fact which encouraged the relocation of families to the Dewline sites. Even so, most employees were single men who worked on a short-term basis; in the course of the three years of construction, employees worked on average six months, and married men much less.

Labour discipline and location were disincentives to Dewline work:

A man's time is no longer his own and he may no longer travel where and when he pleases. Not only is his movement restricted, but the rest of his life is very different. These Eskimos are now located close to a Dewline site which is not necessarily suitable for hunting and trapping.

Ongoing Employment and Acculturation

Completion of Dewline construction eliminated much of the casual employment opportunities, but not the need for income. Many Inuvialuit moved from the small Dewline stations to larger settlements where other jobs were available on an on-going basis. The larger Dewline Station, Cambridge Bay, Frobisher Bay and Tuktoyaktuk, were also
burgeoning regional administrative centres win a range of opportunities in the growing government services sector.

At this time, the government was beginning to take a more active role in 'improving' the standard of living in the north, partly in response to cases of starvation and destitution that occurred in the central arctic at that time. The government adopted a policy of settlement concentration and acculturation intended:

- to offer better facilities for the education of children, possibilities for a little wage employment and resources of fish and game within a reasonable distance. This is a temporary measure foreshadowing a move to the south.46

Government employment was expanded and welfare made available to take up the slack in the native economy after the fur trade collapse and the Dewline construction boom ended. The dissolution of small settlements and the concentration of the population in large centres was encouraged. Compulsory schooling and the hospitalization of much of the population for tuberculosis made life in the larger settlements where the schools and hospitals were located more appealing to families wanting to stay together.

The concentration of the population and the adoption of wage labour resulted in new problems. Although cash from employment helped purchase guns, ammunition and other supplies for hunting, restricted time and mobility limited the effectiveness of subsistence activities.
Centralization:

had the effect of cutting people off from much of their traditional hunting and trapping territory, for they could not reach all the areas by dogteam that they had from scattered camps. Especially those who got any kind of wage employment had not enough time to travel great distances. It was a common enough observation from the mid-50's to the mid-60's that the native people seemed to be overharvesting the areas close to the communities while the more distant hinterlands went underutilized. There were shortages of food as well as of furs.47

As subsistence harvesting declined the consumption of storebought food increased. Smith studied the effects on the standard of living and nutrition, finding impoverishment and undernourishment among natives living in town without continuous employment. Living for days on tea and bannock, too weak to hold jobs, they were literally starving to death.48

Wage employment also disturbed the social fabric of Inuvialuit families, breaking down the traditional interdependence and solidarity:

The communities have been split in two; the men working (at the Dewline site), the women and children trying to maintain a traditional life in an economy in which they have no part... The men are separated from the families for the major part of the day... Work is in no direct way related to the subsistence of the family. The head of the family does not provide subsistence for his family directly, he does so indirectly through employment, money and a commercial supply of food. The women's work has been sharply curtailed and divorced from that of the men. The children no longer spend a good part of the day in joint activity with mother and father.49

Observers have reassessed the government's policy of
centralization and assimilation and the assumptions on which it was based. It appears that the adoption of wage employment, welfare and a sedentary form of life were responses to the crises facing the Inuvialuit, rather than free choices:

Although little recognized by outsiders at the time, there is good reason to think that few native people saw welfare and casual labour as alternatives to such living (land-based). If many chose welfare instead of wage labour, it was more likely because the former left more time for hunting than the latter, rather than because of laziness, or a poorly developed "work ethic". Under these circumstances, I think we must look back on the declining use of the land a decade or so ago as a result of the economic crisis in the fur trade, an involuntary, unwanted and demoralizing retreat rather than a preference for settlement living and steady employment.50

The Inuvialuit adopted elements of the modern system partly under duress and partly out of desire to enjoy specific amenities. As much as possible, they have tried to incorporate these elements on their own terms, and to combine them with the more traditional, land-oriented way of life that they choose to hold onto:

The shift to townlife is popularly interpreted as an expression by the Eskimo people of their desire to get off the land. Yet many people have deliberately chosen not to move to the larger settlements, or even to move away from them and virtually none have chosen to move permanently to another geographic environment. There is apparently a powerful commitment to the arctic environment and community as a homeland despite changing ideas about how to live in it.51

That powerful commitment is evident in Paulatuk's settlement, from its beginning, a place that people move back to.
Paulatuk's Establishment, Retreat and Renaissance

The region around the site of present-day Paulatuk was essentially unoccupied prior to the fur trade expansion of the 1910-20's. Some evidence indicates that the pre-contact whaling adaptation of the Mackenzie Eskimos extended as far east as Cape Lyon and possibly further, toward the Coronation Gulf. The Parry Peninsula was on the fringe of this settlement:

East of the Baillie Islands were several villages between that and Langton bay, which was known as Nuuyak from the sandspit on which the village was located  

Circa 1850, the settlement pattern was disturbed as the people shifted toward the delta region and the area around Paulatuk was abandoned:

...Many people around Langton Bay died, the first time of starvation, the second time of an epidemic... After this, the people, because they had become so few, divided and went in three directions...

During the whaling era, no Inuvialuit lived in the area on a permanent basis, although small groups did visit Langton Bay and Cape Parry from time to time. Langton Bay was the base of Stefansson's explorations in 1908-9 to Coppermine and Great Bear Lake.

The beginnings of Paulatuk, however, came when the region was reoccupied as the fur trade frontier was pushed east. The core of the present population is descended from among the pioneers who settled the area in the 1920's.
(Source: P.J. Usher, *Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study* vol. 2 (Ottawa 1976).)
Their lifestyle, based on trapping, followed the pattern described earlier. Life at the family camps in the Paulatuk region was prosperous:

These easterners were already the best white fox trappers — in a good winter, some got 200 or 300 foxes, perhaps more. Trapping was no longer a sideline; it was their way of life, to which all other activities were adjusted. 55

Paulatuk old-timers recall earning annual incomes of $4,000 or more and spending large amounts of cash on their boats and equipment to be properly fitted out for the season. Schooners such as the Roger or Tiktalik gave the trappers mobility, to seek better prices and indulge in the cosmopolitan pleasures of the Baillie Islands or Aklavik. Paulatuk adults remember the visits they made to Aklavik as children — the boats moored offshore, the lights of town, the excitement of going ashore to the dances. People throughout the western arctic came together to trade and visit, to renew friendships and family ties and to make new ones during a few weeks each summer. The Paulatuk people remember singing popular songs to the accompaniment of the gramophone. Photographs of the period captured the elegant clothing — suits, stiff collars, ties and bowler hats — worn by the men at Christmas celebrations.

All too soon, however, this era faded. Overharvesting and environmental changes resulted in poor harvests. The prominence of the Baillie Islands passed as the whale carcases, upon which the abundance of fox had flourished,
were consumed. Local stocks were trapped out. Independent trappers and traders withdrew from the Bathurst Peninsula and Cape Parry regions. The depression, with the resulting rationalization of Hudson Bay operations had a severe impact. The closure of the Pearce Point post (1935), also an R.C.M.P. post, eliminated trading activity between Cape Parry and Coppermine. The Letty Harbour post closed in 1937 and the Baillie Islands post, transferred to Maitland Point in 1939, was closed entirely in 1942. Economic activity again became concentrated around the delta at Aklavik and Tuyktoyaktuk.

As the decline continued into the 1940's and 1950's, uncertainty about the future of any settlement grew. Alternative income sources were in short supply in the hinterlands. Many families moved from the eastern Beaufort to the delta, following the lead of white commercial interests. Some sought new ways to intensify their trapping and set out to colonize Banks Island. Others, evidently finding the connection with the land and the lifestyle it supported rewarding in spite of material discomforts, turned to greater subsistence-orientation. Four or five family groups, about sixty people in all, continued to occupy the territory around Darnley Bay and the Parry Peninsula. Another seventy or so Inuvialuit were camped in the region around the mission at Stanton.

The missions at Stanton and Paulatuk were the only trading outlets in the region after the Hudson Bay Company
closed in 1942. They began to supply traps, guns and ammunition, staple foods and household supplies. They also purchased furs from the trappers, according to the prices relayed over the radio from the HBC auctions in Edmonton. Prices and catches were low, however, and the missions often lost money when the furs were auctioned. Moreover, as the only source of much needed goods, they felt obliged to supply necessities, even when the Inuvialuit could not pay for them. As the priest at Paulatuk recalls: "when they came without any furs at all, how could we refuse them when they had no food or no shells?"

A study of Paulatuk in the mid-50's shows both the poverty and the on-going commitment of the people to their way of life in the region. Determined efforts were made to make the most of resources; trapping was pursued as vitally as ever and attempts were made to extend the range south to areas of more valuable furs. Unfortunately, most trappers lacked the capital and equipment to operate on a successful scale. Although they maintained their harvest levels, falling prices and rising costs combined to force the people to retrench, to live simpler and less wide-ranging lives. Family incomes were "no more than $1,000 to 3,000. Frequently the figure is less". An ample diet of country food was obtained by hard work, but the income to provide hunting equipment and supplementary food staples often had to come from relief, as well as from casual wage-labour and trapping.
Map 7. Hunting: Paulatuk Region (pre-1959)
(Source: Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study vol. 3 (Ottawa 1976), map 14.)

(Legend: Appendix IV)
Map 8. Trapping: Paulatuk Region (pre-1959)
(Source: Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study vol. 3 (Ottawa 1976), map 13.)

(Legend: Appendix IV)
In 1954, the church decided to cease trading operations. Not only was it felt that trading was incompatible with the mission's religious role, the church could not continue to subsidize many trappers as it had been doing. This decision marked the end of settlement in the Bathurst Peninsula area around Stanton. The mission closed and the population, with few exceptions, moved to Tuktoyaktuk.

Paulatuk area residents, in spite of the advantages of a similar move, demonstrated a stubborn determination to remain on the land. The Hudson Bay Company was induced, with government intervention, to re-open their Letty Harbour post, and the population continued to hunt and trap in the region.

This was a difficult period for the people. By choosing to remain in the hinterland, they had cut themselves off from opportunities for wage work. Accepting welfare meant also accepting the rules of authorities. Residents remember the interference of church, government and R.C.M.P. agents in their economic and moral lives; for instance, the withholding of welfare from unwed mothers. One of the greatest hardships was that children sent to school in Aklavik were not sent home for holidays, so they often were not seen again for four or five years. Some no longer recognized their parents and several died of illness or accidents at school. Both parents and children still bear emotional scars from this separation from home, language and way of life.
The devastating effects of illness also eroded the independence of the people:

There are usually periods every year when the food supply is low and people may be weakened by malnutrition and become more susceptible to disease. In spring of 1955, four people died, this figure representing about 7% of the entire population.62

In subsequent years more people died. A flu epidemic claimed nearly the whole of one family. Among those lost were the senior members of the community, as a result, the core and the leadership of the settlement was dealt a severe blow.

Remaining with the traditional camp-life also cost Paulatuk people a good deal in terms of material goods and amenities. Over time, all these conditions eroded the independence and endurance of people and created a greater need for security among them.

The Dewline at Cape Parry

Of the Dewline sites in the Western Arctic, Cape Parry, or Pin Main, was and remains one of the larger stations. When Dewline construction began, most of the people were living on the west side of the Parry Peninsula at Arvaluk, where a large whale carcase provided food for the dogs. The potential employment and other services, especially medical care, at the Dewline site stimulated a gradual move to Cape Parry. By 1957, most of the region's population was living more or less permanently in the native village adjacent to the site. Only two families remained at Paulatuk and Brock
River camps for significant amounts of time. The mission relocated to Cape Parry in 1957 and the HBC in 1958, serving the two hundred or so whites at the installation as well as the Inuvialuit.

During construction, many men took advantage of casual labour opportunities, but they did not commit themselves to steady employment. As Ferguson found across the north, many tried employment briefly and then returned to trapping and hunting. Others worked intermittently when they needed cash. A few men did take up Dewline work on a steady basis and, when construction ended at Cape Parry, moved to other settlements to continue work. In all, about 50% of the potential workforce worked at Cape Parry to some extent, half of these on a steady basis.

After the construction phase ended at Cape Parry, only two fulltime Inuvialuit employees were hired there. In spite of limited income opportunities, about sixty other people continued to live there as well. A study of the economic situation at Cape Parry in 1962 showed that fulltime employment provided 34% of the cash income, but was earned by only two men employed at the Dewline. Each earned about $4,000/year. A further 13% of the cash income was earned in casual work, 23% came from trapping, 5% from handcrafts and a total of 23% came from transfers such as family allowance, pensions and social assistance.
It was found that 23% of income was spent at the Hudson Bay Company post in trapping and hunting equipment and 26% on men's clothing and yard-goods:

This is what one would expect in a community where nearly every adult male is out on the trapline in a country that provides little shelter from continuous wind – There was no money to spend on luxury items such as cameras or radios.65

The importance of subsistence hunting to the people living at Cape Parry is indicated also by the relatively small amounts of money spent on store-bought food. In 1962, Cape Parry people spent only 9% of their incomes at the HBC on food, compared to 55% spent by Tuktoyaktuk people in 1956, six years earlier.66

The study found conditions of poverty and marginality however, that were of concern to the Inuvialuit and government alike. Substandard housing and deteriorating health were pointed out as critical problems, as well as the lack of fuel and game and the decline of land-use:

Without the Dewline site, the Eskimo village of Cape Parry would probably not exist. The locality is poor in food and fuel, neither good fish nor caribou are found within a day's journey by dogteam67

Wage income was insufficient to bring the standard of living up to an adequate level; the annual cash income per capita was under $450. As fur prices were still low and the Inuvialuit were poorly equipped, trapping did not offer much of a way to increase their incomes. However, although the Inuvialuit could not support themselves with the economic
resources available, Cape Parry offered other advantages that held them at the site:

...a ready market for handcrafts and raw furs, medical facilities, transportation and communication, entertainment in the way of dances and theatre shows and all the resources to be mined from a rich garbage dump.68

Generally, the federal government exercised a policy of encouraging people in such a situation to move en masse to larger settlements. As the study revealed, however, the people desired explicitly to remain in the area and to continue hunting and trapping. They resisted the idea of relocating to Tuktoyaktuk; instead they wished to revitalize their land-use in conjunction with the new patterns of industrial society. Quite simply, the priest recalls: "the people always to stay." Recognizing the peoples' wish to live as they chose, the report's recommendations included suggestions that steps be taken to support the viability of renewable resource harvesting and the settlement in this region.

Paulatuk's Renaissance

Paulatuk is located on a small peninsula at the base of Darnley Bay (69°49'N, 123°59'W). The settlement owes its location to a protected harbour and its proximity to natural resources, including coal, from which the name Paulatuk is derived. Coal was used to provide fuel for camps and the Catholic mission which served as a centre during the semi-nomadic era.
Paulatuk is a small settlement by any standards. Its status relative to other Inuit communities in the Northwest Territories is shown in Appendix I. With the exception of unorganized and unserviced outpost camps, Paulatuk is smaller than all except Grise Fiord, on the remote northern tip of Ellesmere Island.

Paulatuk is also one of the most Inuit of all settlements, as shown in Appendix II. In addition to the permanent population which is 100% Inuit, white residents there in 1979-80 included the priest, who had been in the area for forty years, the school principal, his wife and child and a second teacher. From time to time other whites such as a co-op manager, craft officer, writer, the author, etc. have lived for extended periods of time in the town. The relative lack of whites, particularly those connected with the bureaucracy is significant. It reflects Paulatuk's lack of access to services, due both to its smallness and the absence of white-oriented facilities. Along with the community's strong reliance on the land, these characteristics impart a traditional "inuvialuitness".

In spite of its smallness and isolation, Paulatuk has experienced significant growth, showing the highest percentage of growth of Inuit communities between 1970-74. This increase was due to the movement of families back to Paulatuk, spurred on by construction of the school, new housing and the installation of electricity. This trend was
cited by Palmer in regard to the assumptions on which the government policy of centralization was based:

There is no evidence that the Inuit are leaving the smaller, more land-based communities for the larger, more wage and salary oriented communities. 69

Instead, the case of Paulatuk and other settlements showed the desire of people to get back to the smaller centres where hunting and trapping were still viable options.

Faced with such determination, the government did elect to support Paulatuk (and other small communities) with expenditures on community infrastructure and services. As a way of bringing the population closer to game, low-cost subsidized housing was constructed at Paulatuk itself, beginning with six units adjacent to the mission in 1966. A Co-op store was opened in 1967 with the help of a loan from the Eskimo Loan Fund.

These steps were the beginning of the community at Paulatuk, of the government's commitment to the settlement and of the peoples' ongoing struggle to improve community life. The housing and the Co-op were victories in their campaign to "hang-tough" and live on their own terms. This assistance was also a recognition by outsiders of the legitimacy of Paulatuk's way of life. After a period of 'demoralizing retreat', the beginning of the settlement at Paulatuk represents explicit determination to maintain the autonomy, integrity and satisfaction that come from these peoples' connections with the land and with each other.
Notes: Chapter Two


2. R. McGhee, The Beluga Hunters (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland 1974)

3. Kittigazuit was the forerunner of Tuktoyaktuk, the settlement at the mouth of the MacKenzie that was a centre for whaling, fur trading, the Dewline, and now, oil exploration.

4. The settlement patterns, social organization and landuse of this culture are examined in detail in McGhee, The Beluga Hunters

5. This exploration is described in John Wolforth, The Evolution and Economy of the Delta Community, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1971) p.16-17.

6. Inupiat is the name used by Alaskan Inuit to describe themselves.


8. ibid., p.27


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For more detailed description of the whaling industry, the reader is referred to:

Usher, *The Bankslander*
29. Wolforth, *The Evolution and Economy of the Delta Community*, p.43

30. Usher, *The Bankslanders*, p.27

31. ibid.


33. Wolforth, *The Evolution and Economy of the Delta Community*, p.54

34. Usher, *The Bankslanders*, p.30

35. ibid., p.28


38. Usher, *The Bankslanders*, p.29


40. Usher, *The Bankslanders*, p.40

41. Peter J. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic". Evidence presented to the Berger Inquiry on behalf of COPE (Yellowknife,1976) p.28

42. J.D. Ferguson, *A Study of the Effects of the Dewline on Eskimos of the Western Arctic* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1957)

43. ibid., p.29

44. ibid.

45. ibid., p.3

47. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.23

48. D.G. Smith, The Mackenzie Delta - The Domestic Economy of the Native Peoples (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1965) p.36

49. Ferguson, A Study of the Effects of the Dewline, p.20

50. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.23

51. ibid., p.20


52. Stefansson, The Friendly Arctic, p.25

53. ibid., p.308

54. The pioneers included:
   - Billy Thrasher, the son of an Inuit woman and a whaler. Named after a whaling boat, Billy Thrasher was the skipper of the Catholic mission boat. He suggested locating the mission at Letty Harbour to serve the Parry Peninsula. Originally, the mission had been intended for King William Island.
   
   - "qupelaq" and "huleraq" - Alaskan immigrants whom Rasmussen encountered in the camp of a trader at the base of Darnley Bay, the site of Paulatuk in 1924:
     "7. At Crawford's place.
     Immigrants
     From Point Hope: qupelraq(?), his wife huleraq(the whip-lash), the girl naujaq(the gull) and the boy Sam"
     (Rasmussen, The Fifth Thule Expedition, p.42)
     Huleraq, also known as Jessie Green, died in Paulatuk in 1976 at the age of 100.
   
   - Anik Ruben and his wife Sadie and family;
     "the patriarch of the people"
     "14. At Point Clarence:
     anik(the big one, his wife sughajalaq(?), three boys and two girls"
     (Rasmussen, The Fifth Thule Expedition, p.44).

