SOCIAL FLEXIBILITY AND INTEGRATION
IN A CANADIAN INUIT SETTLEMENT:
LAKE HARBOUR, N.W.T.; 1970

by

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ABSTRACT

The flexibility of Inuit social organization may be defined as a lack of societal preference among several different courses of action. Although the concept of flexibility has wide application to Inuit social organization this does not suggest that there is a complete lack of structure and order. Some of the parameters of flexibility are described through behaviour which is either disapproved or required.

Two theses are advanced. One is that flexibility allows creative action which is potentially adaptive and/or integrative. This point is developed by showing a variety of ways in which different Inuit men in Lake Harbour effectively utilize combinations of hunting, trapping, carving and wage-labour, each in a manner unique to himself.

The other thesis is that Inuit society is integrated wholly through mutually consensual dyadic relationships. There are two ways in which the importance of these relationships are shown in Inuit life. One is lack of imposed authority; the other is the rich variety of ritual and other relationships which are either based or seen to be based on the consensus of the two participants for the initiation and content, of the relationship.

Local group leadership shows this clearly as men recognize a man as leader only while he provides them benefits. The characteristic attributes of leadership (age, skill in hunting, knowledge, position as head of a large kin group and ownership of a boat) do not result in leadership if a man is unable to provide resources to others.

The importance of mutually consensual dyadic relationships is shown through descriptions of rejected children and orphans, who receive what Euro-Canadians consider to be trauma-inducing abuse and rejection, yet appear to develop healthy personalities through acceptance and nurturance on the part of peers and sympathetic adults.

Because of the dyadic consensual nature of Inuit social organization, its integration relies critically on Inuit voluntarily establishing ties of dependence and support.
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The reader will find several usages in this paper which are perhaps unfamiliar to him. The term "Euro-Canadian" refers to the White population found in the Canadian Arctic, for Canadians and Europeans form its largest part, although the term White is also used. Euro-North American is used when describing modes of thought common to Europeans and North Americans. The Word Inuit (singular Inuk) refers to Eskimos, for the latter term is disliked by some Inuit and, indeed, often has a pejorative connotation in such centres as Frobisher Bay. If anyone objects to rejecting the term "Eskimo" I can only say that it seems a small thing to call a group by the name which they prefer. "Kabloona" refers to Euro-Canadians as perceived by Inuit. Vallee (1967) made this term "Kabloona" current among social scientists and so I use his spelling although in other dialects it would appear differently. If all the variant versions of the word were used from different dialects by writers with different orthographies, dozens of permutations are possible. I have seen krablunak, kadlunak, kallunak, galunak, gadlunak and gallunaaq.

Dozens of people deserve thanks for their part in furthering this thesis. I am especially grateful to the Lake Harbour Inuit who helped me to learn what little I know of their way of life. Many helped me, especially Sandy Akavak, Timilak Pitsiulak, Arluktoq, Kutsiadjuk and Qipaniq. To all of them "qujanamik!" I also thank the Hudson's Bay Co. and George Croston, Lake Harbour H.B.C. manager, for valuable access to much information on fur and skin yields. In writing my thesis I was helped by Dr. W. Willmott, my
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SETTLEMENT OF LAKE HARBOUR, N.W.T.

KEY
1 Through 21 - Inuit Households
22 Writer's Residence
23 Linguist's Residence
24 Area Administrator's Residence
25 Mechanic's Residence
26 Parsonage
27 Anglican Church
28 H.B.C. Store
29 H.B.C. Manager's Residence
30 R.C.M.P. Officer's Residence
31 Student Hostel & Teachers' Residence

N.B.-Building Size is Only Approximate.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Many researchers have treated Inuit flexibility as a lack of behavioural rigidity in Inuit society and in response to the physical environment (Briggs 1970) (Guemple 1970) (Honigmann 1959: 119) (Willmott 1960). In this paper I propose to examine the nature and parameters of that flexibility and to relate Inuit flexibility to the integration of Inuit personality and the social order.

The word "flexibility" itself can have different meanings. In Websters New Collegiate Dictionary there are several meanings which could refer to the Inuit situation "...2. yielding to influence; 3. capable of responding or conforming to changing or new situations" (Gove 1970: 869). Honigmann was the first to analyze Inuit society in terms of its flexibility, which he defined as "...a relaxed mode of procedures and tolerant attitudes towards demands of living" (1959: 119). However, rather than restrict this paper to a single definition of flexibility, I will attempt to demonstrate the nature of relationships (both with society and environment) which among Inuit are characterized by a lack of rigidly specified actions in response to society and environment. Unless I am specifically using the term "flexibility" in another writer's terms, the reader can assume that I use it to describe situations in which there is no strong societal preference among several different courses of action.