Although many of the other pioneers left the Paulatuk region later, the Thrashers, Greens and Rubens still make the area their home.
55. Usher, The Bankslanders, p.33
56. J. Ross MacKay, The Anderson River Map Area, Memoir 5 (Ottawa: Department of Mines 1957) p.120
57. Usher, The Bankslanders, pp.39-40
58. MacKay, The Anderson River Map Area, p.112
59. ibid.
60. ibid., p.120
61. ibid., pp.107-108 and 113-114
62. ibid., p.109
63. Gunther Abrahamson, Tuktoyaktuk- Cape Parry area economic survey (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1963) p.25
64. ibid.
65. ibid., p.49
66. ibid., p.25
67. ibid.
68. ibid.
Chapter Three

Material Resources:
Paulatuk People Making a Living

Among material resources, the greatest, unquestionably, is the land. Study how a society uses its land and you come to pretty reliable conclusions as to what its future will be.1

Paulatuk is one of the Inuit communities still closely oriented to the land.2 In 1969, Paulatuk ranked highly among N.W.T. communities in terms of cash and income-in-kind earned from the land.3 Residents have continually stressed their dependence on the land:

All our lives we depend on the land, on our land... From boyhood we depend on the lakes where they got fish, we depend on the river where its got fish, we depend on the land where we got caribous...4

In 1979, Paulatuk people still defined themselves as hunters and trappers, a self-image confirmed by the local Wildlife Officer who described the town as "ninety percent hunting and trapping".

At the same time, in Paulatuk as elsewhere, hunting production tends to be dismissed by government and industry officials as being of minimal, residual and declining importance. Inasmuch as wage labour had increased in the
last decade, it is commonly assumed that there has been a simultaneous decline in the value of production from the land. This attitude has been expressed toward Paulatuk; the community has been accused of no longer using the land and of living off welfare instead.

To a large extent, this attitude exists because the native land-based economy is a "hidden" one. Production from the land and sea, consumed directly by families, is largely unobserved and unquantified:

Conventional methods of calculating the (native) economy reinforce this notion. Wage employment and transfer payments are recognized as income, earnings from the bush are not. Fulltime hunters are, therefore, officially classified as unemployed. Their earnings from the hunt, and even from trapping, are taken to be minimal or nil or unavailable. Conventional economic analysis thus systematically misrepresents the (native) economy.5

If this production of income-in-kind is not taken into account, the cash and wage labour sector presents a misleading impression of dominance:

The failure of previous investigators to appreciate the full value of country food has led to serious underestimates of the contribution of traditional activity to the total regional economy, and hence, to conclusions that some native communities at least are without a viable economic basis.6

The research compiled in this chapter describes and documents the various types of production and sources of income, translating the value of hunting into "terms to permit comparisons with the returns of other economic activities".7
Subsistence Production

Caribou

Caribou is the most important species harvested for domestic consumption in Paulatuk and, of all the Inuvialuit communities, Paulatuk relies most heavily on caribou for meat. In summer, hunters travel by boat along the coast, concentrating on those animals that have come close to shore to escape the heat and insects. Kills close to shore eliminate the arduous work of packing meat over rough terrain. Hunters usually take one or two caribou in the course of a hunting trip, the number being restricted by the dispersed nature of the herd in summer and the problems of transporting meat back to town before it spoils.

The hunting region is extended in the fall and winter by freeze-up and snow-cover that permit travel by skidoo and sled. Most men make a special effort before the start of the trapping season to obtain a meat supply that will last several months. The community as a whole harvested about one hundred caribou in a three-week period in October/November 1979. Meat storage is less difficult in winter; hunters can stay away longer with frozen carcasses and meat can be stored on the rooftops when freezers are full. This is also the time of year when caribou pelts are in peak condition. In winter, trappers will stop to harvest one or two caribou while returning from their traplines. Caribou are also taken in spring when the main Bluenose herd migrates in large
numbers past the town, a few miles inland.

Most of the caribou are harvested from a sub-herd of the Bluenose herd that grazes at the base of the Parry Peninsula. This herd is the basis of a strategy to secure a food supply that supports intensive trapping activity:

With caribou now more abundant and much closer at hand, the hunters no longer need to travel far inland, hence a reduction in the area of the caribou hunting range has occurred. The Paulatuk people feel that there should be as little disturbance of the new Parry Peninsula herd as possible; their practice is to make brief trips to the edge of this herd, obtain a few animals and leave, thus avoiding prolonged activity in and around the herd.

The average family requires a supply of about three or four caribou per month. Nearly all the caribou, including the head, heart, liver and bone marrow is consumed. The meat is eaten frozen or cooked, as steaks, stews, soup or hamburger. Some meat is dried, particularly in summer when spoilage is a problem. Traditionally, dried meat was sliced thinly and hung to dry in the sun. Now it is also made in the oven, flavoured with commercial 'jerky-cure' mix.

Estimates based on observations made in the field in 1979-80 indicate a harvest of over three hundred and fifty caribou per year for subsistence use. This would provide an estimated 35,000 pounds of edible meat, available for consumption in Paulatuk. A small amount, probably under 5% of that, is sent to relatives in Inuvik or Tuktoyaktuk. Using a figure of $6.00/pound (protein equivalent replacement value), the income-in-kind for the community from caribou harvesting
would amount to $150,000 to $200,000 or approximately $1,000 per capita per year.

Table 3-1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imputed value of Caribou harvest</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>1979-80</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caribou harvested</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible weight (lbs)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population of Paulatuk</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible weight (lbs/capita)</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edible weight (lbs/capita/day)</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price per lb.</td>
<td>$0.80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. $2.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. $3.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. $6.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total value</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. $70,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. $105,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. $210,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

1968-69 - Palmer, 1973
1979-80 - estimates based on field data and current prices

1. Current market exchange value, Inuvik 1979
2. Replacement cost per unit of volume
3. Replacement cost at nutritional equivalent

Fish

Fish are the next most important country-food resource in Paulatuk. The value of the annual harvest of char and whitefish was estimated to be approximately 4,500 pounds with an imputed monetary value of between $7,000 and $9,000.12
Not only are significant quantities of food obtained at relatively little cost, fishing has an intrinsic satisfaction that leads people to spend time, summer and winter, setting their nets:

Fishing, for example, is done because it is an enjoyable diversion and brings welcome variation to the diet.  

In winter, nets are set under the ice at the river or on the lakes of the Parry Peninsula; the amounts of the harvest are relatively insignificant. In summer, char, whitefish, trout and cod are caught in lakes or offshore. Generally, less than twenty-five percent of the annual harvest is taken during the summer, on the basis of catches observed in the field.

The August char run on the Hornaday River is the main source of domestic fish harvesting. The char is an anadromous species, spending the summer in the sea and returning in fall to spawn and winter in freshwater upstream. The char run was discovered in the 1960's when two residents travelling overland after freeze-up stopped for water, noticed the large fish beneath the ice, and as they said, "forgot all about their thirst".

In mid-August, Paulatuk families set up camp at Fishcamp, a loosely designated area on the east side of the Hornaday Delta, and begin to set their nets in the shallow, shifting channels of the river mouth. Whitefish are caught as well as char, especially at the start of the run. Nets
are usually checked twice daily; at the peak, fifty or more char may be taken in a net at any check.

About thirty men and their families participated in the fishing in 1979. While the main focus of the fishing prior to freeze-up is commercial, a substantial subsistence harvest is also obtained, some of which is dried on racks and some frozen. All the fishermen harvested for subsistence as well as the market, six to eight men fished only for their own use.

Domestic fishing continues after the commercial quota is filled. After freeze-up, fish are caught by jigging or by setting nets under the ice at deep places in the river a few miles upriver from Fishcamp. Many families take the opportunity to camp out or make day-trips. The men also set nets further up at Coalmine, as part of their efforts to insure an ample food supply before trapping begins.

Other Animals

A small number of Muskox have been harvested annually for subsistence in recent years. No figures are available from General Hunting License data, but it is reported that six or seven are usually harvested. At $6.00/pound, the replacement value of the muskox would be in the range of $12,600 for just over 2,000 pounds of meat. Muskox meat is not as tender as caribou and has a stronger flavour. It seems to be eaten when caribou is in short supply or for a change of pace.
Several bear are shot annually when they constitute a danger to people near the community. Hunters are required to notify the Wildlife Officer of any bears shot, but they are often allowed to keep the meat. The amount of bear eaten is not known, but seems relatively small.

Migratory birds are intensively harvested on a seasonal basis, spring and fall. It is difficult to determine the amount, edible weight and imputed value of this harvest. A very rough estimate would put the 1979 harvest at a minimum of 600 to 800 geese and ducks. This would contribute, about $10,000 in imputed income-in-kind to the local economy.

Table 3-2

Bird Harvests from 1968 to 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducks</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptarmigan</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1968-69 - Palmer, 1973
1973-74 - Usher, 1976 - (includes ducks and ptarmigan converted to geese by weight.)

Ptarmigan, the other species of bird important as a food source, is harvested year round. The harvest averages about three hundred a year. At just under one pound of edible meat each, their imputed value is about $1,000.
In contrast to many Inuit communities, Paulatuk does not rely much upon seal. In 1968, eight hundred and ten seal were recorded taken. Since then, the harvest declined, due to a slump in prices (related to the anti-sealing campaign directed against the Newfoundland seal industry) and the demise of dog-traction.

Seal harvesting is now concentrated in the summer, during open water, rather than year-round; in late August the pelts are in good condition and retrieval rates higher due to the buoyancy of the summer-fattened seals. Many are shot for their skins only. Conservatively, at least twenty-five are used for human consumption. Averaging forty-five pounds edible weight each, this would contribute about $4,500 worth of meat to the community's tables. Oksok, or rendered seal oil, is a regular part of the diet and major end-use of seal. Meat and fish are dipped into this oil, which has a flavour something akin to bluecheese. There is no estimate of the seal blubber used annually for oksok, nor is there any equivalent substitute with which to compare its value.

Furs and skins

Hunting also provides furs and skins that are used domestically for clothing and bedding. The value of this production is uncertain. Usher placed the value of subsistence use for clothing and bedding at less than ten percent of the country-food production, noting that "although (these uses) may be only a small component of the traditional sector,
they are, in some cases, completely irreplaceable.  

In Paulatuk, caribou skins are used for mukluks, sleeping mats and occasionally parkas. To give an idea of the value locally, mukluks were sold to visitors for $60 to $80 a pair. Mukluks and mitts were also made of seal and muskox skins. Mocassins, mitts and the soles of mukluks are generally made of moosehide which is available commercially for $300–$400 per hide. Moose are rarely taken by Paulatuk hunters, so their contribution to the economy is high when they are harvested. The labour involved in preparing hides and clothing is considerable and should be kept in mind when considering their value.

Furs are primarily harvested for commercial purposes, but many do not reach the market. Wolf and wolverine are used for parka trim and mitts. In spite of market prices of $150 and $300 per pelt respectively, few if any are exported for sale. In 1979, the value of new, locally-produced parka-trim was around $1,500. Fox trim is also used; conservatively, around $2,500 to $3,000 worth each year.
Summary of subsistence production: Income-in-kind

With reservation concerning the accuracy of estimates, it appears that a gross income-in-kind of approximately $236,000 was produced from subsistence hunting in Paulatuk in 1979. ($123,431 in constant dollars, 1971=100)

Table 3-3
Imputed value of Subsistence harvesting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
<td>$16,022</td>
<td>$112,500</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>16,178</td>
<td>16,022</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>94,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk-ox</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$3,173</td>
<td>$6,000</td>
<td>$11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,173</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>5,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>$9,000</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$16,000</td>
<td>$7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>9,259</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12,800</td>
<td>3,324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furs</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$965</td>
<td>$ -</td>
<td>$2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>$45,023</td>
<td>$19,361</td>
<td>$134,500</td>
<td>$236,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c$</td>
<td>46,320</td>
<td>19,361</td>
<td>107,600</td>
<td>123,692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1969-70 - Palmer, 1973
1970-71 - Gourdeau, MVP Impact Report table 3 & 4
1973-74 - Usher, 1976
1979-80 - field work, Paulatuk

Note: 'c$' indicates constant dollars using 1970-71 = 100.
Table 3-3 compares data for the imputed values of country food and clothing over the last decade. It shows the continued growth of this sector and attests to the vitality and importance of subsistence harvesting from a monetary perspective.

This estimate was confirmed by informants who estimated that they, as heads of households, would need cash incomes of more than $10,000 per year if they were obliged to purchase all their food from the store.
Map 9. Hunting: Paulatuk Region (1959-74)
(Source: Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study vol. 3 (Ottawa 1976), map 16.)
(Legend: Appendix IV)
Map 10. Trapping: Paulatuk Region (1959-74)
Source: Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study vol. 3 (Ottawa 1976), map 15.
(Legend: Appendix IV)
Map 11. Extent of Hunting, Paulatuk, 1979-80
Commercial Production

Trapping

Trapping is the most important of the activities that generate cash income through the commercial sale of renewable resources harvested from the land, not only in terms of the large amounts of income earned, but also because it sets the tone of the economic and social life of Paulatuk. Trapping is seen as a tough but rewarding occupation of considerable excitement and prestige. It has been the focus of community life since the beginning of settlement in the region, and current trapping activity is as intensive and extensive in area as it was during the peak of trapping during the 'good old days'. (see Map 10, illustrating the extent of trapping during the period 1959 to 1974. Cf. Chapter Two, Map 8)

The main species trapped are white fox and coloured fox which has black, red and cross phases; the white and blue fox are found along the coast and the Parry Peninsula, the range of coloured fox overlaps around the settlement and goes further inland. Wolf and wolverine are trapped and hunted throughout the area; marten are found to the south, below the tree line. Maps 9 and 11 show the areas in which various animals are hunted as established by the Land Use and Occupancy Study.
Table 3-4
Fur Export Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Trappers</th>
<th>Total Sales $</th>
<th>Total Sales c$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44,424</td>
<td>41,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28,237</td>
<td>22,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17,643</td>
<td>12,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42,423</td>
<td>28,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7,603</td>
<td>4,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60,952</td>
<td>34,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>51,14?</td>
<td>26,779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of Trappers over $400:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Income $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6,574</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1973-74, 1974-75 - Land Use Information Series, 1977

(Constant Dollars, 1971= 100)

Note: Trappers Record Summaries show:
1973-74 $ 78,360 (c$ 72,981)
1974-75 $ 13,067 (c$ 10,454)
1975-76 $ 19,789 (c$ 14,288)
### Table 3-5

**Fur Exports by species and value**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White fox</td>
<td>55,961</td>
<td>11,780</td>
<td>10,492</td>
<td>28,560</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>19,107</td>
<td>22,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other fox</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>12,814</td>
<td>6,488</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>48,229</td>
<td>21,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,806</td>
<td>2,615</td>
<td>1,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolverine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal</td>
<td>2,179</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1,574</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>3,774</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polar Bear</td>
<td>13,900</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>4,605</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12,230</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income</strong></td>
<td>$ 78,360</td>
<td>$ 13,067</td>
<td>$ 19,789</td>
<td>$ 42,423</td>
<td>$ 7,603</td>
<td>$ 60,952</td>
<td>$ 51,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c$</strong></td>
<td>72,981</td>
<td>10,454</td>
<td>14,288</td>
<td>28,491</td>
<td>4,728</td>
<td>34,790</td>
<td>26,779</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
1973-74 to 1977-78 - Trappers Record Summaries, G.N.W.T.

(Constant dollars c$ 1971= 100)
Trapping is not a relic of frontier days in Paulatuk; nearly every able-bodied man in the community traps. According to the 1978 community census, seventeen men were described as trappers by occupation. Nearly all of those listed as fulltime employees also trapped fulltime during the season.

In 1979-80, eighteen men operated long-lines (a series of traps set at some distance from town and requiring several days travel to check). Six men ran day-lines in the vicinity of the community, checking them before or after work. One day-line was primarily operated by a woman and her son. In addition, a number of the young men did some trapping on an informal basis, setting a few traps or catching fox by chasing them on skidoo and shooting them. Their efforts depended on borrowing a relative's skidoo.

The contribution of trapping to the community's income is quite high, although it is not nearly as significant as in Sachs Harbour which enjoys the reputation of being a settlement of 'super-trappers'.

Trapping represents a source of income that, for many of the trappers who do not engage in wage employment, may be the major portion of the cash needed to support subsistence hunting. Trapping income varies from year to year and between individuals. In 1978-79, trapping generated approximately $61,000 for thirty-four people, according to the Trappers' Record Summaries. Over $6,000 was earned by
the top trapper and the average was $1,792.

During the first part of the 1979-80 season, the harvest was observed by the author. The furs recorded between November and January were:

Table 3-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Average price</th>
<th>Expected income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White fox</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>$30-60</td>
<td>$11,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross fox</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>5,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red fox</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver fox</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$27,530</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Probably another eighty or so fox were trapped but not reported to the researcher. This early harvest of an anticipated $30,000 promised a good year for Paulatuk trappers in 1980, although the start was poor due to warm, foggy weather. Over ten percent of the white fox and thirty percent of other phases were trapped in day-lines near the settlement; nearly thirty percent of the white fox were taken by a single family living at Cape Parry.

The promise of the season was fulfilled, according to the Trappers' Records. Trapping generated an income of $51,150 in 1979-80. The top trapper earned $6,570 with an average of just over $1,500. Prices at the Co-op, based on quotes from the Hudson Bay Auction in Edmonton were low compared with outfitters in Inuvik, so many trappers took their furs to Inuvik on pre-Christmas jaunts. The income was
spent on replacing worn-out equipment or on consumer goods, clothing, appliances and gifts. A large chunk of the money was used by one family to purchase the community's second video-television set.

Commercial Hunting

Caribou

The Territorial Wildlife Branch issues tags permitting a quota of commercial caribou kills; in 1979, Paulatuk had a quota of seventy-five tags. Virtually all the harvest was sold to the Inuvialuit Development Corporation (COPE) in Inuvik. The hunters were paid $1.50 per pound in 1979, producing about $12,000 income. COPE sold the meat for $2.00 per pound in Inuvik.

Commercial caribou hunting is undertaken in the same way and often at the same time as subsistence hunting; hunters will keep some meat and sell the surplus. In the spring, however, it appears that some hunting is done with commercial sales specifically in mind.

Fish

As noted earlier, the fall char run on the Hornaday River is the basis of commercial production that is a reliable source of income for Paulatuk residents. Commercial operations began in 1968 with a quota of 5,000 pounds. The current quota is 15,000 pounds of which 10% is deducted from allowable sales as a waste allowance.
Fish Quotas (LUIS 1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kg</th>
<th>lb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. unnamed</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. unnamed</td>
<td>1,360</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. unnamed</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Seven Islands L.</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fish Lake</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sioluk</td>
<td>2,995</td>
<td>6,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tasseriuq</td>
<td>7,170</td>
<td>15,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reuben &amp; Thrasher Lakes</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Billy Lake</td>
<td>5,350</td>
<td>11,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Biname Lake</td>
<td>8,165</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 11. Hornaday River | 4,536| 10,000 (15,000 1978)

Subsistence Fishing

Franklin Bay

Darnley Bay

Brock River

Map 12. Commercial & Subsistence Fishing in Paulatuk
(Source: Land Use Information Series (Ottawa 1977), map sheets 97C, D, F.)
### Table 3-7

**Commercial Fish Harvest**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales lbs</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Price per lb. ($)</th>
<th>Total earned ($)</th>
<th>Average earned ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>8,912</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>7,575</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>16,875</td>
<td>1,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>18,225</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
- 1968-75 - Brackel, 1977, pp27-28
- 1976-79 - Quota less 10% equals estimated sales

Fishing is done by individual family units who set nets, take in the fish and transport them to town for freezing and sale. All members of the community participate including those men with fulltime jobs. Women and children can participate more fully in fishing than in other hunting activity; they help with nets, clean fish and take them to town, as well as help out around the campsite.

The char are sold by fishermen to the Co-op which in turn markets them to the Innuialuit Development Corporation (COPE). In 1979, the Co-op and COPE paid $1.35 and $1.65 per pound, respectively. About fifteen families participated in the commercial fishing, earning an average income of about $1,215.
The Co-op should have earned approximately $22,000 from sales with a gross income of $4,000 after fishermen had been paid. The costs of shipping the fish to Inuvik by charter, however, probably amounted to more than $4,000, and it is possible, indeed likely, that the Co-op lost money on the deal. The Co-op was obliged to pay $1.35 per pound for fish, which was felt to be fair or too low a price by fishermen; because of freezing and packaging problems, COPE would not pay more than $1.65, so Co-op operations took the loss.

The income from fishing can be critical, especially to families with few other sources of cash. Fishing income is usually directed to outfitting for trapping. Lucky individuals were able to increase their incomes through skillful gambling with fishing earnings at this time.

The expansion of the commercial fishing operation is limited by several factors. Freezer facilities have been inadequate, resulting in the suspension of fishing when capacity is reached. Prices would have been higher if processing, such as the speed of freezing (affected by space) were improved. The installation of a new community freezer may solve this.

There is some discussion about raising the quota for the Hornaday River as the basis for expanded commercial sales, but there is also concern about potential deterioration of fish stock. In 1979, several people expressed concern that the 'big fish' were not so plentiful.
Government authorities claim that people exceed the quota already by as much as they can get away with and that they take fish that are too small. Residents respond that they do not overfish, being the ones with the greatest stake in maintaining a sustained yield. In fact, several people stopped fishing commercially part way through the run, in order to give other people a chance to earn income within the overall quota.

There are char runs on other rivers and lakes with commercial harvest quotas totalling 89,300 pounds in 1977. Transporting the fish to Paulatuk quickly and cost efficiently enough presents a major problem. Given the low-productivity of arctic lakes and the slow growth of fish stocks, it is also doubtful that yields would be sustained for long.

Currently, the harvest may be sold only in the N.W.T. In order to meet government standards for export, a freezing and packaging plant requiring a large capital expenditure and a volume of over 50,000 pounds would be needed. A co-ordinated marketing scheme and the use of aircraft to bring fish from other rivers would be essential. At present, the expense, effort and organization and management skills required to increase the income earned from commercial fishing are not justified by the need for cash.
Seal

The export of seal skins brings some income into the community. There was a decline in seal exports during the 1970's, as noted above, when prices were as low as $8.00 a pelt. Given the small demand for seal as human food, without the need to get dog-food the costs of ammunition gas and labour exceeded the monetary return from seal skins. Nevertheless, throughout the 1970's, sealing has brought some income to the local economy.

Table 3-8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Average price ($)</th>
<th>Total earned ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>9.81</td>
<td>1,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>2,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.65</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>16.99</td>
<td>1,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.94</td>
<td>2,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>3,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>26.60</td>
<td>3,997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1971-75 - Land Use Information Series, 1977
Prices from NWT Average Price Tables, except 1979-80

Prices began to rise in the summer of 1979 and interest in sealing was renewed. In late August, sealing was undertaken quite intensively and successfully. The G.N.W.T. Trapping Summaries show that one hundred and fifty-four skins

104
were exported from Paulatuk, for about $4,000. Others were sold or traded locally. Many were used for craft production, a commercial use that had been in decline while the community Craftshop was closed.26

Polar Bear

Polar bear hunting continues to be of economic significance in Paulatuk. Polar bear are protected by government quota; in 1979 a total of seventeen tags were issued to the community Hunters and Trappers Association, which distributes the tags to ensure a fair chance for all hunters. Polar bear are hunted in spring at Cape Parry or Cape Lyon, often in conjunction with trapping and sealing. In 1979, with prices at about one hundred dollars per foot, skins fetched between $900 and $1,200 each. Eight skins were recorded as fur sales in 1978-79 for an income of about $12,000. As all the tags were used, the others may have been sold privately rather than by auction, for an estimated additional $9,000 in earnings.27
Table 3-9

Polar Bear skin sales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Average price ($)</th>
<th>Total earned ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>3,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>5,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,074</td>
<td>13,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>14,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>4,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>12,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1969-70 - Brackel, 1977, table C-2 p68
1970-75 - Land Use Information Series, 1977
1979-80 - Traders Fur Record Summary, G.N.W.T.

Prices:
1969-72 - Brackel, 1977, table C-1 p65
1972-79 - Average Fur Price Tables, G.N.W.T.

Note: 1979-80 Return incomplete.

Handicrafts and Tourism

Paulatuk people are very talented and creative producers of items for domestic and commercial use. Homemade clothing worn locally includes mukluks, mitts, mocassins and down and duffle parkas. Sleeping bags, sleds, ulus and knives, fishhooks and crib boards are also made for local use.
Handicrafts produced for sale include sealskin pillows, mitts and slippers and duffle tapestries appliqued with designs of local wildlife and hunting activities. Parkas are not made commercially due to the cost of materials and labour and limited access to markets, but mukluks are sometimes made to order.

Most of these items are sold through the Craftshop in town and its markets in Inuvik and Yellowknife. Individuals also sell privately to tourists in Paulatuk or sell their own work when they visit Inuvik. Caribou skins, ranging from $40 to $100 and muskox skins and horns are also sold from time to time. There is a potential market for 'qiviut' the fine muskox wool that sells for over $20 per ounce in the south.

The combined income from craft sales was approximately $10,000 in 1979. Income potential is limited by the high cost of materials such as duffle and moosehide, the labour required and poor access to markets. The Craftshop, begun as a government-run make-work project, was shut for several years. After re-opening temporarily under local ownership in 1979, it was shut again when the owner moved and then sold to a woman, formerly of Paulatuk but now living in Inuvik. When the shop is closed, there is no source of materials or market in town.

Many of the men are excellent carvers in soapstone, whalebone and antler. Carving is done on a small scale, without a regular studio, ventilation equipment, and with few
tools and materials. The market is also undeveloped, as carving from the western arctic is not as well known as that of Baffin Island. For Paulatuk carvers, however, sales may bring in several thousand dollars to supplement subsistence and trapping income.

Paulatuk has considerable potential for tourism, with abundant wildlife, features such as the LaRonciere Falls, the Smoking Hills and Cape Parry and opportunities for sports such as canoeing, photography, fishing and hunting. The opportunities are not exploited much and the contribution of tourism to the local economy has been small in recent years.

A tourist camp for sport fishing was operated for several years by the Hunters and Trappers Association at a site slightly upstream from the Hornaday Delta, but the project was abandoned. At present, sportsmen are sometimes flown to the area for day-trips from lodges on Great Bear Lake or Colville Lake, or from Inuvik. Beyond a possible visit to the Craftshop, Paulatuk does not benefit from these tourists.

From the days of early exploration by Stefansson, Rasmussen and others, Paulatuk has been the stop-off point for adventurers canoeing down nearby rivers or crossing the arctic by dog-team. In 1979, as in other years, the occasional journalist, photographer, researcher and tourist arrived in town, arranging to visit the area with any hunter willing to act as a guide. There is no public accommodation
so visitors must stay with families, providing space is available.

Sport Hunting Programs, through which tourists pay substantial amounts of money for the chance to hunt big game with local guides, appears to offer income opportunities. From 1972 to 1977, the Hunters and Trappers Association set aside a number of polar bear tags for sports hunters, who paid several thousand dollars each for a two-week booking and the chance to shoot one bear. The Hunters and Trappers Association arranged for guides and the dogteams required for sports hunting according to an International Agreement on the conservation of polar bear. Initiated with government assistance, the program was a success and expanded from two hunters to six in subsequent years. However, the project was not continued, although in 1979, the package would have cost sport hunters over $6,000 each. The program failed for a number of reasons, including the lack of dogteams in town, several years of unsuitable ice conditions, and therefore dissatisfied clients, and friction between the guides and patrons.

In 1980, the government authorized sports hunting of muskox, which have sufficiently recovered in numbers from near extinction at the turn of the century to permit a limited harvest. The muskox hunt is organized on the basis of a three-day excursion, using skidoos for which tourists paid about $4,500 in 1979. Eight tags were allowed for
this, four of which were for females. Guides were paid about $1,500 each for a few days work. After deducting costs of airfare, food shelter and administration from the fees, the anticipated income to the community as a whole was about $15,000. The first hunt occurred in March 1980, after fieldwork was completed; it was reportedly a great success.
Income from Wage Labour

There has been a significant increase in the amount of income coming from employment over the last decade. In the early years of settlement, wage opportunities were limited to work as pilots, guides and other forms of casual labour. The construction of the Dewline introduced residents to routine industrial labour. When construction ended, many men left the area, taking their families with them, to seek jobs in the larger centres such as Tuktoyaktuk, Frobisher Bay and Cambridge Bay. Several of the younger, single men travelled further afield, working on the Slave Lake Railway in Alberta, for the Territorial government in Fort Smith or Yellowknife, or joining the army.

Job opportunities in Paulatuk itself were very limited during the late 1960's and early 1970's. A break-down of the employment data shows that only one man and one woman were employed fulltime, year-round. Most of the people listed as employed worked for less than a month. In 1974, the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study maintained that:

There is no local wage employment, so the community is entirely dependent on trapping and hunting for its wellbeing.

Since 1975, however, opportunities have increased. The installation of electricity and a two-room school opened up jobs with the Department of Public Works, Northern Canada Power Commission and Department of Education for maintenance workers and the school janitor. Additional housing
construction led to a housing maintenance position. A part-
time lay-dispenser at the nursing station, Housing secretary
and Settlement secretary were also required as the town grew
and local services and administration passed increasingly
into community control. The Settlement Council took over
delivery of municipal services such as water and fuel
delivery and garbage pickup on a contract basis with the
government. This led to the formalization of municipal
service jobs that had previously been done by residents
themselves without pay.

Table 3-10

Labour Force: Main Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Male 1978</th>
<th>Female 1978</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#      %</td>
<td>#      %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fulltime</td>
<td>9  39</td>
<td>1  19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual</td>
<td>3  39</td>
<td>4  19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and Trapping</td>
<td>17  55</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2  6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15  58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6  23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1978 Community census for ages 18-65

a. Unemployed refers to individuals actually eligible for
unemployment insurance benefits, having been
previously employed in insurable occupations.

b. Other refers primarily to unmarried women not in
school, and men under 65 years unable to work due to
illness.
Currently, there are about twenty fulltime jobs people could take up in Paulatuk, three-quarters of which were fulltime. Of these, eleven fulltime and two part-time jobs were filled, and two fulltime positions were filled part of the year. Of the labour force in Paulatuk, about forty percent of the men and twenty percent of the women were employed on a regular fulltime or casual basis.

Most of the job opportunities are related to the delivery of services in the community. These include the Department of Public Works supervisor, the weatherman hired by the Ministry of Transport; the Settlement Secretary and municipal workers paid by the Department of Local Government grants; Department of Education school janitor and teacher's aide; the Housing maintenance person and secretary; the laydispenser. Potential jobs that are not filled include the Northern Power Commission position and the Northwest Telephone repairperson.

Other jobs include the manager and assistant at the Co-op store; and a community member employed fulltime at the Dewline site at Cape Parry, about eighty miles away. COPE, the Inuvialuit organization for dealing with land claims, employs residents of Paulatuk from time to time as fieldworkers, delegates and negotiators.

Canmar and Dome Petroleum offer, in a sense, unlimited job opportunities for people willing to go outside the community. Workers may work during the full summer drilling
season on rotation from the base in Tuktoyaktuk, for four-week on/two-week off shifts on board the drill ships. Canmar also hires men to work on operations based at Wise Bay, Cape Parry. This deep harbour, near Paulatuk, is used as an overwintering and refueling site for drill ships, supply ships and icebreakers. People were hired to work in spring and summer on two-week rotations, flown to and from Paulatuk by Canmar planes. Most of the ten or so people who worked on this operation in 1979 were young students employed during their holidays.

Table 3-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of employees</th>
<th>Percent increase</th>
<th>Income ($)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>167 %</td>
<td>35,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38 %</td>
<td>69,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28,352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dome Petroleum, Benefits to the Canadian Economy, Beaufort Sea Drilling Program (February 1980)

In 1979, the average earnings of Canmar workers from Paulatuk were $2,568 compared with the overall average earnings of employees, native and white of $9,356.33

Canmar employment does not seem to be particularly popular. Many of the youths hired at Wise Bay quit after a few days time and returned home. One man who had worked on the Beaufort drill ships remarked that he found the work wet and uncomfortable and that the good food and wages were no compensation for the isolation and fatigue.
In 1979, five new houses were built in Paulatuk under a contractor from Holman Island who brought several workmen with him. Only two Paulatuk residents worked for him, although the potential for more work was available, at wages of approximately $8.00 per hour. A local woman was hired to cook for the crew. In all, employment from this project brought about $10,000 to the settlement in wages.

Other employment opportunities arise from time to time. These include activities such as preparing the gravel pads for the new housing, unloading the annual supply barge, managing the fuel distribution, guiding tourists and replacing municipal workers who are away. Young women often earn money by cleaning furs, baking bread, housecleaning or babysitting.

Table 3-12 shows the income earned by Paulatuk people from wage employment in 1979-80, compared with income from a decade earlier.
Table 3-12

Earned Income from Wages & Salaries

1. By Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Primary</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Services</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>4,800</td>
<td>5,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>1,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>12,077</td>
<td>12,834</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. By Source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>1968-69</th>
<th>1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>c$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Business</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown Corporation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-profit</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Gov't</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Gov't</td>
<td>1,920</td>
<td>2,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified,gov't</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Territorial Gov't</td>
<td>4800</td>
<td>5,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-op</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>3,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>12,077</td>
<td>12,834</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1968-69, Palmer, *Social Accounts for the North*,
Appendix 3, p.89, Appendix 4, p.98
1979, fieldwork

Note: c$ indicates constant dollars, 1971=100
In 1979-80, the total income was $252,250 (C$131,930) or about $1681 (C$879) per capita. This was a fourfold increase in real income over 1968 levels.

The expansion of wage labour does not represent the development of an industrial sector in the community. Most employment is in the service sector rather than primary or secondary production. Over sixty-five percent comes directly from government employment (including Dewline). Of the seventeen and a half per cent of income from private business, contracts for housing construction, funded by the government, accounted for a further six percent. Income from Co-op employment also represents income coming indirectly from government (and other co-operatives in the Federation), given the Co-op's losses. The private industrial sector currently offers a very small proportion of employment income.

Transfer payments and unearned income

In conjunction with the penetration of the state and industry into traditional community life, there are a number of forms of "unearned" income contributing to the local economy. These are mostly government transfer payments that can be significant components of northern, native communities.
Table 3-13

Comparison of Transfer Payments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1979</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Allowance</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>35,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>1,980</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Assistance</td>
<td>1,969</td>
<td>17,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant $)</td>
<td>6,649</td>
<td>57,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1979 - Income Maintenance, Department of Social Services, Government of the Northwest Territories.

Pensions and child allowances are 'universal' transfers, available to all eligible persons in Canada, regardless of economic need. In 1979, these programs brought about $35,000 to the community, $3,000 of that in pensions. Eighty children were eligible for the family allowance and child tax credit of $200. In some families, this credit represented a major source of cash income.34

Unemployment Insurance Benefits are paid to all workers who are unemployed but available to work and who have worked a minimum qualifying period. Although many people worked intermittently in 1979, none of the 'unemployed' qualified for benefits.

Social assistance is distributed by the Department of Social Services to help support individuals and families in specific cases of need and economic distress. In 1978-79,
twenty-one people received approximately $17,500 or $110 per capita in the community. Recipients included two cases of illness and fourteen women, single mothers, with dependents, who received an average of $1,000. The data show a reduction in payments over the previous years, due in part to improved trapping, changing government personnel and the movement of several women with children to other communities.

Table 3-14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Assistance Transfers to Paulatuk Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic(other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undetermined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Income Maintenance, Department of Social Services, Government of the Northwest Territories

* Note: 1979-80 is for first eight months only.

In summary, 'unearned' income received by the community through these transfer payments totalled about $57,600; this is $384 per capita or about 9% of total income. Of this amount, nearly three-quarters came from pensions and family allowances. Although Paulatuk had been accused of being subsidized by welfare, evidence demonstrates that this is not the case. Welfare income has declined as a percentage of total income from 7% in 1962 to 3%. 35,36
Summary of Income in Paulatuk

In 1979, the community generated an income of about $652,000 including earned income from wages, trapping and other commercial production, unearned income from transfers and the imputed value or 'income-in-kind' from subsistence harvesting. These data are detailed in Table 3-15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3-15</th>
<th>Community Income Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage employment:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulltime:</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual:</td>
<td>82,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>252,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension:</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family allowance:</td>
<td>35,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social assistance:</td>
<td>17,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement based cash</td>
<td>309,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapping:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial hunting</td>
<td>61,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial fishing:</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land based cash:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Cash</td>
<td>415,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence Food</td>
<td>234,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence Clothing</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Imputed</td>
<td>236,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Land-based,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash and Imputed</td>
<td>342,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income</td>
<td>651,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120
Of the total income, wage employment contributed about 39% or $310,000, approximately $1,680 per capita. Transfer payments contributed $57,600, less than 10% of the total income. Together these settlement-oriented income sources accounted for about 48% of the total.

The data show very clearly the continuing importance of the traditional, land-based sector in Paulatuk. Subsistence and commercial hunting and fishing, and trapping supplied approximately $342,000; over 52% of the total income, earned and imputed, came directly from renewable resource harvesting of the land and sea.

Trapping and sales of meat, fish and handicrafts contributed about 16% of the total, and 30% of the land-based sector alone. The contribution of this commercial production varies from year to year, depending on the success of the trapping season. Per capita income from these sources was only $707 in 1979. LaRusic notes that Canada's wild fur harvest is not of great value and has limited potential in providing an adequate income on its own. The cash income earned, however, is an important adjunct to subsistence harvesting and the land-based lifestyle of which trapping is a part.

Subsistence production alone was estimated to have an imputed monetary value of approximately $236,000. This was 36% of the total community income, slightly less than $1,600 per capita. Subsistence hunting contributes almost as much
income as wage employment and is more evenly distributed within the community. The income derived from wage-employment is earned by only half the men, but everyone participates in producing for their own family consumption.

Earned and imputed income for Paulatuk in 1969 and 1979 are compared in Table 3-16. The data show clearly the increase in wage-employment as a source of income. Earned income, as opposed to income-in-kind, increased from 39% to 60%, due to a four-fold increase in income from wages which rose from 16% to 40% over the decade. Because of the rapid expansion of employment income, income from Trapping declined from 23% to 17.5% of the total income and from over half earned income to less than twenty percent. This relative decline, however, does not indicate an actual decline in trapping activity or in the absolute values of income from trapping.