Let us look further into the literature on Inuit flexibility to see what implications previous research has on my topic.
Honigmann first suggested flexibility as a characteristic of Inuit culture as one of several other related features which were all subsumed as part of the ethos of Inuit culture at Great Whale River, P.Q. (1959). Therefore, to understand his use of flexibility, one must first examine his idea of ethos to understand the concept of which flexibility forms a part.

He defines ethos as "the emotional aspects" abstracted from artifacts and behaviour (i.e. culture) "...an attempt is made to explain the emotional quality of an activity, thought or artifact in terms of psychological drive theory" (1959: 106). To amplify the above quotation, Honigmann considers two other concepts as being very similar to his ethos concept: Kröeber's "style" and Weakland's "form" (Honigmann 1959: 106-109). Yet these last two concepts are not useful in defining Honigmann's ethos concept, for they seem to have little to do with either it or Inuit society. For myself, his ethos concept is so vague that I cannot even conceive of what ideally are "the emotional aspects of culture" and therefore cannot evaluate the concept as such.

Yet despite the questionable nature of his concept of ethos, Honigmann does isolate out what to me are some of the most salient aspects of Inuit culture, which I can only appreciate and utilize.

To give an overview of the features of Inuit culture which, along with flexibility, were abstracted from Honigmann's data, all six aspects of the Great Whale River ethos are listed:

A. A frank friendly genial and rather spontaneous demeanor in interpersonal relations, to which is related, prior to marriage especially, an easy relationship with members of the opposite sex and a capacity to form deep emotional attachments.
B. A confident and optimistic approach to at least the ordinary problems of existence.

C. A narcissistic idealization of the self along with a strong feeling of responsibility for one's actions.

D. A relatively quick vulnerability to hurt and to frustration that may be related to a capacity for empathy.

E. Rejection and avoidance of aggression.

F. Flexibility with regard to many procedures (but not to the point of disorderliness or undependability) accompanied by a relative absence of magicality.

Remembering that Honigmann defines Inuit flexibility as "...a relaxed mode of procedures and tolerant attitudes towards demands of living", he attempts to give a qualitative comparison by noting that Inuit flexibility does not approach the disorderliness of the Aymara and Kaska (ibid: 119). Rather than give spurious comparisons or illustrations like this, I will compare the nature and extent of Inuit flexibility and behaviour to that of the Whites in the Arctic, not in order to use Euro-Canadians as a control group (which could not be justified methodologically) but rather to yield data on the culture complex which affects Inuit most acutely and will illustrate and hopefully explain some of the difficulties of culture contact in the Canadian East Arctic.

An important point is that Inuit social life is not completely impromptu and haphazard, for Honigmann notes that there is ordering in behaviour and that, for example, although food lies accessible the child does not dive into it whenever he feels hungry but waits until mother feeds him. He notes that flexibility is not as high as it could be theoretically (ibid: 120). Hopefully, I will be able to set forth some of the parameters of this flexibility.
Willmott greatly clarified the effects of Inuit flexibility, not by seeing it as a part of a cultural theme, but by describing specific areas of Inuit culture (family organization, kinship terminology, community organization and recreation) and then describing the effects of the flexibility observable in the activities of those areas. He also drew out the theoretical implications of Inuit flexibility. The questions that he raised about the nature and consequences of flexibility in Inuit society stimulated this paper and its two theses.

In assessing the importance of Inuit flexibility Willmott begins with the household, the basic social unit. Yet the essential needs which it exists to fulfill (food, sewing, emotional support, sleeping space, sex) are often satisfied elsewhere. Post-marriage locality depends on situational factors and can be described as flexible. There is a wide range of family types, and adoption is an important means of household recruitment (16% at Port Harrison in 1959, 13% at Lake Harbour from 1961 to 1970). Kinship terminology is frequently non-specific and is more "appropriate to the nature of the personal relationships between the two" in question than to genealogical position and kin terms are used between unrelated people (Willmott 1960: 51). Community organization has varied from that of small flexible bands without clearly marked leadership, through stable camps with quite powerful leaders to settlement living without long-term leadership (ibid: 49, 51, 52-54).