Although the relative contribution of subsistence production fell from 61% to 40% of total income, the productivity of domestic harvesting kept pace with a growing community. Total subsistence income increased from $47,846 to c$123,431 (constant dollars), and per capita, increased modestly from $797 to $823 over the period. This refutes arguments that hunting for country food has declined to a mere residue or sentimental pastime. The 'hidden' native economy continues to provide a significant proportion of income and its persistence should not be ignored.
### Table 3-16
Comparison of Earned & Imputed Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1968-69 Income</th>
<th>Income/ capita</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1979 Income</th>
<th>Income/ capita</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earned Income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulltime</td>
<td>12,077</td>
<td>12,834</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial:</td>
<td>14,824</td>
<td>15,753</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>106,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustments:</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,125</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Earned:</td>
<td>28,901</td>
<td>30,712</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>358,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imputed Income:</td>
<td>45,023</td>
<td>47,846</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>236,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income:</td>
<td>73,924</td>
<td>78,558</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>1309</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>594,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*excluding Transfers*

Constant dollars c$ 1971 = 100

Percent of Earned &
Imputed Income from
Land-based Activities:

- 81%
- 58%

Percent of Earned Income
from Land-based activities:

- 51%
- 18%

Sources:
1979 - Field work
The relative stability of trapping and commercial hunting as income sources is demonstrated by comparison of 1962 and 1979 cash incomes as in Table 3-17. Cash income includes wages, trapping receipts, handicraft sales and transfers. Income from wages increased from 47% to 60% of total income within the cash economy. The growth of income from jobs, however, has not occurred at the expense of trapping income, which remained at about 23%. Instead, the proportion of income derived from pensions, family allowances and social assistance has declined from 25% to 14% of the total cash income.

Table 3-17

Changes in Cash Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1962</th>
<th></th>
<th>1979</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
<td>c$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>11,609</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual</td>
<td>3,325</td>
<td>4,386</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>82,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trapping</td>
<td>6,018</td>
<td>7,939</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>96,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allowance</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>3,562</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>1,980</td>
<td>2,612</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assistance</td>
<td>1,969</td>
<td>2,598</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25,992</td>
<td>34,290</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>415,850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1962 - Abrahamson, Tuktoyaktuk - Cape Parry area economic survey (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1963)
This chapter has shown the extent to which hunting and trapping are still pursued, and the value of this productivity in the local economy. If, as one resident put it, "when you got meat, that's reason enough for a celebration", life in Paulatuk continues to be one of feasting. The data collected in Paulatuk and presented here show the importance of subsistence productivity vis a vis the wage/cash sector. They show that, for Paulatuk, the struggle to preserve a way of life based on renewable resource harvesting is not merely a sentimental attachment to the past, but is rooted strongly in current economic realities.

As examinations of the "hidden economy" have shown elsewhere, the data:

conclusively contradict any attempt to dismiss harvesting of renewable resources as of past or passing economic importance; and they invite skepticism about the kinds of material benefits that industrial development is supposed to bring to (native) communities. The figures show the scale of what the (native people) stand to lose.40
Notes: Chapter Three


2. Paulatuk people actively exploit a region of approximately 64,000 km² around the settlement itself, extending from the Bathurst Peninsula to Cape Lyon and from the sea-ice north of Cape Parry to the interior Plateau as far south as the treeline. It encompasses Franklin and Darnley Bays, the lakes and tundra of the Parry Peninsula and Melville Hills and the Hornaday, Horton and Brock Rivers. Residents also have an interest in the Beaufort Sea, which supports fish, seal and polar bear caught in the region, and the interior range of caribou and muskox, although they do not directly use these areas. Particularly critical to Paulatuk are the Hornaday Delta, combining fish and wildfowl resources, and the Parry Peninsula 'flats' where caribou, wildfowl, fish and fox abound.


3. See Appendix III


6. Peter J. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic". Evidence presented to the Berger Inquiry on behalf of COPE (Yellowknife 1976) p.9

8. The caribou (*rangifer tarandus*) hunted in the Paulatuk area are part of the Bluenose herd, estimated to number between 60,000 and 90,000 animals. This herd occupies a vast area between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers. The main winter range is south of the treeline in the vicinity of Colville Lake. Calving is centred around Bluenose Lake in the north-east. The Melville Hills south of Paulatuk lie within the summer range and migration route.

9. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.28

10. **Imputed Value of food produced for subsistence:**

Only a small percentage of the renewable resources harvested by Paulatuk residents reach the market economy, although they contribute significantly to the standard of living. It is necessary to assign a monetary value to this production in order to evaluate the relative productivity of land-use. This is done by recording the numbers of animals harvested, determining the edible weight in pounds of the harvest and assigning or 'imputing' a cash value. Measurement of the domestic harvest may range from exact caloric count to rough estimate. Techniques for assigning the monetary value are not sophisticated, but are generally agreed upon. For comprehensive discussion of the approach, see Usher, *Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic*, pp.7-11; Thomas R. Berger, *Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*, vol.2 (Ottawa 1976) pp.7-43; Brody, *Maps and Dreams*, pp.200-213.

**Replacement Value** has been used in this thesis to calculate the monetary value of domestic production. Even when a local exchange-value can be determined on the basis of commercial sales within the community, the amount of cash required to buy an imported substitute has been used; if supplies were not available for domestic use, the commercial sources would also be unavailable.

Furthermore, as the quality and protein content of country food is one to two times higher than commercial products such as beef, pork and chicken, the replacement cost has been adjusted by a factor to take into consideration the costs of replacing country food with supermarket food of equal nutritional value. (Appendix III.2)
Researchers who attempt to calculate the economic value of subsistence production stress the limitations of the approach. As Palmer says, the effort to find the "correct price is illusory", not only because the empirical data base is likely to be inaccurate. More importantly, there are subjective evaluations by consumers according to which no store-bought substitutes, no matter what price or nutritional content, can ever replace country food satisfactorily. Documenting the value of hunting should not be taken to imply that harvesting returns can be "understood and compensated for in terms of dollars and cents", (Brody, Maps and Dreams, p.202).

Cash equivalent values:
"do not and cannot indicate the value of hunting as a social or cultural activity or as a way of life. They do not and cannot indicate the value to the native hunter of the environment which provides these resources... There is no way one can evaluate a way of life, and there is no way to compensate for its loss. Modern industrial society commonly fails to distinguish between peoples' livelihood and their ways of life. It is too often supposed that compensation for the loss of the former is sufficient for the loss of the latter as well." Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.11

Nevertheless, in considering the viability of the native economy it is "better to approximate these values and appreciate their limitations than to ignore them entirely" (ibid) and so disregard the contribution of land-based production.

Stager takes a different approach, arguing that native people are unlikely to replace every pound of caribou meat with two pounds of store-bought meat, even if they had the cash required. In evaluating the significance of subsistence production, he suggests determining the amount of subsistence harvesting needed if the community were to meet its nutritional needs and achieve an 'ideal state of plenty' entirely from the land and compare that to the actual proportion of dietary needs satisfied by the community. Old Crow, Y.T., and the Proposed Gas Pipeline, Environmental-Social program, Northern Pipelines, Taskforce on Northern Oil Development # 74-21 (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1974)

The value of $6.00 per pound has been used as a reasonable replacement cost for 1979-80. This is based on the current market prices for a substitute meat,
adjusted to reflect the higher protein value of wild meat. This compares with Usher's suggested replacement cost of $4.50 per pound in 1974, based on commercial costs of $2.50 to $3.00.

In 1979, prices for beef in Inuvik ranged between $2.50 and $4.50 per pound, depending on the cut. Paulatuk has no regularly available supply of storebought substitutes for caribou. Freight adds substantially to the costs of meat taken to Paulatuk by individuals or the Co-op. For example, the cost of bacon in the co-op in 1980 was $7.00 per pound.

11. Data derived from the General Hunting Licenses returned by hunters to the government are unreliable. Kills are not recorded accurately and many licences are not returned. For example,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Caribou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The latter represents only one out of thirty licenses issued. If we assume that this hunter did harvest fifty caribou and was representative of the other twenty-nine, 1500 caribou must have been harvested.

12. Brackel reported a shift in domestic consumption from char to less desirable species such as whitefish and the reservation of char for commercial sales. This, he claimed: "clearly reflected the monetary interest of Paulatuk fishermen and the importance of fishing income"
The Socio-economic Importance of Marine Wildlife Utilization, Beaufort Sea Project (Victoria: Department of Fisheries & the Environment 1977) p.28

This shift did not seem clear in observations made in 1979. Char were eaten regularly, even to excess; other species were sometimes chosen as a change from the richer char. If it is the case the subsistence use of char had indeed declined, this may have been related to the decline in amounts feed to dogteams, which had competed with local human use and commercial sales.


15. Muskox edible weights, see Appendix III.1
16. Migratory wildfowl include whistling swans, white-fronted, Canada and snow geese and many duck species. Every spring, these species migrate along the Mackenzie flyway to the delta and then east along the coast. A polynia, or area of open water in the Beaufort ice pack, provides an early start on feeding and breeding. The river deltas and the shores of bays, ponds and lakes are nesting, breeding and staging areas for these bird populations. Other bird species include, ptarmigan, loons, plovers, gulls and other shorebirds, predatory birds such as jaegers, snowy owls, golden eagles and peregrine falcons, and the only breeding colony of thick-billed murres in the western arctic at Cape Parry, which is a migratory bird sanctuary.

17. No observations were made in the field in 1979 of geese and duck hunting. Limits set by the Wildlife Ordinance and game regulations tend to be disregarded by hunters, so that any attempt to obtain accurate counts of the harvest would have been untactful, to say the least. Data from the General Hunting License returns are unreliable. In 1974, Usher estimated a harvest of six hundred geese and ducks, or 2,400 of edible product. That amounted to an income-in-kind of about $6,000. It seems reasonable to assume these levels have been maintained; they are likely to be conservative. With reference to the game limits, the residents felt that by and large there are enough birds to permit harvests as large as they need without causing any strain to wildfowl populations. They were aware that the vast proportion of the annual harvest occurs in southern Canada and the United States for sport rather than domestic consumption, and that damage to habitat in the south poses a serious threat to wildfowl. Moreover, they did not necessarily accept the government's authority to regulate their subsistence activities which are seen as a native prerogative.

18. Both ringed seal (*phoca hispida*) and the larger bearded seal (*erignathus barbatus*) are common in the waters of Darnley Bay and Franklin Bay. Ringed seals weigh about fifty pounds (110kg). Areas of sea ice with pressure ridges, such as are found west of Cape Parry are ideal habitat for ringed seal pupping; polar bear are attracted to Cape parry in spring by the birth lairs. In summer they are found all around the peninsula, although the shallow area at the south end of Darnley Bay seems especially favourable. The less common bearded seal weighs up to seven hundred and fifty pounds (1500kg). They den in areas of moving ice, north of the Tuktoyaktuk peninsula; this may account for their denser distribution in Franklin Bay in summer.
The number of seal harvested and consumed domestically is difficult to determine. Statistics available refer to the number of pelts exported for sale, not the amount of seal eaten.

19. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.6

20. Two main sources are used for trapping income data. The most reliable appears to be the G.N.W.T. Individual Trapper's Record upon which the G.N.W.T. Trapper's Incentive Program is based. These figures should include all furs traded by residents of Paulatuk whether at the Co-op in Paulatuk or through dealers elsewhere. Data from the Fur Export Tax Record are available for a longer period, but are likely to be more inaccurate, representing exports through the Paulatuk Co-op only (or Hudson Bay Co. for early years). The Land Use Information Series data are derived from these records. The inaccuracy of these data may be due to lost, neglected or delayed filings, the combination of more than one season, the inclusion of non-Paulatuk trappers, etc. Other discrepancies are related to the fact that furs are not always exported by the person who trapped them. Furs are exchanged prior to sale by gambling, as payment for casual labour, barter for consumer goods or as gifts. Where there are discrepancies in data, the most reliable and realistic figures have been used, indicating as well conflicting data for comparison where appropriate.

21. In 1973-74, the lower figures (Fur Export Tax returns) would appear to have been based on a partial return. The Trappers Records correspond closely with Usher's estimate (1976) of $82,250. In 1974-75, the reverse is true; the Fur Export Tax Returns include a harvest of twenty two polar bear for a total of $28,237. This figure, upon which the Trapper's Incentives to Paulatuk were based is twice that indicated in the Trappers Records.

1977-78 presents some interesting problems. The year was reported to have been poor with a total income of only $7,603. The Fur Export Tax Returns, however, indicate that over two hundred and nine white fox were sold; the Trappers Records show only twenty and other species are also lower. On the basis of average prices that year, the Fur Export Tax Returns were valued at two times the Trappers Summaries and the amount used for incentive payments.
1974-75 to 1977-78 were the years a Polar Bear Sport Hunting Program was operated. A number of tags were set aside for tourist-hunters; income from fur sales is therefore lower. 1977 is remembered as a particularly poor year, when ice conditions made bears inaccessible to hunter and tourist alike.

The data available for the 1979-80 return are obviously incomplete. Assuming the quota was filled, an income of $18,000 was probably earned.

22. For a more complete description of trapping techniques, see MacKay, The Anderson River Map Area, pp.119-120; or Usher, The Bankslanders

23. Pelly Bay, for example, has twice the population Paulatuk does but the same trapping income in 1980. NWT Data Book 1981, (ed.) M. Devine (Yellowknife: Outcrop 1981), pp.113-114

24. A distinction is usually made between the modern wage-labour/cash sector and the renewable resource harvesting/subsistence sector in the northern economy. Trapping, commercial meat and fish production and tourism are part of the market economy, as they produce commodities for exchange. As such, they might be classified as part of the industrial cash economy. However, it has seemed more appropriate to combine commercial and subsistence production and consider them together as parts of a land-based, native economy. This is partly justified by similarity in the types of resources and technologies used, the patterns of ownership and control and the labour process. Both show features that are:

"consistent with the viability and health of small community life... exploiting a combination of readily available resources and economic opportunities, organized primarily at the level of household units of production, relying on small-scale, locally available production factors and in which most income is distributed in more or less egalitarian fashion in the form of domestically consumed resources... renewable resources are seen to provide the foundation for community-based and community-controlled development", Peter J. Usher, "Renewable Resource Development in Northern Canada" in Northern Transitions, (eds.) R.F. Keith & J.B. Wright (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee 1980) p.155
It is difficult to separate subsistence and commercial production, in terms of personnel, time and income. Most men are simultaneously hunters supplying country food to the family and trappers, fishermen and hunters producing things for sale. Often, the ultimate end-use of the product is not known when it is harvested. If there is meat to eat the surplus will be sold; if the family is short of country food, they may decide not to sell char originally caught with the intention of selling. The inextricable combination of trapping and subsistence hunting in a single way of life should be kept in mind, even when distinctions are made in calculating income.

25. Land Use Information Series, map sheets 97C, 97D, 97F

26. A detailed survey of sealing would be interesting, but is beyond the scope of this thesis. Beyond a basic number harvested for food and clothing, the harvest depends very much on prices. Not all hunters engage in sealing; those men who are employed, in particular, did not seem to find it worthwhile.

27. Although hunters count on receiving about $1,000 per skin, this anticipated 'top-dollar' is not always obtained when the skins are auctionned. Several years ago, the Co-op paid 'top-dollar' for skins that were not good enough quality and lost quite a sum at the auction, a loss eventually passed back to the community co-op members.

28. Two former residents of Paulatuk, Angik Ruben and David Piktoukun are carvers of international reputation, now living in Vancouver, B.C. The women of Paulatuk received special mention at the Northern Games, Invuik 1979, for the excellent quality of their tapestries.

29. Female muskox do not have the large horns of the males and so were not in demand by big-game hunters as trophies. Only half the income anticipated through the Sport Hunting Program could be obtained as a result.

30. Palmer, Social Accounts for the North

31. Peter J. Usher, "Inuit Land Use in the Western Arctic" Inuit Land Use & Occupancy Study, (ed.)M.M.R. Freeman (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1976) p.28
32. The positions of the two teachers are not included in figures of community employment and income. These are two more jobs that might be filled by local Inuvialuit people, as they have been in the past.

33. Dome Petroleum Benefits to the Canadian Economy, Beaufort Sea Drilling Program, 1980 Table 6.2.1.

34. The Tax Credit program required that all women obtain Social Insurance Numbers and file income tax returns to claim the grant.

35. In 1962, the value of welfare payments, seven percent of total cash income per capita, equaled $13.50 per year, which, "considering the poverty, the relief bill is remarkably low" (Gunther Abrahamson, Tuktoyaktuk-Cape Parry area economic survey (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs & Natural Resources 1968) p.45-46

36. In addition to subsidies to personal income, other government expenditures are sometimes included as subsidies when evaluating income in native communities. Public, subsidized housing, in particular is often included in data as unearned income. Similarly, funds provided for municipal services, health and education have been cited as forms of indirect subsidization that should be considered part of native income. Subsidies of this sort are not included here and are not considered appropriate as parts of personal income. As Palmer notes, "all government expenditures involve some sort of service rendered to individuals who do not directly pay for them." (1968) Services such as education, health and housing are provided by the government to all Canadians in some form; it is only in the case of isolated, rural and northern communities that specific and block expenditures can be identified and assessed against the people receiving the benefits. The fact that, per capita, such expenditures may be high in native communities due to isolation, smallness (no economies of scale) and that little contribution is made by individuals to the tax base is not relevant. In commenting on the inclusion of all sums paid by the government for health care, economic development, administration and road maintenance in the personal incomes of the James Bay Cree, Richardson said: "Why should such calculations be made to apply to the Cree Indians and Eskimo population when such a calculation has never to my knowledge been made with respect to the revenue of any other individual in Canada?", Strangers Devour the Land (Toronto: MacMillan 1975) p.298
37. Ignatius E. LaRusic, "Issues Relating to Employment in the North", (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development (unpubl)1976) p.9

38. This is equal to $125 per capita per month. The average cost of food required to provide an adequate diet is estimated by Statistics Canada to be approximately $80 to $85 per family of four per week, varying with the location in Canada.

39. These figures do not include unearned income such as pensions, welfare and family allowances.

40. Brody, Maps and Dreams, p.211
Chapter Four

Traditional Ways in Conflict with White Ways.

Attitudes and Behaviour at Work

Only work, steady rewarding work, can bring prosperity to a land and contentment to its inhabitants.

In the last chapter, we showed that Paulatuk people have good economic reasons for choosing to continue hunting and trapping. These activities provide significant amounts of income. More importantly, the country food produced for domestic consumption represents a nutritional value that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replace from commercial sources. There are other reasons why people there continue to hunt - apparently in preference to working for wages; some of these will be examined here.

For many Inuit, much of the conflict between the community value systems and the white world is encountered at work. Adapting to wage labour involves more than a change in physical location from trap-line to office, garage or drill-rig. On the land and in their homes, Paulatuk people may live according to their personal beliefs and values. On the job, however, even in casual work undertaken to supplement hunting income, they must conform to other forms of
expectation and evaluation. Jobs entail, to varying degrees, supervision and criticism from bosses, routine, regularity, adherence to rules and standards of performance set by others and, overall, loss of autonomy. All these characteristics create conflicts with the patterns of the traditional native way of life:

All these jobs set goals for the Eskimos that contrast, sometimes sharply, with the demands exercised by such traditional roles as hunter as housewife. Weather no longer controls his activities as it does on the land... His job starts at a given time and be there he must, even if he stayed up late the previous night. An Eskimo hunter himself writes that "one of the most difficult tasks for an Eskimo hunter (is) getting adjusted to the simple routine of the hourly basis" (Okpik, 1960). Being mostly repetitive, jobs require a certain tolerance for monotony. They also tend to interlock; one man must complete his task in order that another may start, but some men and women show real concern to maintain schedules and manage to meet them faithfully.... We did not expect that so many men, who had been away from hunting less than twenty years, would assume the discipline of and rational organization of wage labour as well as they did, to the point of putting in overtime regularly. Of course, not all do accept such routines. Employers report absenteeism to be high, though when we sought to test this assertion we could find no satisfactory measure. Employees oversleep, come late to work, or stay away all day. Younger men resented being ordered around and scolded for errors and omissions.  

The process of replacing traditional work patterns with an industrial routine has been in effect for a relatively short time in the Arctic, a matter of a few decades in many regions of the north. As the pace of industrial development picks up, more and more Inuit face the conflicting
alternatives it creates: wages are associated with activities that make little sense to the average Inuk, but the traditionally highly-valued life or the hunter provides little or no cash income. The option of completely rejecting the industrial system is gone for the Inuit; even those who have clung most steadfastly to the camp-life have been touched by the cash economy. It is necessary to work, at least part-time, for wages to supplement income and subsidize life on the land. As examination of employment in Paulatuk shows, however, that people approach wage labour and the changes in lifestyle it sometimes requires reluctantly. Observations, made in 1958 when Paulatuk people were first encountering wage-employment on a substantial scale, still held in 1980: "Many of those who are accustomed to an unrestricted life do not easily fit into the routine of paid work".3

Work Time/Community Routine

Community life in Paulatuk still follows a natural rhythm closely allied with the seasonal cycles of resources, wind, tide, light and temperature, and the demands of hunting. The tempo is one of contrasting pace; periods of hard, intense labour alternate with spells of complete relaxation. Daylength variations make the usual nine to five workday meaningless. People go fishing when the tide is right, hunting when the heat bring animals to shore, travelling in winter when the moon is bright, and may be
housebound for days because of stormy winter weather. They may 'go to work' at midnight and to sleep at noon. People work steadily for thirty hours, until a job is done, and then sleep for eighteen hours straight. This contrasts sharply with the western model of "work" and the conventional divisions of the work week and the clock.

According to the model by which work is valued and rewarded in the industrial system, "work" is an activity that occurs at a sustained, moderate pace for regular intervals of time, such as the 8-hour day. Work occurs at specified times and in special workplaces, for rewards that are connected with the length of time worked. Without this routine, "work" isn't legitimate.

To outsiders used to regular routines, there often does not seem to be any logic or discipline in work done within a less rigidly structured labour-process. There may not even seem to be any recognizable work as such; the actual production may be overlooked completely and people judged to be 'lazy' or 'irresponsible' because they are not perceived as working.

Most traditional productive activity is not conspicuous; there is no set 'workplace'. In town, hunters may seem idle; they relax after trips, wait out delays caused by weather, illness or breakdowns, repair equipment, prepare skins and plan the next trip. Some outsiders, unable to see any work as they defined it, make complaints such as:
"Paulatuk people aren't into working, they just sit around and get away with it because welfare is so easy to get." But most of the work of hunting or trapping is inconspicuous; it occurs on the land or water, beyond the limits of the settlement. The various tasks in the settlement that are part of the job, such as maintenance, meat preparation etc., are also "invisible". They are intermittent tasks that do not have to be performed at specific times. This sort of work is scheduled to suit individual inclination, but it is work nonetheless and it is not uncommon to find people at work in the privacy of their homes, late into the night.

Another large segment of work in the community that is largely unseen and unrecognized is the household work and craft-production done by women in the home. Sewing, cooking, baking bread, childcare, nursing, preparing skins and other such tasks are productive, but generally overlooked, activities that do not follow the accepted model of 'work routine'.

Outsiders used to more regular habits than the Paulatuk rhythm are sometimes indignant because few people get up before noon. Certainly, it is true that people sleep in late. School is scheduled to start after 10 a.m. in part to accommodate this habit. People also stay up late, often playing cards till four or five in the morning. But although they do not get up at 8 a.m. to visibly exert themselves for a set period of time in a workplace on a 'job', they do work
for their livelihood. The necessary tasks are done, resources are harvested when they are available. People produce a living, and they integrate 'earning a living' with living itself. To Paulatuk residents, the rhythm of community life is natural, and they try to make wage labour fit this pattern.

**Attitudes to Wage Labour**

Native people face the paradox that, although western ways are not superior to living off the land, they may be "the only available supports to such living". In order to put meat on the table, cash and equipment are needed - an inescapable link to the industrial technological and economic system. Country produce, such as a leg of caribou, cannot be used directly to produce another caribou. Income from trapping and other commercial land-based activities often falls short of production costs. Native people are thus forced not only onto the market, but also into wage labour:

This differential (between income and production costs) does, however, highlight the need for cash from other sectors to support the viability of the traditional sector as it now exists, and it demonstrates why so many people who identify themselves as trappers also work, indeed have to work, for wages.

Wage labour is generally undertaken on Paulatuk in this way - as a support for hunting rather than as a preferred career. Taking a job and making the necessary adjustments are done on a temporary, short-term basis, with the ultimate
goal of preserving traditional patterns of community life. Work is scheduled to cause as little disruption as possible to hunting and trapping.

As a result, casual labour predominates. This work is usually of a seasonal nature and tends to be taken in slack periods vis a vis the renewable resource cycle. During the summer, for instance, job opportunities on the Beaufort Sea drill-rigs, housing construction and other projects coincide conveniently with a break in hunting and trapping.

When wage work is offered at times of wildlife abundance and accessibility, few people are willing to do it. In summer of 1979, for instance, a delay in the shipping season meant that work unloading the annual sealift resupply, preparing the gravel pads for the new housing and start-up work on the construction conflicted with commercial and subsistence fishing. People put the fishing first, as it provided important income and food and was more enjoyable. Most of the other work was done by teenage boys and a few men who did not own boats.

When housing construction got under way, people showed further reluctance to take regular jobs. Although skilled and semi-skilled workers were paid about $8.00 per hour, only two local men worked on a regular, fulltime basis. The timing of the project coincided with fall fishing and hunting and with the trapping season. Instead of hiring locally, the contractor brought five men with him from Holman Island.
The reluctance of people in Paulatuk and other communities to work fulltime has caused employers to implement programs such as 'worker-rotation' to attract workers. 'Worker-rotation' involves flying workers from their communities to worksites on schedules such as: two week in/two week off or four week in/three week off. This system is used by Dome Petroleum and Canmar in the Beaufort Sea drilling operations. This adaptation to community routines allows them to attract workers who would otherwise be unwilling to hire themselves out. Even with two-week breaks spent in the settlement, however, in Paulatuk the program had only been able to attract young men with no family responsibilities. 7

Conflict with land-use activities is not the only reason for the 'happy-go-lucky' attitude of Paulatuk people towards regular work. In part, it reflects a fundamental difference in values. In the industrial society, most people have accepted an economic rationale as the basis of life; a healthy respect for the value of a dollar and the measurement of success in terms of a steady job, good income and material possessions. To the Inuvialuit, however, making money is not a good thing in itself:

Trappers are willing to forgo maximum economic returns or even engage in unprofitable activities for the sake of convenience, leisure or enjoyment.8
The community does not want to see the social aspects of economic activity reduced to a cash nexus; they show:

a strong desire to retain as much as possible of earlier social forms. Northerners are concerned to maintain as much as possible their reliable subsistence relationship with the land. They are neither economically nor spiritually able or willing to see this superceded by profit-motivation based on the exploitation and destruction of their land.9

Paulatuk people have also found that regular work and cash income have disadvantages, too. As one hunter put it:

I always wanted a regular job, but then I found out what it meant - house, phone bills, etc. .. You end up with your head spinning.

Casual labour is also common because many of the workers have specific purchases in mind when they accept wage work. People who are working to earn enough money for a rifle or skidoo to use hunting will naturally quit and go hunting when they have enough money. When they don't need anything, they will pass up job opportunities. One Paulatuk resident, for instance, spent the summer visiting relatives in Tuktoyaktuk and Sachs Harbour. Although he later needed money when his skidoo broke early in the trapping season, at the time he had felt no incentive to work.

There are a number of men with skills in mechanics, maintenance and construction, welding and equipment operation whom the government agencies would hire as fulltime employees in Paulatuk, if the local men demonstrated any willingness, reliability and commitment to regular work. Instead, many jobs are done on an ad hoc basis by casual workers, or by
personnel flown in from Inuvik. Paulatuk people show their preference for self-employment by passing up opportunities for 'good-paying steady jobs', by choosing casual, short-term work and by quitting work when they please.10

On-the-job: Inuvialuit Behaviour11

There are a number of people in Paulatuk who do hold permanent full-time or part-time jobs that require accepting a certain degree of labour discipline. The settlement secretary, weatherperson, housing maintenance-person and municipal workers are expected to work 8 hours per day, five days per week. The school janitor's responsibilities include a nightly cleaning. The housing secretary is supposed to collect rent, complete payroll and other records and report on a monthly basis. All these workers are under supervision from Inuvik. The Co-op manager and assistant are employed theoretically by the members and Board of Directors in Paulatuk. The Canadian Arctic Federation of Cooperatives (CACFL) management in Yellowknife, however, also play a supervisory role and expect the staff to operate on a regular 40 hour/week basis and to have the store open on a regular schedule.12

In most cases, the routine established in job descriptions is only roughly adhered to in practice. Workers attempt to make their jobs as flexible and as part-time as possible, adjusting to the community rhythm by what might be called self-managed 'flex-time'. For instance, observations
showed that the municipal workers rarely began their day before ten in the morning. They took long coffee breaks and frequent days-off, long weekends and extended holidays. These men are also trappers and provided meat for their families. When the family was low on country food, these men took time off work to hunt, whether fine weather fell on a work day or on the 'weekend'.

Procrastination is a common practice in Paulatuk, where a pattern of delay and inaction followed by bursts of intense activity seems more natural than the sustained, moderate pace of industrial society. Manual workers in Paulatuk often delayed delivering water until everyone in town had run out. Just prior to inspections from Inuvik, workers stayed up all night to clean and repair equipment the routine maintenance of which had been neglected for months. Occasionally, the school cleanup was done just before class started.

Clerical work is especially prone to delaying tactics. Manual jobs include some enjoyable aspects such as driving around in the truck or handling the snowplough. There is near-unanimous agreement, however, that clerical work is a "pain-in-the-neck" and that such jobs are not worth the pay, whatever it is. Paperwork is considered boring almost universally; for people with little formal education, it is also confusing. Being unable to see the concrete results is a particularly disturbing aspect of such work. In Paulatuk, any clerical work was put off for as long as possible, if not
forever. Unopened mail lay in piles in the Settlement and Co-op offices; government officials despaired of receiving reports, and local employees dreaded the work demanded of them. In several cases observed in fieldwork, paperwork was completed only when the supervisor made a trip to Paulatuk and did it her/himself, or the employee took all the relevant material to Inuvik to be taken care of there.

Jobs at which procrastination and flexibility are not possible are considered deadening and undesirable. After only a few weeks on the job, the person employed to take regular weather-conditions readings admitted that the job was "getting him down". The monitoring took only five to ten minutes at hourly intervals. Other responsibilities included twice-daily reports to Inuvik and answering information requests from the Inuvik airport. Although he had nothing to do in between these tasks, the job effectively tied him to the office for eight hours a day. If he attempted to work on projects such as carving, he was interrupted. Worse, he could not manipulate his schedule to take time off on fine days and do all the work - the readings - during poor weather. Although intending to be conscientious and aware of Inuit workers' reputations with government agencies for "botching good, responsible jobs", the tediousness of the job rapidly outweighed the benefits of wage work. 13
Task Orientation/Commitment

There is a distinct preference among Paulatuk residents for activities that have clearly-defined purposes, benefits and time-frames. Work based on 'observed necessity', as is prevalent in non-industrial societies, seems to be "more humanely comprehensible in its aims":

A lot of native people don't understand the importance of going to work nine to five where you're not doing something you can see from start to finish. For instance, it's something like paperwork - there doesn't seem to be any end or benefit because again you can't see the end results, but if the native people went out and got a muskrat, skinned it and dried it and then take it to the store and gets something for it, you see something there and its a total evolution. You are involved in the whole process and this is what people know and feel secure in. They know that this is the traditional livelihood skill passed down from their great grandparents and its their history and they value that history because it gives them the basis of being somebody, or feel pride in it themselves. Once you strip that and take it away and also everything else that a man knows away... you break down society...

In Paulatuk, there is a strong correlation between satisfactions gained, willingness to work and the perceived social utility of the job. Both the social goals and the tangible rewards of hunting and trapping are more clear to people that the abstract and indirect value of wage employment.

Some of the jobs in Paulatuk are government service-oriented jobs providing direct and visible services to their community. Others, however bear little relation to the needs of the community and never seem to have a finished product.
For these reasons it was difficult for the weather person to rationalize the time and energy spent collecting weather data. He took much greater pleasure and was more willing to do the actual airstrip clearing and maintenance, where the results of his work could be seen. The settlement and housing secretaries also had little inclination to carry out tasks that are clearly designed to suit the needs of the filing system in Inuvik and Yellowknife. Resistance to this purposeless work is evident in its overt neglect.

It is common practice in Paulatuk to fit work activity to specific needs. In 1979, this was clear in the operations of the Co-op store. Hours at the store were irregular and unpredictable. For instance, it was open and busy in summer when fair weather stimulated groups to set out camping. In winter, the hours were long when there was trading and outfitting to be done and when Christmas treats arrived. During the intervals when the men were out trapping, however, the store was often closed for four or five days in a row, partly because the manager was a fulltime trapper. Sometimes, the store only opened at the personal request of shoppers.

The irregularity of this patterns of trading continually raised the concern and frustration of Co-op Federation officials - often beyond what was justified by actual inconvenience to shoppers. Residents were sometimes frustrated with service, but much of the indignation was
related to the lack of conformity to standard routines. It was something of a community joke when bureaucrats and tourists found, to their dismay, that they could not drop in at the store for a pack of cigarettes.

Task-oriented work generally results in the variation of the work-periods according to task. A hunter, for instance, will wait as long as necessary to get the animals he needs, but will not prolong a hunting trip once successful, simply to put in an 'eight-hour' day. People also try to vary the work day unofficially within the settlement's wage system whenever they are not too closely supervised. Such a system appears, however, "wasteful and lacking in urgency to those who follow the clock".16

A case highlighting the incompatibility of official attitudes to work regimes and the patterns suitable to the community arose over the issue of municipal services delivery. A number of government officials in Inuvik began to press for stricter, more systematic supervision of employees and equipment in Paulatuk, claiming that the Government was being shortchanged by unproductive employees and by unauthorized use of government property. It was true that garbage pickup, water and fuel delivery were irregular and haphazard at times, occasionally reaching crisis conditions. On several occasions, nearly every house in town had been out of water for days before a delivery was made. It was also clear that few workers ever put in a regular
eight hour day, five days in a row as required by their job descriptions.

However, it was also clear that the expectations of regular work for fixed periods did not fit with the needs of providing the community with services. If all houses were supplied with water, there was little point in making a scheduled circuit. Workers did not see the point of staying on the job until five if the day's tasks had been completed earlier. And residents would have complained bitterly if their sleep had been disturbed every morning by workers who were on the job promptly at eight.

In general, the actual work requirements of the community rarely fit into the official work week. Although workers take unauthorized time off, they also put in many hours of unscheduled work beyond the terms of their contracts. There is no 'night-shift' or emergency crew to take over when the regular dayshift is done. Workers frequently are called out at midnight to repair the generator, or are obliged to work twelve hours straight to clear the airstrip for an emergency flight after a storm. The conditions for which regular labour regimes are designed do not exist in Paulatuk and the system needs to be flexible to meet the exigencies of environment and isolation.

Problems in the delivery of services also are caused by weather. Workers cannot be faulted for delays in delivery if a three-day blizzard interrupts the delivery schedule. Other
delays and idleness may be caused by equipment breakdowns, lack of tools or the competing demands by several tasks for the same piece of equipment.

At the time of the crisis with Inuvik, these problems were also aggravated by the structuring of hiring and employment. To meet the regulations governing public service hiring, payroll and benefits, jobs were assigned to specific individuals who had to work a minimum of hours per month to retain their jobs. Services therefore were sometimes not provided for over a week of any of the regular fulltime employees were ill or away from town. There was no procedure for hiring replacements on a temporary basis or for job-sharing. People were afraid of infringing on another's job by stepping in. Only after community consensus was reached regarding the urgency of a particular situation would it be taken over by someone else on a temporary basis.

Tensions naturally resulted between the flexibility and regimentation of work sought by the workers and the government respectively. In the middle were residents whose needs were not being met, especially as the workers responded to pressures to conform by becoming even less reliable. Interestingly, the community directed its dissatisfaction against the workers initially. The model of industrial wage labour had established itself very strongly as the only possible form of organizing work. If services were not being given, then it was because workers were not working hard
enough. People apparently accepted that jobs should be done along strict routines idealized in the work ethic, no matter how inappropriate or uncongenial. Many people expressed the desire to enforce a surprisingly rigid discipline upon their peers. Claiming that "those two are lazy, they don't know how to work", one person vowed that he'd like to be boss for a while and teach them to show up at nine sharp.

These demands for regular performance were ones against which the critics themselves would have rebelled. When complaints and actions were discussed at a settlement council meeting in 1980, the enforcement of stricter rules was called for. No one was willing to take over the jobs, however. One individual, offered the job instead of the incumbent, refused it on the grounds that it didn't pay well enough to have to cut back his hunting and trapping.

Although other members of the community themselves appreciate and prefer the flexibility and freedom the workers were seeking in their work conditions, the discipline was seen as natural to wage work. The community did not look at once for innovative adaptations and alternatives that would be more compatible with Inuvialuit values and work patterns. Eventually, however, in the context of a council meeting, the community began to consider the possibility of developing a structure that would meet the needs and workers and of services in the community, although not necessarily the goals of government supervisors. The community began to
seek a compromise, flexible system whereby workers could accomplish their designated tasks and still have time off to hunt. It was decided to draw up a list of men willing to work part-time, with a clear procedure for calling on them. It was decided to draw up a list of men willing to work part-time, with a clear procedure for calling on them.

The conclusion of the debate was interesting. A letter had been received from the Department of Public Works complaining of unauthorized use of vehicles in the community and the laxness of workers. The community united in opposition to this interference although many of the points were criticisms they had made themselves. The people resented the attempt to regulate community affairs and the lack of sympathy for the difficulties of living in a town without private vehicles for unloading planes, etc. The government was considered selfish to keep vehicles locked up when there was a use for them. Furthermore, it was stated that delays in deliveries were due not to worker laziness or negligence, but to equipment breakdowns. The discussion, which began with their own concerns about services, culminated in a criticism of the government for refusing to budget another truck. After the meeting, work routines continued much as before.
Attitudes toward Authority

The emphasis placed on independence and autonomy and the reluctance to accept orders and take direction are strong disincentives to employment. Trapping is highly valued, on the other hand, because it means 'not having to work for anybody':

Traditionally, the Eskimo has enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in his relations with peers, which he must surrender when he confronts the coordination and subordination that wage labour imposes. When an Eskimo heard that a construction company had discharged several men on account of absenteeism, he exclaimed:

"Just like the Eskimos. They don't like to take orders."

He admitted that it had been hard for him too, but 'I've had to learn the hard way'. He credited family responsibilities with driving him to accept a measure of external and internal discipline stronger than he had been accustomed to...

Living in Paulatuk implies, for trapper and worker alike, a relative absence of authority, which is usually vested in whites. Simply by being in Paulatuk, people are less frequently confronted with supervision or criticism of their behaviour. This was one of the reasons behind expansion into the frontier region in the 1920's - to be in a less crowded area where one could run one's own life without interference from outside institutions. Dislike for supervision was the major reason for leaving Dewline or other employment and returning to Paulatuk in the early 1970's. The evident disinclination to work on housing construction in 1979 was related to the contractor's reputation as a tough
supervisor, a "real bastard".