After reviewing the orientation in family organization, kin-
ship terminology and community organization which have been a part of Inuit experience, Willmott suggests that acculturation has been "relatively free of conflict at (Port) Harrison" because "action patterns were not rigid nor heavily value-laden (and) they could adapt to the changing situation without the Eskimo feeling an overwhelming sense of loss". (ibid: 55). Changes in community organization offer some especially clear-cut examples of this. Willmott correctly notes that Inuit often react to changes wrought by both environmental factors and by Euro-Canadians in the same manner: by accepting and adapting to the changes. This acceptance is often accompanied by the arunamut attitude which says, in effect, "One accepts without protest because nothing can be done about it!"; and the issue in question can be a refusal of credit, a drop in the price of furs or carvings, even mandatory school attendance for children. Willmott has pointed out that Inuit, flexibility has aided acculturation. (ibid: 55-56). But adaptation to changing circumstances also occurs when Inuit take creative action to utilize factors present in the situation in a creative manner which I believe is permitted by their flexibility. And so one thesis of this paper is that "flexibility allows creative action and this creative action is potentially adaptive and/or integrative". Creative processes are those which re-combine elements present in the situation into new configurations. Adaptation is adjustment to an altered environment. The definition of integration to be used in this paper is from an article by Landecker (1951: 40) in which he develops Smend's approach to integration as "the constant unification" of the members of a group.
The second thesis of this paper relates to issues raised by Willmott about the relation between Inuit flexibility and the integration of the various levels of their society: "For if patterns of behaviour are not standardized as values...what produces solidarity and integration in the society, in the local group or in the family?" (1960: 57). Because the household is the basic unit of Inuit society,

"One would therefore expect it to be highly integrated, with strong interdependence not only on the economic level, but on the personality level as well. But the relative ease with which children are passed from one family to another, and the apparent lack of personality damage to children resulting from even repeated adoptions, indicates that ties between parents and children are easily broken, easily made...

(S)ince we know that personal identity is learned from relationships, how does the child gain his sense of personal identity? How does he learn to understand his status and...his relationship with other members of the society? It has been assumed by social scientists...that this personal identity comes from the unique relationship between parent and child, especially mother and child. Is it possible that personal identity may develop without such a unique relationship...?" (ibid).

The integration of the local group is also problematic, for kinship is not the principal means of this integration and both economic co-operation and leadership can vary from that of a high order to relatively none.

Again, I believe that Inuit flexibility fosters a situation in which original, creative patterns of behaviour can exist and so I suggest as the second thesis of this paper that "Inuit society is integrated through consensual relationships which are created by the actors who participate in them". Hopefully this thesis
will verify to some degree the point that among Inuit there is no interpersonal relationship whose initiation and content can be taken for granted—not even that between mother and child.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EURO-CANADIAN CONTACT AT
LAKE HARBOUR, N.W.T. AND A
DESCRIPTION OF THE SETTLEMENT

Lake Harbour (62°51'N, 69°53'W) is located on the southern coast of Baffin Island, at the head of North Bay. It is seventy-five miles southwest of its administrative centre at Frobisher Bay. This distance can be travelled by skidoo in from five to eight hours (see Map, page iii).

When Boas did fieldwork in 1883-1884 he learned of three groups that inhabited the southern shore of Baffin Island; the Shikosuilarmiut, the Akuliarmiut and the Qaumauangmiut (1888: 13). He reported infrequent contacts between the first two, because of a long uninhabited coast, and fairly frequent contacts between the latter two. One of the winter camps of the Akuliarmiut (and of many Qaumauangmiut) was at North Bay. Boas reported that American whalers had already established a station in Akuliarmiut, and the Inuit there were amply supplied with firearms and other European trade goods. Whalers estimated the population of that shore as follows: fifty Skikosuilarmiut, two hundred Akuliarmiut and fifty Qaumauangmiut, the people being scattered along the coast in many camps (ibid: 14, 55, 60).

Lake Harbour was the site selected for the first permanent religious mission on the southern shore of Baffin Island. In 1909 Archibald Lang Fleming, under the auspices of the Anglican church,
landed there and began learning the language, translating the Bible and traveling both east and west, instructing and teaching the people. By 1920 the great majority of the people seem to have been converted, for in that year Fleming reports the baptism of the one shaman from that area who had been the most insistent in refusing to hear and accept the gospel (Fleming 1965: 49, 203-205). The conversion of the Inuit to Anglicanism seems complete for I encountered no evidence of shamanism whatsoever, and Christian topics enter naturally into everyday conversation.