For those people who do work in Paulatuk, the relative lack of supervision is a significant factor in making jobs attractive and acceptable. Supervision is sufficiently remote that workers can arrange their own schedules and complete their work beyond the eye of authority. Paulatuk's isolation gives them greater control over their workplaces.

The threat of increased supervision, for instance, demands for regular reporting, may cause anxiety and opposition, sometimes even the worker's resignation. It was apparent, in 1979 fieldwork, that the man in charge of government equipment and other property suffered from conflicting demands made on him by supervisors and community members. He was directed by superiors to prohibit the use of vehicles, tools and space, but was under pressure from local people for access to these scarce and necessary resources. His job required the juggling of obligations and the placating of conflicting claims for his loyalty, one through wages and the other through relationship. For some time, he balanced these demands because of the distance and leniency of supervision. Stricter policies and supervision, however, resulted in a performance evaluation that found him too easy-going. He was directed to take a course in supervision and to be more strict with government property, which brought him into conflict with the rest of the community; Inuvik's vice is a virtue in Paulatuk.
Being a supervisor and having responsibility for the actions of other workers is also something that may make work unattractive. Workers are placed in difficult positions when expected to give orders and discipline other Inuvialuit; this conflicts sharply with the high values placed on autonomy and respect of individuals in Inuvialuit culture. As one man put it, he tried subtle persuasion and leadership by example, but "what can you do if they don't listen?." As a Dewline worker he had been caught in this dilemma when he was promoted to a supervisory position. His solution to the conflict between his values and his job demands was to quit and go back to Paulatuk to trap.

Wage Work and the Family

Some of the aspects of wage labour that have been fiercely resisted have been its divisive and disruptive effects on family obligations and social relations. To Eskimo males first entering the wage-earning situation, the distinction between the place of work and home is strange and uncomfortable. For the trapper-hunter, the tent or house is simultaneously a place of work and home. Similarly, the immediate geographical area is home and place of work. Again the sharp distinction between work and play in industrial societies is much more blurred in trapping-hunting societies such as the Eskimo.

Families in Paulatuk are close and tend to spend a lot of time doing things together. Couples spend most of their days together and children accompany the parents everywhere. For southerners who are used to being away from their...
partners for most of the day, it may be hard to appreciate the strain of separation. For many people in Paulatuk, however, wage labour, even a job in the settlement itself, is avoided because of this aspect. An employee who left his job with the construction project after a week, for instance, said that the work left him with no time to see his family and take care of their needs.

This is also a reason that few people are willing to accept training or employment outside the community, even on a temporary basis. Men like to take their families with them when they go out to work or for training in Inuvik or Fort Smith, just as the family try to go along with family members sent to hospital in Inuvik or Yellowknife. Finding accommodation for their families is a problem that stops many men from pursuing work. The expense of maintaining two homes and concern for the family's well-being, on the other hand, makes the men unwilling to leave the family behind:

It has to be understood that in order to have that family unit strong, you can't take someone away for a long period of time. Just recently I was in that situation. My husband phoned to see if he could stay another week so he could meet his paycheque. I said he'd better get home or he wouldn't see his 29th anniversary. 22

The influence of family concerns was significant from the beginning of wage employment in the north, for instance during the Dewline project. When men were housed in bunkhouses at sites some distance from the rest of the population, there was a very high turnover rate. This was
particularly true of married men who were "much less steady" and quit frequently to return home and take care of family responsibilities. In order to keep men as permanent employees, the Dewline had to recognize the role of family bonds:

Families and not just workers will have to be provided for if the men are going to be kept at their jobs. Even then it will be difficult to prevent them from harnessing their dog-teams and going off to one of the permanent settlements to visit relatives or for the traditional gatherings at Christmas and Easter. These customs are so much a part of Eskimo life that they should not be expected to change simply because of a change of occupation. There is the possibility that some families not employed at a site may decide to make their winter quarters there ... This may create welfare problems since the majority of sites are not really suitable for hunting or trapping. It will ensure, however, that a community of more than two families is established at these isolated locations. It will probably prove to be of more value in holding Eskimo men to their employment than any other factor. The women, having no social contact beyond the Eskimo community, will certainly be happier to have relatives and friends nearby. 23

Although peoples' reluctance to take advantage of training or job opportunities may reflect the best solutions to their problems and priorities, outsiders sometimes interpret it as laziness, lack of ambition or an undesirable pursuit of the 'easy life' on welfare. This can have negative impact on community members who have few options and resources for earning their living. The strategy of social service personnel in 1979, for instance, was to encourage unemployed residents, particularly single mothers, to move to
Inuvik, Yellowknife or Fort Smith for training and work. It was said that welfare encouraged them to have babies, that their cheques just went to the fathers or brothers whose houses they shared and that the money was probably spent on drinking. These people, however, often filled important roles in the community by caring for foster children, sick and elderly relatives who would otherwise have been forced out of the community into institutions. Their own childbearing and child-rearing is an essential, if unrecognized, part of the community's continuity. They also contributed invisible domestic production to the community and their households by baking, cooking, cleaning furs, etc. Their welfare cheques, if any, brought to the household budget some of the cash needed for ammunition and fuel. In return, they and their children were fed country food, provided with shelter and, most importantly, enjoyed the security and warmth of their family. Nevertheless, they were encouraged to move to Inuvik where they could find work. Unfortunately, by following this strategy, they also lost in well-being; paying rent, buying store food with the associated deterioration of diet, hiring babysitters and becoming lonely and isolated, with their children, from community ways of life.

Work and Self-esteem

In part, land-based work and the incentive for continuing it comes from the security derived from knowing and controlling the work process. Most of the wage employment
for Paulatuk residents is semi-skilled or unskilled in nature and workers are neither required nor permitted to have specialized knowledge, creativity or control at their jobs. Men who have experience, skills and ideas that they would like to contribute to solving problems and improving systems at their work are frustrated by the division of labour; they are paid to do specific routine jobs according to procedures established by managers and planners. There is some resentment toward officials who tell them how to do jobs in Paulatuk the 'right way'. People feel that they are the real experts about living there, and are best able to determine when and how to do things needed in their own settlement.

In addition to not appreciating skills people do have, many jobs, especially in the industrial non-renewable resource sector, require skills that are beyond current training and experience. People are aware that in either case their prospects for more creative, challenging work are limited and that they have little control over their work conditions:

You try to get into technical development where you have anxiety all the time because you know inwardly that its going to disappear eventually because it can't keep going. That's the experience the native people have gone through—short term development. Even though its nice to have that money, it also puts native people in an insecure position because they know its not going to be there for a long period of time — and it can't. Normally that kind of development works into very technical skilled employment.25
This is not the case with work people do on the land. Whereas on the job, the worker feels he is paid "not to think", simply to take orders and follow routines that seem to have little rhyme or reason, on the land the hunter or trapper is fully in command of his labours and is committed to the outcome of his work.

People had a deep awareness of resources around Paulatuk and co-ordinated that information with personal skills and experience to earn their livings. Successfully putting to work both mental and physical energy and seeing the results in the country food on the table gave a "sense of competence and security". Attitudes to the adoption of wage work reflect this:

I won't go someplace else and get a better job. When I get hired, I turn them down because I like this land. I know where I can go in this part just like anybody else.

Resentment at having knowledge and capabilities denied surfaced in the case of the Sports Hunting Programs. Although many factors contributed to the failure of the Polar Bear Hunting Program, dissatisfaction at the relationship between guide and sport hunter was at the base of many individuals' decisions to reject this type of employment. They felt uncomfortable subordinated to sports hunters in situations in which their expertise and knowledge of the region should have given them leadership and authority: "They're basically joe-boys and they know it".
Recognition of personal skills is one factor that makes some jobs acceptable and compatible with community values. For instance, the Inuvialuit who pioneered in the fur trapping frontier of the 1920's and 1930's worked for wages as pilots and crews on mission or trading boats or as trappers at some of the small posts. They were highly regarded by employers because of their knowledge of the region and their talents on the land and they developed long-standing personal relationships with individual government agents and employers. Employment continued to be on this personal, although perhaps paternalistic, scale throughout the 1940's and 1950's, and to the present day in some cases. Many of the older men still identify with their employer and job. Northern administration and economic development has become increasingly large-scale, impersonal and bureaucratic, however. Employers do not develop the same contact and appreciation of Paulatuk workers and relationships of mutual trust and loyalty do not form as easily.

Resistance to wage labour is now often traceable to the worker's perception that s/he is just another cog in the wheel with no particular relationship to the employer and no special attribute for which s/he is valued. Several of the men who have been steady wage workers since the 1950's take pride in having put in twenty or more years at the Dewline. That attitude is conspicuously absent among the young men who work intermittently for Dome Petroleum or the government.
The importance of personal respect and esteem was illustrated by a man who had worked for many years for the Dewline, achieving seniority and being made a supervisor. He felt that as a reliable, longterm employee, he should have been getting more respect and privileges. Instead, he found the job becoming harder to take; for example he and other natives were denied entrance to the bar and other facilities used by whites. Although the native community was about three miles from the Dewline installation, the native workers were not allowed the use of Dewline vehicles, even in severe weather. All in all, there were "more rules and no respect as a person". Eventually, he went to visit Paulatuk and never went back to the Dewline, exchanging a substantial salary and a secure job for part-time work, one quarter the pay and "the freedom to come and go, whenever".28

Service to the community was one way that workers are able to find meaning and take pride in their jobs. The people who do settlement administration and organizing work, for instance are also hunters and trappers who tend to prefer to make their livings entirely from the land. They are aware, however, that certain services and opportunities for socio-economic development are needed by community members and they feel that this work should be done by community people rather than by white outsiders. They are willing to sacrifice some of their personal interests and preferences to do work needed in the community that noone else is willing
or able to do. In some cases, it appeared as though the settlement as a whole had decided which person was most appropriate for a certain job, choosing the one who had more work experience or no family responsibilities and so would be least distressed by the necessary adjustments to wage labour.

Wage Work and the Community

Individuals in Paulatuk frequently must deal with the contradictions created by either the overlapping or the conflicting of goals, roles and responsibilities demanded by two different value-systems. Workers are faced with the dilemmas of whether to meet the expectations of supervisors or family; whether to place priority on wage-earning or hunting; whether to follow the schedule imposed by the weather or the clock.

In many cases, the values, activities and resources of each sector are mutually exclusive and people are forced to make decisions between alternatives that may be difficult to reverse later. Education and training for wage labour, for instance, has prevented many young Paulatuk men from operating easily on the land. If they choose to adopt trapping as an occupation after many years of formal schooling, they must train as trappers almost from scratch. Men who have worked for wages for several years and let their trapping outfits deteriorate may find it difficult to save enough cash for new skidoos, traps and equipment should they decide to go back to trapping.
People are also placed in positions in which they risk failure and disapproval from one group if they try to live up to the standards of the other. For instance, hunters leaving for a weekend camping trip realize that they might be delayed by weather or boat trouble and have to face disciplinary action for missing work on Monday. On the other hand, playing it safe in order to please the employer would expose them as poor providers who can be pushed around by bosses. In several cases, a lack of respect and very subtle contempt was observed in the attitude of the community toward members who tried to live up to the routine and measures of success of their jobs. Several people expressed their self-criticism and low esteem for their own dependency or weakness in working at a steady job.

Community and individual attitudes, however, are ambivalent and contradictory in this matter. Although hunting and trapping are valued highly and employment is denigrated, people have also been influenced by the outside ideology and have partially internalized the measurement of success and prestige in terms of submissiveness, reliability and material property. Because few Inuvialuit ever get the kinds of jobs that they are told will provide success, they are continually exposed to pressures of failure according to norms propounded by the outside, but now partially absorbed by the Inuvialuit themselves. Those that do find fulltime, skilled jobs face the impossible task of trying to perform to both sets of
standards, expectations set not just by others but by themselves as well. Many workers in Paulatuk criticize and belittle themselves for not being 'good workers' and sometimes feel guilty or inadequate for not fulfilling that role. At the same time, they worry whether they can still keep their independence and dignity and be good providers of country food.30

The community is able to exercise considerable influence on the individual's strategy toward wage employment. As the main rewards of wage employment are economic, the community can prevent wage employment from being too attractive and prestigious by interfering with workers' ability to enjoy their potentially greater incomes. Community pressures and obligations to share with kin are used by those not employed to make sure the income for wage work is diverted toward support of the subsistence sector. People who work are expected to contribute cash to buy skidoos, etc. and to share whatever material goods, equipment and consumer goods they accumulate with their income. They may find that, with relatives and neighbours literally eating up the profits of their labour, it's hardly worth working. Because work is not a route to enjoying greater privilege and comfort oneself, there is little incentive to 'get ahead' at work and individuals are kept from 'getting ahead' of others in the community. In this way, hunting and trapping remain equal in prestige and in opportunity to enjoy the fruits of labour.31
Summary

Paulatuk residents are now irrevocably linked to the modern, industrial system. However, although they have taken jobs and made adjustments in their behaviour to the demands of wage work, they have made only a partial and temporary commitment to that way of life. They do not want to see the destruction of the hunting and trapping way of life and the "transformation of useful and enjoyable work into forms of toil that are ... burdensome and superfluous". Attitudes and behaviour in Paulatuk toward hunting and trapping on the one hand and employment on the other show determination to make the forces of change, such as new working conditions, conform as much as possible to the rhythm and priorities of the community's customary ways. As people make adjustments, they also seek concessions and compromise with the authority imposed from outside in order to make employment and economic development opportunities more compatible with traditional values.
Notes: Chapter Four


2. John J. Honigman & Irma Honigman, *Arctic Townsmen* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University 1965) pp.69-70


4. Few men, and these days few women, can appreciate the labour involved in baking all the bread everyday for a family of ten or fifteen, or washing diapers for several small children with no hot, running water, or even by hand if the wringer-washer breaks and the nearest repair is two hundred and fifty miles away.

5. Peter J. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic". Evidence presented to the Berger Inquiry on behalf of COPE, (Yellowknife 1976) p.23


7. J.K. Stager (personal communication) points out that rotation may be an 'insidious process'—the employer's foot in the door. People have a chance to earn surplus income, which encourages lavish spending and the need for more cash. He had observed that workers on rotation to the Little Cornwallis mine were bored with four week stays at home. Rotation may be a means of fast conversion to continuous wage work, if the jobs are there in the long term, and to dissatisfaction if they are not.

8. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.26

   
   The reduction of social life to economic and monetary relations is almost always resisted by non-industrial societies:

   "It took two hundred years of conflict to subdue working people to the discipline of direct economic stimuli and the subjugation has never been more than partial" E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory* (London: Monthly Review Books 1978) p.292
10. In its report on the season's employment, Canmar expressed mystification at a worker who quit one week before the end of the season, forfeiting a $3,000. bonus for completing the full term. Dome Petroleum, Canadian Benefits of Beaufort Sea Development, (Beaufort Sea Drilling Program, February 1980)

11. This section is based on observations in 1979-80;

12. The Co-operative was closed in 1981. (see Chapter Five)

13. This worker did quit this job in the fall of 1979 and moved temporarily to another community.


16. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism", p. 65

17. This response is a natural one for most workers around the world. It is always in the workers' interests to reduce the amount of work they do for a given amount off pay:

"No worker ever known to historian had surplus value taken out of his hide without finding some way of fighting back (there are plenty of ways of going slow). Thompson, The Poverty of Theory, pp.153-154

18. These ideas are starting to find greater consideration in government policy, too, indicating the pressure community routines have exerted on the bureaucracy:

"Moreover, consideration should be given to the use of techniques such as job-sharing, flexible hours and adjustments in the working week in order to open employment in the G.,N.W.T. administration to those northerners who wish to maintain a traditional northern lifestyle". C.M. Drury, Constitutional Development in the Northwest Territories: report of the Special Representative (Ottawa: Supply & Services 1980) p.51

19. Honigman & Honigman, Arctic Townsmen p. 70
20. The imposition of factory discipline during the Industrial Revolution was opposed by handweavers for the disruptive effects on family life:

"They resented, first, the discipline... to stand at their command"—this was the most deeply resented indignity. Next, they resented the effects upon family relationships... Weaving offered employment to the whole family... The family was together, and however, poor meals were, at least they could sit down a chosen time. A whole pattern of amily and community life had grown up around the loom-shops; work did not prevent conversation or singing."


22. Allen, *Proceedings*, p.82

23. J. D. Ferguson, *A Study of the Effects of the Dewline on Eskimos of the Western Arctic* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1957) p.45


25. ibid.

26. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic", p.21


29. McElroy suggests that Inuit women frequently adjust to wage labour more easily than do men because they fill similar supportive roles in both European and Inuit systems. They are used to taking orders from Inuit men and accept the subordinate aspects of wage work without suffering a sense of loss of autonomy. Inuit men suffer from a greater disjunction in ideals of behaviour; used to making decisions and acting independently, they cannot as easily accept criticism and discipline without some identity crisis. *Alternatives in Modernization: Styles and Strategies in the Acculturative Behaviour of the Baffin Island Inuit* (New Haven: Human Area Relations Files, HRAFlex Books, 1977) p.336

31. The effect of sanctions of the community against accumulation by individuals does not seem to be appreciated by outside bureaucrats who attempt to foster wage employment and private small business enterprise in the settlement.

Chapter Five

Economic Development, For Whom?

Community Priorities

True Affluence is not needing anything.

For Paulatuk, it is clearly untrue that the land-based sector has ceased "to provide life's necessities." Hunting and trapping continue to make a significant contribution to the community economy. The discussion here has borne out Usher's comment that the north is perhaps the "only place where a poor man's table is laden with meat". But 'Progress' has also come to the north, bringing with it new forms of economic activity, material goods, technology and services. Many changes have come on the initiative of the native people themselves who have been eager to benefit from material goods and services such as medical care. Change has also come from government agencies, intending to solve what they perceive to be problems in the native standard of living and way of life and to provide:

- a higher standard of living, equality of life and equality of opportunity, for native people by methods which are compatible with their own preferences and aspirations

Government policies, however, are often based on a poor appreciation of the native economy and an ethnocentric
promotion of non-native values and behaviour, and therefore do not lead to the kinds of solutions and socio-economic development that meet community needs. This chapter will look at issues related to the effectiveness and appropriateness of social and economic development.

Policies in Socio-economic Development

Government administrators have been involved in northern life from the earliest contact, but the increasing role of the bureaucracy in directing change in native society through encouraging wage employment, fostering economic development, and delivering services in part intended to advance acculturation began in the late 1950's. This came at a time when hardship in both subsistence and fur trapping gave the impression that the land-sector was indeed dead. As Usher has stated, however, this has proved to have been only a period of retreat while the Inuit made technological adjustments to maintain renewable resource harvesting as a viable economic base. It was also a time at which it was assumed that wage employment could offer longterm economic prospects to the Inuit. Conventional wisdom that 'primitive' peoples should be brought the enlightenment and benefits of white civilization - language, education, mores and values, patterns of consumption - was unquestionned. The portrayal of nonindustrial peoples as 'lacking the material and cultural bases for ameliorating their poverty':

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... is the most persistent influence on social agencies and economic planners who concern themselves with the (Indians) wellbeing ... The implication is that without the dreamers' plans and projects, the (native) will remain in a state of modern savagery.