On landing at Lake Harbour, Fleming found that the Scots whaler Active had been long active in hiring men to mine mica from an inland mine. In addition about eighty Inuit men were hired yearly to work on the ship hunting whales. Their entire families accompanied them on the ship. Trading was also carried on (ibid: 56).

The Hudson's Bay Company established a post at Lake Harbour in 1911 and has continued there to this day. Hence the jocular interpretation of H.B.C., "Here Before Christ", does not apply to this particular community. Whereas the whaling captains had traded European goods for various furs and baleen, the H.B.C. stressed the trapping of white fox to the exclusion of other economic pursuits (Fleming 1965: 164-165).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a post in 1924 on the east side of the fjord. Its duties have remained almost the same from that year to the present; the maintenance of law
and order, the issue of relief credits, and caretaking of Canada's Arctic sovereignty and preventing misuse of wildlife resources. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police now also handles mail and has the principal radio contact with Frobisher Bay. In the summer of 1970 all responsibility for welfare payments was transferred to the local Area Administrator, under the new Northwest Territories government. As Graburn noted, the Anglican church and the H.B.C. have had much more effect on the lives of the people than has the R.C.M.P. (1963: 2). In 1921 the H.B.C. opened a store at Amadjuak, but it was closed in 1938. The U.S.A.F. operated a radio station at Lake Harbour during World War II.

Following the war a Nursing Station was operated, first by the Anglican Church and later by the Department of National Health and Welfare. Both it and a boat-building project opened in 1953 were closed due to misunderstandings among the Whites and between them and the Inuit.

During the 1950s the construction of the Dew-Line station at Frobisher Bay attracted large numbers of people with hopes of wage-work and a higher standard of living. Between 1880 and 1954 the population of the area probably varied between 250 and 330, but by 1960 there were only 120, for most of the rest had left for Frobisher Bay (Graburn 1963: 2-3).

By 1960 the H.B.C., Anglican Mission and R.C.M.P. were all thinking of closing their facilities, and Graburn was hired by the N.C.R.C. to conduct a study and from his findings present data that could aid the government in planning for the future of
the people there (ibid: preface). He recommended strongly that Lake Harbour not be closed (ibid: 26-29). Whether or not his recommendations were heeded is beyond the scope of this work, but none of the above institutions closed their doors, and since 1965 there has been considerable government investment in two new generators, a new three-room school, twenty-two new three-bedroom houses, a hostel for house teachers and students from the camps as well as a two-storey house for the Area Administrator. These works had been preceded by an increase in the population to about 140, largely people dissatisfied with life in Frobisher Bay. During the summer of 1970 Shell Oil invested in the construction of two 4,000 barrel oil tanks. If Lake Harbour were closed today there would be almost a total write-off of more than $500,000,000 (Higgins 1967: 133).

The Inuit population of Lake Harbour was 167 in December, 1969. There were twenty-one households in the settlement and four in the permanent camp of Qiudjuak which is seventeen miles from the fjord. An extensive input-output analysis of energy flow in the camp is presented by Kemp (1971: 104ff).

Lake Harbour has been the scene of considerable scientific research. Dr. Dewey Soper of the Department of the Interior studied the zoology, geology and geography of southern Baffin Island with Lake Harbour as his base. Dozens of explorations in the area are detailed in Millward (1929).

Lake Harbour has long been considered one of the most beautiful settlements in Canada's Eastern Arctic, but Euro-Canadians
Who arrive there today usually comment that this was probably true before forty-two buildings were put up and dozens of electric poles were erected, projecting up into the sky.

During the field work period the responsibilities of the various agencies were as follows: the H.B.C. bought furs, skins and carvings (but no sewn goods); sold basic and luxury goods and advanced credit; the R.C.M.P. administered social welfare, the mails, provided health care (if no nurse was present) and emergency communication and enforced game laws; the Area Administrator as the senior government official implicitly but informally oversaw all governmental activities, more explicitly he was school principal (and so oversaw the teacher) and himself taught. The D.O.T. mechanic officially oversaw the maintenance of all governmental equipment; this included water supply, electricity, sewage pickup, stoves and furnaces but informally he always helped private agencies with their equipment; the missionary and his wife held services for both Inuit and Whites, he also continued his translations. The following all consecutively fulfilled the above functions during the fieldwork period: three H.B.C. managers, two R.C.M.P. officers, two Area Administrators, two D.O.T. mechanics and one missionary. Two teachers taught simultaneously for awhile. All wives of the married agency representatives were in Lake Harbour.