Programs were therefore intentionally designed to replace hunting with wage labour and "tutor" the Inuit toward assimilation:

For some years, it has been implicit in the policy of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs that native populations be weaned away from this lifestyle and evolve an economy based on wage and salaried labour.

The bases for this policy have been the assumptions that wage labour could indeed provide the jobs and income needed to improve the material standard of living, and that the native economy had no future at all. Both these have been proven wrong.

With unemployment over ten percent in Canada, and much higher in certain regions of the country, wage employment is clearly not the solution it was once thought. In the rural, relatively remote regions that depend on resource extraction - forestry, mining, fishing - unemployment may be well over fifty percent; the jobs are simply not there, even when the workers are willing and have no alternatives. Similarly, in the north, wage employment has limited potential. Outside of major 'growth centres', the industrial economy has the capacity to provide only a small percentage of the native labour force with job opportunities.
Table 5-1

Basic Data on Northwest Territories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>45,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of native population</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of settlements</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Administrative Centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yellowknife</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inuvik</td>
<td>4,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frobisher Bay</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankin Inlet</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Smith</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge Bay</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relation of Settlement Size & Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Total Popn</th>
<th>% of Sett Popn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 300</td>
<td>5,400</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-500</td>
<td>4,250</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-1000</td>
<td>10,050</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1500</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 1500</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labour force outside "Growth Centres"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approximate total native labour force</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate total jobs available</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate total natives with jobs</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even if native people held all the possible jobs, about sixty percent of the labour force would be unemployed. As it is, natives do not fill all the jobs; many are filled and will continue to be filled by whites, who have the skills and advanced education required by most of the employment opportunities in the north. Most jobs are either in the government bureaucracy - administrators, doctors, nurses and teachers -, or in the large-scale, capital-intensive, high technology resource extraction projects typical of northern
industrial development. Labour plays a very small role in the economics of northern mega-projects; employment opportunities are usually short-term or highly skilled.

The opportunities for long-term, processing or service-oriented work in the communities, such as they are, do not necessarily solve unemployment problems in any case. For instance, new employment openings in Paulatuk in the mid-seventies were not filled by 'unemployed' members of the existing Paulatuk labour force. These jobs, by and large, were filled by workers who already had jobs in other communities who moved back to Paulatuk; the number of 'unemployed' remained the same.

In summary, then, wage employment is not capable of providing the necessary economic base. People know their skills are not the type required by most wage opportunities, and they have experienced boom-and-bust cycles of industrial development:

"(Q) So, really for the future, you're not looking to a lot of wage work around here, you want to make sure that the land is ...
(A) Yes, because anything else we try to do, jobs, always finished, nothing to do, you're doing nothing. And this, now, the way we're looking at it now, its a sure thing, you know, trapping. Its a sure thing you can do..."10

On the other hand, the assumption that native people who are 'unemployed' are unproductive and a lifestyle based on resource harvesting is unviable has been questioned.
Realizing that wage employment was of limited potential, LaRusic asked:

If about one in six of the native population has a job and most of the others have only parttime or seasonal work, what do people do to fill their days? It seemed unlikely that people sitting around collecting welfare to buy food while waiting for a job... Even if one assumes that a considerable number are on unemployment insurance or welfare in this period, it is likely that there is considerable continuing subsistence activity.

Research among the Cree and Inuit in northern Quebec demonstrated the productivity of the native economy:

...my early impressions were that, on the surface, there appeared to be a lot of people unemployed, seemingly hanging around doing nothing. However, more careful scrutiny revealed that this population was highly productive most of the time - though not in the industrial work force. They were making significant contributions to the local economy through their subsistence activities.

Research on the value of subsistence harvesting in northern Quebec has produced evidence similar to that found in Paulatuk, that the productivity of the land-based sector is critical to the native economy. There is also evidence, as LaRusic noted with concern, that jobs are often filled by people who are also the best hunters and therefore the major contributors of country food to the community:

One can deduce that the shift of these people from harvesting to wages can have a real impact on the total community food production... Since they are the ones who produce most of the food in the community, one can see that total community gain from wages can easily be offset by losses in the subsistence sector of the economy. Thus job generation programmes can end up making no significant gain in providing income for the
"poor" sector of the community while prejudicing the total community product.
Certainly, if there is any significant local productivity by these people while they are 'unemployed' - in the Department of Manpower's sense of the word - it would be wise to assure that any remedial programmes designed to put people in the workforce did not have the effect of reducing that productivity. 13, 14

The message of this evidence is surely that economic development should be based on strengthening and expanding the land-based sector. The subsistence and commercial harvesting economy is not moribund; it can be the viable basis for providing a livelihood and it is of critical, irreplaceable economic and nutritional value. The opportunities of the wage labour sector, on the other hand, are limited and the effects it may have on country food production and diet are generally negative. This message contradicts the direction of government policies:

the underlying thrust of this bureaucracy, which is to get the (native) people off the land and keep them busy in villages filling the infrastructural jobs of any small town. Indian Affairs is willing to provide three jobs even when one would be sufficient if the result is to transform three hunters to three janitors. 15

Programs to encourage wage employment are part of general policies of acculturation that assume the native culture, as well as the economy, is backward, unrewarding or obsolete. These policies fail to recognize the vitality and significance to wellbeing of community routines and community values. Social programs have introduced new criteria for evaluating success and building self-esteem. They have taken
native people from contexts in which they gained security and meaning and placed them in situations in which their confidence and self-worth are challenged. As was noted in Chapter One, the effects of exposure to white values and practices have been in part the profound disruption of native society and identity, symptomized by 'pathological' behaviour such as alcohol abuse, family breakdown, violence and attempted suicide.

The policies and programs are also based on the assumption that acculturation will provide the ticket to improved material and social circumstances. Shifts in diet from country to store food that a negative impact on nutritional well-being have been encouraged by private business and government media images of the 'modern' life, as well as by wage employment patterns. As we have seen, the work orientation of social service personnel in Paulatuk has had a disruptive effect on the lives of single women. The system that is supposed to educate native people to the level that they will have equal opportunities for success in mainstream society has failed in this aim. Although native children often end their educational experience with little competence in the land-based activities, many are also very poorly equipped to cope with employment and the complexities of town-life. Although education was held out to native people as their passport to success, it has done little to provide the appropriate Eurocanadian skills, beyond the
basics in reading, writing and accepting authority, that would allow them to manipulate our social and economic system to their advantage. They are given little understanding of the intricacies of economics, technology and law that give people power and influence in Canada. The skills Inuit are taught are useful in enabling them to: 1) get along with whites; 2) listen to English radio; 3) work for the HBC; 4) work for the Government (janitor/clerk usually); 5) get a job: "not exactly an orderly plan for Eskimo development".16

Similarly, the programs of Local Government are intended to teach people the skills needed in order to one day govern their own affairs. The settlement councils and special interest committees such as housing or education, however, are restricted by the design of their programs to administrative rather than policy-making roles and to dealing with "hard" municipal services rather than the "soft services, namely social and cultural matters, education and land management" that are of critical importance to them.17 Instead of fostering local autonomy, these programs actually:

reflect the priorities and structures of the government, not the needs of the community. The committees are unable to institute change at the community level. As far as the social programs are concerned, they are designed externally to the community, to meet needs perceived from outside.18

The responses of native people to programs of social and economic development that do not reflect their interests, values and aspirations are varied, including hostility,
sabotage and apathy. In Paulatuk, for instance, government officials complained that residents were less than enthusiastic about participation in committee meetings, saying that they seemed unwilling to "do their jobs. The only reason they have meetings is to collect the stipend". In other cases, people sabotaged meetings planned by government agents by going out of town or having parties when the government had spent several thousand dollars to fly the bureaucrats into Paulatuk for a few hours. Bureaucrats are also frustrated by the passivity of Paulatuk people and their lack of energy in following up proposals and projects initiated by government departments. The roots of these forms of behaviour can be traced to the lack of tangible or intangible satisfaction from the programs. Participation does not result in the types of housing, education, medical care or community facilities they want. Moreover, it does not give the sense of power and accomplishment that influencing and directing the programs to meet community priorities would provide. They do not want to waste time on matters that do not interest them and they do not wish to have futile expectations raised and then disappointed.

Just as the vitality of native land-use and the failings of the wage sector must be recognized in the designing of social services and economic development projects, the strengths and legitimacy of traditional community values and the failure of existing programs of acculturation must be
considered. Socio-economic development must take into consideration community routines and values. It must be compatible with and supportive of native cultural practices and the lifestyle people are struggling to maintain.

**Economic Development in Paulatuk**

Review of the projects related to economic development in Paulatuk brings some critical elements to light. Almost all of them appear to meet two essential criteria: they are based on renewable resource harvesting, use of the land-based sector; and they stress, to some degree, community participation. In theory, renewable resource projects are inherently suitable for appropriate, successful community development. They have been promoted by those government agents who recognize the limitations of wage employment in the non-renewable sector, but who still wish to encourage Inuit participation in the market economy. Projects across the arctic have ranged from shrimp and char fisheries to reindeer and musk-ox herding. The failure of so many of these indicates that renewable resources *per se* are not the answer. The principles of community participation, too, have been considered in economic development ventures. Experience has shown that successful community participation is complicated, involving far more than the nominal creation of co-operatives, advisory committees, or even local entrepreneurship.
The Paulatuk Co-operative

The establishment of a co-op store in 1967 played an important role in the survival of the community in the region. The HBC was not willing to maintain a store at Paulatuk and the Co-op provided a way for people to combine forces to meet economic needs both as a source for consumer goods and a market for furs and other produce. Initially people were proud of the store and their role in building it from scrap brought from a building in Tuktoyaktuk. In 1980, however, the Co-op had developed into a major problem for both government and consumers.

Over the years, the store had consistently operated at a loss and had accumulated a debt of $80,000. Government subsidies had to be provided annually, draining funds from other co-ops. CACFL people in Yellowknife complained that the store was never open, the books and records were not kept up to date, the prices were not set properly to break even, that too much credit was given out and that charters for private purposes were billed to the Co-op. They complained that the manager did not do the job he was paid for, that the Board was ineffective, that their advice was not followed and that no efforts were being made to repay their debt and correct store operations.

The community had as many complaints about the Yellowknife office and the Co-op. The general attitude to the Co-op was that it was run by people from Yellowknife, who
took an unfair profit from it. People did not feel that they had any control and often preferred to deal with the Bay in Inuvik. On the other hand, they jealously rejected or sabotaged any plans proposed by CACFL and protected their own rights to control the store.

There were a number of reasons why, over a period of years, the Coop had gotten into serious financial problems. They included the lack of management skills of the manager—who had a formal Grade Four education and six months training in Saskatoon to start, the lack of clear systems for him to follow and lack of support for him in learning financial skills needed.

The lack of Board Training and support and consumer/owner education was also significant. No one in the community had any degree of experience in reading or using financial statements, in planning or implementing projects, in managing cash-flow, etc. When the Co-op got into debt, community members could not understand where the money was going. To most of them, the only logical thing they knew was that they had never received a dividend from the store. From their perspective, the Co-op was a government project, not a community-owned and controlled store. Although Inuivialuit were traditionally co-operative rather than competitive, the principles and practices of co-operative business were new. The success of any co-operative depends very greatly on the support of membership and the degree to which they are
motivated to use its services and participate in policy-making. It is difficult to build the sense of ownership and loyalty required; membership education and increased democratic participation were priorities (after economic viability) for delegate of the co-operative movement in Canada to the Co-operative Future Directions Conference in Ottawa, June 1982. Although called a co-operative, this aspect had not been developed, a factor that prevented Paulatuk people and CACFL personnel from working together to solve a common problem.

Low prices, slippage, extended credit and losses in retail and fur operations were among the operational problems from a business perspective. The manager, as a community member, was under pressure to provide food as cheaply as possible, with as much credit as possible. The interests of community members as individuals in the short-term, conflicted with sound business practices. Mismanagement at the other end also contributed. The Co-op had a contract to purchase oil from the government's Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants division, but POL never billed them on a regular basis. Paulatuk and other communities across the N.W.T. suddenly found themselves faced with large debts.

Lack of careful trust and confidence building with the community on the part of CAFCL authorities was another problem. They provided training and advice, but in such a fashion as to prevent co-operation. One advisor, for
instance, described how he had gone in and torn out the old shelving and counters to make more room and hadn't gotten any help. From the peoples' perspective, however, he highhandedly wrecked the store they were familiar with, without asking for their input. Although it may have seemed an improvement to him, he never did any shopping there; if he had, he might have realized that community shopping patterns had suited the old way. Without the counters he had thrown out, people had nowhere to put their shopping but on the floor. His impatience and aggressiveness were typical of the behaviour Inuit shun.

Many attempts were made by CACFL to solve the problems of the co-op as they saw them. They sent a manager-trainee to assist in clearing up past bookkeeping problems, establish systems and train the staff. They provided retail advisors, they arranged to forgive the POL debt and they arranged for further loans from the Cooperative Federation. These efforts were met with resistance from the community which saw them as interference and as a takeover of the store at their expense. Decisions on pricing, funding and resupply were being made in Inuvik or Yellowknife by strangers who charged them a 7% administrative charge. Residents refused to co-operate with the manager-trainee and other advisors and to manage the store in line with standards CACFL considered critical. After several years of financial crises and much discussion, the government and Federation authorities decided not to renew
funding to Paulatuk Cco-op, and it was closed.

It is impossible to say whether solutions could have been found to the Co-op's problems. A number of things might have made a difference; different staff, more board training, more consultation, more sympathetic CACFL personnel who were able to animate a more co-operative planning and management program. It is clear, however, that most of the problems related to the feeling that the Co-op was not controlled by the community. The way Yellowknife operated contributed to this, as did the level of skills and comprehension of co-operative principles in the community.

In the end, people preferred to deal with the Bay, having to fly to Inuvik to shop. Theoretically, the co-operative store should have acted as a vehicle to meet community needs and contribute to community prosperity more effectively than a capitalist enterprise could. But the Co-op's history has shown clearly that any development presumably operating in community interests and under the name of community ownership must include in its formula both the perception and the reality of community control.

The Craft Shop

For several years, the government operated a craft shop in Paulatuk which provided materials, employment and a market for women in the community. Like many government projects, it was not designed to lead to an economically sound, self-supporting business. The project was not based
on a long-range businesss development plan with provisions for training, generating capital and phased in community ownership and management. Instead, it was basically a subsidized make-work project. After operating at a loss for several years, the project was shut down.

Sometime later, the equipment and supplies were sold to a local man who reopened the shop. His goal was to provide income for the community and make a modest income himself in return for his management efforts. Unfortunately, his skills in business were limited and he had problems finding markets, encouraging the women's participation, and handling bookkeeping and finances on top of the job that provided income to him in the normally unprofitable start-up phase. He was unable to get adequate support from government people in these areas. He also had problems getting support from the community. Some of the women prefered to sell their handcrafts privately, through dealers in Inuvik. They said he charged too much for materials, that he interfered with their ideas and that he took too big a profit. The rest of the community were very watchful of his operations and in various ways conspired to prevent him from being too successful. Although the project was in the community's interests in many ways, it lacked some essential ingredient to make it compatible with community dynamics.
Sport fishing

A sport fishing project was started in the mid-seventies with the support of Fish and Wildlife officers. Funds were provided for frame tents and supplies to operate a camp for tourists at the river. The project foundered for some of the same reasons as the Craftshop - lack of financial and management skills and longterm planning. Major problems were the conflicting demands of commercial and subsistence fishing for the few boats available in town; commercial char fishing is more amenable to the community as an economic project because it does not exclude subsistence fishing; both can be pursued simultaneously. Another factor was the same attitude from the community to those in charge of the project. Although the tourist fishing was sponsored by the Paulatuk Hunters and Trappers Association and revenue, after expenses and paying the men involved as guides, would have come to the community as a whole, there was a degree of resentment on the part of men not directly involved. The attitude that some people were benefiting unfairly led to potential and actual conflict that contributed to the failure of the scheme. There was also resentment toward the men who were in charge of co-ordinating the project, who were, in effect, the bosses. This is another reason why the commercial fishing is more popular; although the marketing outside the community was collective, the actual production process is organized by family units and people can work or themselves.
In 1979-80, there was some discussion, with the support of some regional development officers, of starting the tourist camp up again, under individual ownership. The settlement council and trappers association talked about the possibility of the camp being a good business for an individual. A loan could have been arranged. No-one in the community was sufficiently enthusiastic to take it on, however. It was felt that the river didn't have fish early in the season, so the government plan of a full season operation was unfeasible. People wondered if there were enough fish for tourist fishing and the commercial/domestic harvest. No-one had the skill or experience in running such a business, and the technical and managerial support needed is generally not provided under any of the government programs. Moreover, the same problem of community support would be encountered. People recognized the difficulty of getting others to work as their employees; no-one wanted to undertake the unpleasant business of making decisions and exercising authority over anyone else. And finally, although some people said that private entrepreneurs should be encouraged to start businesses as long as they considered the community, too, it was felt that any attempts to develop a business independently would be blocked by obligations to share with, support and tolerate other community members.
Sport Hunting

The polar bear sports hunting program suffered from the problem created by a conflict between different uses of a single renewable resource opportunity. People had to choose between the use of tags for tourist development or hunting them for fur sales:

Sports hunting appears more profitable than hunting solely for fur. Sports hunters are willing to pay $4,000 for a guided hunt, whereas polar bear skins draw only about $1,000 in the fur market. But this difference does not appear to be sufficiently attractive to offset the value of polar bears to Inuit hunters, who view the killing of this animal as a status symbol.

Another major failing of this project was that it required people to act as servants to white tourists, a position they were unwilling to accept. Operating a project at the level of international big game hunting required, moreover, a financial and managerial sophistication few community people possess.

Economic Development: Do's and Don'ts

Principles that must be included in economic development projects that "are capable of making direct and ongoing contributions to northern residents" were outlined in a government proposal for research into Renewable Resource Development. These included:

1) That the primary purpose of the project is to support a life-style (people-oriented) rather than supply an outside market, exploit a resource or generate profits (money-oriented), and that the long-term objective is self-sufficiency and an end to the perpetual dependence on government funds;
2) That the type of development be chosen so as to maximize the local multiplier effect of income;

3) That the organization of the projects be consistent with the management skills and abilities of local people and that these skills and abilities should be developed along with the enterprise;

4) That the technology employed in the enterprise should be consistent with the technical skills and abilities of local people and that it be selected with a view to the maximization of local employment, learning and income effects rather than simple productivity. Moreover, the project should be based on or be an easy transition from traditional skills;

5) That there be local control of the projects with respect to capitalization, labour and resource utilization, and marketing.

All of these are essential and sensible elements in successful economic development, and all of them have had bearing on past projects in Paulatuk. One of the reasons that the government emphasized the development potential of fishing, both tourist and char production, and the sport hunting was that these are renewable resource-based projects. Renewable resources are seen as the most likely way to promote successful community-based economic development. It is certainly true that renewable resources have greater potential to provide sustained economic opportunity than do the capital-intensive, short-term non-renewable extraction projects undertaken in the north. But the evidence shows clearly that the renewable resource factor is not enough and that not all renewable resource opportunities can or should be developed.
Regional development staff in Inuvik expressed their frustration at Paulatuk's unwillingness to take advantage of the community's economic opportunities. Careful consideration must be given, however, to whether these are indeed 'real' opportunities. Many things that appeared to be opportunities did not, in fact, serve community needs. In some cases, these opportunities conflicted with other activities that were of greater contribution to the local economy. Apparent business opportunities sometimes had a low net return of income to the community; only a small part of the sport hunter's fees, for instance, was spent in the community. The program appeared more geared to providing a wilderness experience for the tourists than to filling economic vacuums in the Paulatuk economy.

Economic development must be successful both from a social community standpoint and as businesses. We have already suggested that many necessary business management skills are currently lacking in Paulatuk. These skill have to be developed in local people before renewable resource opportunities can be pursued. Many of the government officials who promote projects are not themselves skilled in business planning and they often initiate enterprises that, given the management problems and distance from markets cannot hope to compete successfully with established white-owned businesses. Unfortunately, failures of such ventures add to the obstacles against future success.
Other economic opportunities may not be real opportunities because they strain community relations. Development must be socially appropriate. Certain forms of entrepreneurship are conflict-generating. There is often opposition to any project that will lead to the accumulation of wealth by individuals in the community. The maintenance of personal independence as producers is also critical to the acceptability and success of economic development ventures. Many projects require behaviour that clashes with Inuit autonomy, dignity and self-respect. Projects must be scheduled so as not to conflict with other activities that contribute through subsistence or commercial income to the local economy or that are sources of personal and social satisfactions.

In almost every case of economic development projects begun in the community, critical elements were the lack of appropriateness, analysis and planning, and management. Nearly every one involved creating some conflict between the activity and other sources of income. In many cases people lost money or time that could have brought in domestically consumed food of unknown value. The lack of careful analysis and planning in starting these projects resulted in overlooking factors that should have been considered.

The regional development people interested in starting a reindeer herd, for instance, overlook the facts that community residents aren't interested, that they currently hunt caribou
in that area, that no-one local has the skills to manage a herd and supervise herding staff, that inability of individuals in the community to enjoy the rewards of additional work remove much of the incentive normally motivating entrepreneurship and that it took over twenty years and massive government subsidies of advisors, marketing assistance, financial planning and management, and funds to make a success of the herd in Tuktoyaktuk.

Directions for Economic Development that Works

Paulatuk's experiences with economic development have illustrated a number of the principles on which economic development that is successful in both business and social terms can be based as well as some of the pitfalls. Despite the reservation that renewable resources per se may not be appropriate vehicles for community development, such projects do offer the basis for viable economic enhancement in Paulatuk and similar communities. By and large these are projects that directly support and contribute to the lifestyle and values of the community. They are compatible with existing skills and aspirations, and are either traditional or 'easy transitions' from traditional activities.

There are several types of economic development programs that contribute directly to supporting ongoing subsistence or commercial resource harvesting, by providing cash income needed. We noted earlier that wage work is often sought in
order to be able to keep hunting, and that this often results in a loss of income and production. The funds granted to Paulatuk residents to establish an Outpost Camp about 100 miles south of Paulatuk allowed the recipients to increase their efficiency and productivity in both income-in-kind (country food) and cash income from trapping. The initial capitalization at a level sufficient for profitable operations is conducive to developing self-sufficiency. It also provided the basis for the reaffirmation of the traditional lifestyle and escape from alcohol and other stresses encountered in the community.

A much larger program that recognizes the economic value of subsistence production and attempts to support its continuation is the Cree Income Security Program established in the James Bay Area of Quebec. The program provides a guaranteed cash income to fulltime hunters on the basis of the number of days they spend in land-based activities and the number of dependents supported. The cash provides the equipment and other aspects of the technological support required for subsistence production, in recognition of the fact that these direct monetary payments cost less in the long run than providing welfare and unemployment benefits because of the production they facilitate. The program is also designed to provide support for specified hunters who produce country food for dependent members of the community, such as the disabled, elderly or widowed, who do not
otherwise have access to it. The project thus contributes to the enhancement of local economic production and general community wellbeing.

Renewable resource projects, however, are not the only forms of economic development that are appropriate. As cases in Paulatuk have shown, renewable resource projects must also contain elements of community control, compatibility with skills, resources and interests, and with other activities, longterm planning and development and general benefits to the community. Co-operatives and Community Development Corporations can be vehicles for achieving these.

In reviewing government socio-economic programs for native people in Saskatchewan, it was found that "self-help and local control are considered to be the most important components of economic and social development." Native communities need a developmental process which is sensitive to the needs of people and which is capable of pacing itself to the progress of the group... The development strategies must encourage and actively involve people in formulating the goals and objectives of economic and social initiatives... We looked at the existing programs and services, from all levels of government, for economic and social development for Native people. We found that programs have more emphasis on providing services to or for Native people rather than helping people to develop a capacity to provide their own services... The co-operative model with its emphasis on local/member control, democratic decision-making, and board/member/management education and training is ideally suited to the stated criteria for economic and social development... to Native and Indian groups wishing to have greater input and responsibility for their own destinies.
Although the experience of Paulatuk's co-operative was not particularly promising, co-operatives have been able to combine community resources and meet collective needs. The Co-operative movement in northern Quebec has been very effective in providing tools for community economic and social development. The Community Development Corporation model is also a significant tool for appropriate social and economic development. CDC's are like co-ops in that they combine social and economic development, but they are able, as non-profit organizations, to carry on a variety of projects that co-operatives cannot. CDC's "attempt to develop a strong business division which is put to the service of social goals": the non-profit organization sponsors profit-making ventures that in turn subsidize, support and complement social and cultural departments. Business projects are intended to be operated efficiently and to generate revenue, according to standard business techniques. They are not make-work projects. These businesses are linked, however, by the CDC umbrella to provide comprehensive solutions to community needs.

Community Development Corporations have been established by many native organizations. They have been very effective in Alaska, in turning the proceeds of the Land Claims Settlement to community advantage. The Inuvialuit (COPE), the Inuit Tapirisat and the Dene Nation have all established native Development Corporations.
One interesting example of a successful native development corporation is the Nicola Valley Indian Administration in British Columbia which:

co-ordinates a multitude of activities, all of which are ultimately directed at the eventual self-sufficiency of the five Nicola Bands and the personal economic development of their membership. The process is oriented toward long-term benefits rather than short-term profits by placing emphasis upon resource management, planning, training and the creation of opportunities for employment and commercial investment.

The Bands have been guided by a simple philosophy that the social problems and general well-being of the communities would resolve themselves as a matter of course if the resources available to the Bands were directed to socio-economic development on a broad base.

In pursuing this basic goal, two common themes persist throughout the recent history of the Nicola Valley Indian Administration:

i) **Local Control of Band Affairs** without DIA management or "advisory services" - resulting in a transfer of jobs from DIA employees to band members and the local Native community generally.

ii) **Community-Initiated Economic Development** in its broadest sense - resulting from the co-ordinated use of funds from all programs (Education, Welfare, Housing, etc) to assist with the financing of community-supported projects and activities managed by community members to provide the goods, services and accommodation needed by the community at large, and thereby providing employment, vocational training, etc. to members.  

The program of the Nicola Valley Indian Administration sets out some interesting points about community development. One is the link between social, community problems and economic strength; "community development requires an economic dimension." Another is that the personal economic development of individual members is compatible with the overall goals. The NVIA provides various forms of assistance
to privately-owned native businesses. This answers one Inuvialuit concern expressed by a COPE official that co-operatives and community projects were 'government socialism' not the traditional Inuvialuit way. Thirdly, the NVIA program stresses local control without government "advisory services". The NVIA use whatever sources of government funding are available, but they reject any funding that has strings attached. For instance, "if they say, we'll give you houses, but you have to use the Indian Affairs architect, we say no thanks." This has meant that many more jobs in community administration are available, and it means that programs are designed and implemented by the people most concerned according to their own priorities.

Finally, the NVIA base their projects on the co-ordinated use of funding. One of the major problems with economic development projects has always been the lack of coordination and comprehensiveness. This is commonly in the form of funding for operations without budgeting for training and technical support, or the provision of training without any avenues to obtain capital for businesses that will use the training. The NVIA have been able to ensure that money is not spent in one area unless funds are also available to provide whatever support is needed to get the desired results. The operations of the NVIA include Reserves and Trusts Administration(Registry); Co-ordinated Resource Management; Business Development and Advisory Services;
Nicola Valley Construction: N.V. Sand and Gravel; NVIA Developments Ltd (real estate): NVIA Services Assn. (owns office building, property for truck-stop cafe and service station development and fishing access); Valley Business Computer Services (data processing and accounting for Bands and members' businesses); two cattle companies; Nicola Native Lodge Society (intermediate care for seniors); NVIA Development Corporation (venture capital); Northwest Native Communications Corp (publishing and broadcasting); Training; Housing Co-ordination; Loan Fund: Youth Programs. All of these combine to provide and obtain services from each other and keep money in the community.

Nearly all community development projects stress the importance of community control and block-funding:

A major point of agreement is that government should support such corporations on a block-funding basis rather than a programme basis. The former allows the local group to set priorities and to be responsible for their own judgments while the latter transfers more of the responsibility to the government agency. All agree that block-funding allows much more flexibility. 27

There is also agreement that socio-economic development for native communities should be controlled by native people. The fact that by and large, the people currently holding authority for setting policies and designing and implementing programs are not native, not local and often not northerners at all, means that the services and institutions they provide are not always desirable or acceptable to native communities.
and are not appropriate or compatible with native needs, goals and aspirations. Like the criterion of renewable resource based, this fundamental principle for community-based economic development is not the answer per se, but it goes very far in the right directions:

Native-run bureaucracies are likely to demonstrate some of the same tendencies as white-run bureaucracies, such as organizational and professional self-interest dominating over the needs of clients. But Native organizations are far more likely than white-run bureaucracies to be responsive to Native constituencies. Natives very positions as leaders in Native organizations depend on support from their ethnic constituency. Moreover, as leaders and members of an oppressed group, they are likely to be more sensitive and responsive than non-natives to the needs of their people. Finally, Native-run organizations also have potential for solving some of the very problems that bring Natives into client status in the first place. The problems associated with Natives' status as dispossessed people living on the fringes of society can only be ameliorated by increasing Natives' control over some of the resources of the society. Such control has the potential for developing pride and self-confidence and also for furnishing models of success to native youth whose educational, social and psychological problems can be traced, in part, to the dearth of Native role models in their experience. 28

Native control over the delivery of social and economic development programs is an essential part of the Inuvialuit's Land Claim. Their proposal includes the establishment of a Western Arctic Regional Municipality with a regional, native-controlled administration directing policies and programs for Education, Game Management, and Socio-economic Development.
The Land Claims Process

This thesis has attempted to discuss processes of conflict and accommodation between a distinctive Inuvialuit way of life and the systems of industrial society in Paulatuk. It has looked at the struggle in its historical context and in the ongoing confrontation between the land-based hunting and trapping lifestyle and the wage employment/cash economy. Paulatuk people have fought to maintain their land-based identity; "land is the critical element of the past and the cornerstone of the future." They have tried to adopt the benefits of outside society selectively, while retaining important cultural elements of the community way of life.

Much of the struggle that has been described is related to the mundane, domestic issues of work routine and discipline. These issues, however, are deeper than the specific elements of work:

Typically, Europeans think of time as finite and substantive. Inuit do not, but are aware that the Europeans do. They are also aware that disregard for the importance of time is considered by Europeans to be typical Eskimo behaviour, and furthermore that too great or too frequent a disregard for time may lead to having one's pay docked or even dismissal. Thus choosing to follow the Inuktitut concept of time can deprive one of certain resources... The underlying issue is that of power. Individuals who don't follow the rules are denied access to resources. Following the rules is problematic because the basic transaction is not about concepts of time per se but rather about autonomy of the Inuit individual and the degree of legitimacy of the white man's rules.
The kinds of resistance that Paulatuk people put up to the authority and the legitimacy of white man's rules, such as their irresponsibility toward wage employment, has earned it the reputation of being difficult to deal with. As one government official put it, they took a "hands off approach" to Paulatuk. This has meant that unless actively pursued by the people, there is not a lot of government involvement in socio-economic development. Paulatuk people have kept out various aspects of social services and economic development, until they have been sufficiently organized and committed to obtain and to manage them on their own terms.

Paulatuk alone, however, does not have the strength to win the powers of self-determination that are needed. Government programs offer consultation and concessions without altering the external relations at the roots of the problem. Real solutions require restructuring of the arrangements that perpetuate inequitable access to resources and power. Paulatuk's struggles in daily life to preserve the community's way of life are complemented by the more formal political organizing done by COPE in connection with the land claims process:

As a minority group in this country, even though a majority in our own region, we have never been able to depend on the word of the government or other outside agencies. Their policies change too often because of factors that have nothing to do with us. For us, getting power to run our own lives means getting economic independence. That is why our organization has always worked for establishment of native rights and for a proper land settlement.
Two elements are inseparably combined in the Inuvialuit claim. One is the demand for native political rights. Paulatuk people cannot be guaranteed the survival of their way of life without political authority and control of policy and decision-making on issues related to the use and management of that land. The Inuvialuit currently face a multitude of threats to the basis of their lifestyle from the non-renewable resource developments occurring in their region. They do not have control over decision-making although these projects potentially have great impact on their lives; COPE's claims demand that control:

Is this society to be allowed to develop according to its own dynamic or steamrollered by somebody else's? If it is to develop according to its own dynamic and if its people are to influence the development of their own society, then they must have a substantial measure of autonomy and control. 32

The other point is that Inuvialuit development must be based on ownership of the land. Political and cultural autonomy are not of value without guaranteed ownership and ongoing participation in a native land-based economy. The maintenance of Inuvialuit community values and their dependency on the land is part of the Paulatuk peoples' day-to-day resistance and the collective struggle of the Inuvialuit land claims:

We must have lands so that we will have the means to bridge into the new society. We must be owners and managers. We must be able to participate, to learn by our experience through managing what is rightfully ours. 33
Paulatuk: Community Resistance

Many of the planes that fly into Paulatuk during the year bring government employees who spend some time, a few hours or a couple of days at most, "straightening things out" in the community. These outsiders take a look around, ask a few questions, give advice or directions, and go back to Inuvik to develop plans, design programs, set policies and make decisions concerning community affairs.

One day, as we watched a group of economic development officers return to their plane following a meeting, one of the women commented that there was "no need for whites coming in and telling us what to do." It was all right for whites to come and help do a job for the community, she said, but not to run things and do things in their (the whites') own way: "People don't like being pushed around." According to her, in Paulatuk whites weren't allowed to control the way things happened in the community. She claimed that the people were strong enough to make the whites do things in "the settlement's way."

This woman expressed the resentment many people feel about the presence of white bureaucrats in the community. Most are resigned to the fact that as long as the government controls the delivery of services in the settlement, strangers must be tolerated in order to receive medical attention, education, housing, and other socio-economic programs. Experiences show, however, that, no matter how
well intentioned, these outsiders rarely do "straighten things out" to the satisfaction of the community. There is a high-turnover of personnel, they do not stay long enough, they do not really listen to people. Most government employees have their own agendas and other interests to serve. The programs they administer are half-measures, not going far enough to solve problems or adequately meet needs. People are used to broken promises, and to experts who think they know what's best for Paulatuk better than the people who live there. Just because local people are used to it, however, doesn't mean they like it.

The woman's claim that Paulatuk ran its own affairs was, of course, wishful thinking. But is is an expression of their aspirations, their vision for the future and their determination.
Notes: Chapter Five


3. Peter J. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic". Evidence presented to the Berger Inquiry on behalf of COPE (Yellowknife 1976) p.12


The dreamers refered to are private resource extraction project personel, planning, pipelines and mines and logging, etc. on native land.

6. Ignatius E. La Rusic, "Issues Relating to Employment in the North" (Ottawa 1976 (unpubl)) p.1

7. ibid., p.2

8. interview notes, *Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Study*, Public Archives, Ottawa

9. LaRusic, "Issues Relating to Employment", p.6

10. ibid., p.7

11. ibid.

Although in some cases (such as a move to a large settlement, or the destruction of resources, i.e. by mercury, adopting wage labour means the total cessation of subsistence production and a switch to storebought food ("which to a Cree is to have the family eat poorly", LaRusic, *From Hunter to Proletarian*, 1969 p.36), the reliance on subsistence is often so great that native people make a special effort to maintain hunting activity as well as holding regular jobs. Fulltime hunters in Fort George were able, by focusing on small game available near town and by scheduling holidays to coincide with seasonal game-runs, to produce a significant family food supply. Paulatuk workers, too,
have taken advantage of resource availability (more than in Tuktoyaktuk or Inuvik) and relative isolation from supervision of their time to keep up harvesting. Many fulltime employees participated almost as fully in fishing and hunting as those whose primary occupation was land-based. Some kept families of up to fifteen people fed on country food as weekend, sparetime hunters.


15. ibid., p.36

16. For instance, it took over four years to complete a project to build a much-needed community centre in Paulatuk. A project to build a simple centre was underway when the then-Commissioner promised a larger facility with space for offices, etc. Planning for this project was begun with considerable input from community residents in the 'planning process', but funding was not made available for the more elaborate design. After several years, including an effort by a sympathetic official to divert funds from another program, the centre was completed under a simplified plan much the like original proposal.


22. ibid., p.1-2

23. George MacLeod, "Community Development Corporations" p.183-186.


25. MacLeod, "Community Development Corporations", p.187

26. ibid.

27. Dorothy Jones, The Urban Native Encounters the Social Service System, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research (Fairbanks: University of Alaska 1974) p.63

28. COPE, "Inuvialuit Land Claims", information sheet (Inuvik 1979)


30. Sam Raddi, COPE news release (Inuvik, August 1973)

31. Peter J. Usher, "Evaluating Change, the case of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline", Symposium on Evaluating Change, Committee on the Human Environment, Social Science Research Council (Edmonton June 1975) p.13

32. COPE, "Inuvialuit Land Claims"


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### Appendix II

**Population Growth Rates**

<table>
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<th>Increase(%)</th>
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<td>Inuvik</td>
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<td>Frobisher Bay</td>
<td>1,680</td>
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<td>860</td>
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<td>Tuktoyaktuk</td>
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<td>585</td>
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<td>Cape Dorset</td>
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<td>Coppermine</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>Paulatuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bathurst Inlet</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
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Sources:
- N.W.T. Community Data Book 1974
- "Local Government in the N.W.T.", Office of the Special Representative, (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development 1978)
Appendix III

Calculating Imputed Value

1. Edible Weight of game species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Edible Weight (pounds)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Caribou</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musk ox</td>
<td>300</td>
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<td>Brown Bear</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducks</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptarmigan</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringed Seal meat</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blubber</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bearded Seal</td>
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</table>

Sources:
(These values are based on data in *The Bankslanders*, Peter J. Usher)
2. **Protein & Fat Content of Wild & Domestic Meats**

(grams per 100 grams of edible portion, uncooked, wet)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Protein</th>
<th>Fat</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Protein</th>
<th>Fat</th>
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<td>Caribou</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Hamburger</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Moose</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Whale</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lamb</td>
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<td>Ptarmigan</td>
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<td>Whitefish</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trout</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: P.J. Usher, "The Traditional Economy of the Western Arctic". Evidence presented to the Berger Inquiry on behalf of COPE, (Yellowknife 1976), Table 6

3. **Replacement Costs for Country Food**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Substitute</th>
<th>Protein</th>
<th>Imputed Price/ Pound</th>
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<tr>
<td>Big Game (Caribou, muskox)</td>
<td>beef</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.00 4.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marine</td>
<td>pork</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>6.00 4.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.00 2.00</td>
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APPENDIX IV

Legend

- seal: wolverine
- fish: fox, red
- whale: lynx
- walrus: marten
- polar bear: beaver
- wildfowl: muskrat
- caribou: Arctic hare
- moose: ground squirrel
- musk ox: sheep
- grizzly bear: traplines (almost exclusively fox)
- wolf: fox trapping areas on trapping maps
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