Also present were two researchers, a linguist from the University of Toronto and myself.

Sociologically the town's layout is most interesting. Most of the Euro-Canadians live north of the stream shown on the map on
The lands leased by the H.B.C. are delineated. On that side of the stream are the quarters for the H.B.C. manager, the missionary, the mechanic and the Area Administrator. There are only three dwellings for Inuit on the northern side of town, and two of these are the only three-bedroom houses to have been unoccupied. The people clearly prefer to live south of the stream in the midst of friends and relatives.

In the settlement all of the Inuit (except for two families newly arrived from Frobisher Bay) live in three-bedroom houses with kitchen, living room and bathroom. Water is supplied twice a week to the fifty gallon tank in each house by a Caterpillar-pulled tank which is mounted on a huge sled or wagon (depending on the season). The water comes from a lake close to the settlement. Sewage is collected daily in plastic "honey bags" and deposited either inland or out on the sea ice. Both of these municipal services are carried out by Inuit under the supervision of the D.O.T. mechanic.

The Week's Activities

On Sunday morning the Inuit either visit around to the houses of friends and relatives or remain at home, perhaps reading the Bible text for the day from the syllabic translation, perhaps playing with their children, or even just sitting, enjoying a leisurely breakfast of tea and bannock with jam. The morning service begins at 11:00 a.m., but by 10:30 some families are already on the way. By 10:50 almost everyone has started. After knocking either snow or mud from their shoes they enter the Church and sit quietly.
Extra chairs and benches will probably have to be fetched from the mission house by the young men for almost everyone comes unless sick or tending someone who is sick. Skidoos can be heard buzzing along, loaded with a wife and many children, right up to 11:00 a.m. In winter about twenty skidoos are parked in front of the church. Around 10:55 one of the young boys rings the steeple-bell.

Families usually sit together, and certain families like to always sit in the same pew. Otherwise if a male sits first in a pew then usually males will continue to choose that one, while females will sit in pews occupied by other females. By the time the church is almost full one is glad to find a seat anywhere.

Then the Anglican minister, a native of northern England, enters in his robes, followed by the lay catechist, an older and respected Inuk who is considered by Euro-Canadians to be the leader of the Inuit. These men conduct the service, and the missionary's wife plays the hymns on a small organ. This service and all others are in the people's own language.

Whites are conspicuous by their absence (except for the social scientists present in the community). The great majority of the Euro-Canadians enter rarely, if ever, into either the church or the evening English hymn service held in the missionary's home.

The church itself is small and was built by the people themselves. Inside, the pews are simple and gray, and small sealskins sewn by the women serve as seats and cushions for kneeling. The
altar has a sealskin cover also made by the women. A tapestry of the Last Supper hangs above the altar. On the wall is a bronze plaque commemorating in syllabic characters Pudlo, one of the first converts at the mission established by Fleming, who later became a missionary to the Inuit of the Baker Lake region.

At noon, the service ends and the children stream out, first pausing to shake hands with the missionary who stands inside the door, then with the lay catechist who stands without. The adults follow, each shaking hands with the two men and saying gujanamik ("One is grateful"). The Inuit often go directly to a relative's house for tea and very likely a feast of raw seal, caribou and ptarmigan, the men slicing the meat held in their teeth with knives, the women using an ulu (the semi-circular women's knife).

The afternoon is spent napping or visiting by both Inuit and Euro-Canadians. As the Inuit visit, they may continue eating raw meat and will certainly continue consuming tea and bannock. Visits among the Whites will perhaps be accompanied with more cakes, cookies and chips than is normal during the week.

At 1:00 p.m. the bell rings for Sunday school, which is held in the classroom in the missionary's house. The children of the resident Euro-Canadians often attend this class. At 2:00 p.m. this class is over, and the teen-age boys and girls come together in the mission's classroom. Whereas the missionary's wife teaches the young children, the Inuk R.C.M.P. special constable teaches the teen-agers.
The evening service begins at 6:00 p.m., and at 5:55 the steeple bell is again rung by one of the boys. Attendance at this service is always less than at the morning service. If it is Communion Sunday (the first in the month) then only those who are baptized will stay to share the sacraments. Otherwise, at the end of the service there will be Bible recitations. Each year a book of the Bible is chosen (in 1970 it was John) and those who have been asked earlier by the minister will each recite as much as he or she can remember of a section that he or she has chosen.

At the conclusion of the Bible recitation the people file out as before, each shaking hands with the minister and the lay reader, saying 'gujanamik. There are several lay readers, all men in their 50s, and one of them may aid in the morning service instead of the lay catechist if he is absent.

The adult Inuit return either to home or to visit with a relative or friends. The children will probably be playing, and the games vary with the time of the year and group preference. Adults are usually almost all in bed by midnight, but many of the children and teen-agers stay up several hours more; this is true for every night of the week.

At 9:00 Monday morning the children are all in school, the wage-workers are at work and those who hunt are either working on gear or helping someone with his, enjoying breakfast, visiting or waiting for the store to open between 9:30 and 10:00 so that supplies can be bought. Those who bought supplies Saturday have probably gone on out hunting. Or a man may decide to carve if the
weather is not good, if his credit is poor (or getting that way) or if there are rumours that one of the Euro-Canadians who charter a plane and fly around buying carvings is coming. These activities occur all week except Sunday for resting on the Sabbath is heavily stressed.

At noon the children always come home for lunch and return to school by one, as do those who do wage work for Euro-Canadians.

By three in the afternoon the children are out of school playing, and by five the wage-workers are headed for home, on their skidoos if winter, walking if summer.

By evening, no matter what day it is, the hunters will very likely have returned, since over-night stops are only taken if a group of men are going as far as the Amadjuak-Markham Bay area. Any night of the week a feast is likely to occur, a child going around to invite Inuit relatives and friends.

Tuesday evening at 8:00 the men go to the mission classroom for a class led by the missionary. They frequently discuss the exact meanings of words in order to aid the missionary with his translation of the Old Testament.

Wednesday afternoon around 3:00 the women go to the mission classroom for a short service and sewing session. Sewn goods of sealskin made during these sessions are sold in Canada, the U.S. and in Lake Harbour to Euro-Canadians, and the resulting monies are sent to aid an Anglican mission in Ethiopia.
Thursday afternoon the hunters will leave for home earlier than usual in order to arrive in time for the song service that night. It begins at 7:00, and the service consists of hymns chosen by the people. A person calls out in English the number of the hymn he would like, and then the whole congregation sings it. At the end of the service there is a short sermon by the missionary, after which the last hymn is chosen by one of the people and the service is over.

If Saturday is warm (30°F or higher) a man may take his pre-adolescent son or daughter hunting with him.

Any night of the week there might be a game of cards (patik) in someone's house. A drinking party among Inuit is less likely for the supply of liquor is small (only that which comes in from Frobisher Bay—there is no homebrew), and drinking is opposed by many of the people and by the missionary. All of the children are quite terrified of drinking and are sure that two cans of beer would be fatal.

There are no "community" activities for the Euro-Canadians except at the major holidays. An evening typically finds some of them visiting at the house of a friend, talking, perhaps drinking, perhaps playing cards. The clique relationships between Euro-Canadians will be examined in a later chapter.
CHAPTER III
SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN LAKE HARBOUR

One of my approaches to the issue of whether or not flexibility is a useful concept for the analysis of Inuit integration will be by taking the analytical perspectives of Durkheim, Smend and Landecker on integration and then applying these perspectives to various levels of Inuit society to see what patterns of integration can be found. These patterns of integration will then be analyzed to see if flexibility is present and if so, then what is the nature and parameters of that flexibility.

In reading Durkheim on social integration there is a problem in knowing exactly what he meant by mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Angell interprets mechanical solidarity to be "...the integration of parts through common values and beliefs" while organic solidarity is "...integration through interdependence" (1968: 381). Whether or not Angell is correct about Durkheim, the difference between ties based on common values and from ties based on interdependence is surely worth pursuing. So I will proceed with Angell's interpretation of Durkheim.

Let us take Inuit society at three different levels (the political group, the local group and the household) and compare their integration by Angell's interpretation of Durkheim during three different periods of time; the first period of early contact with whalers, ca. 1880 (as described by Boas 1888); second, during the period of intensive trapping (ca. 1920-1950); and third, during the present period of centralization into government-subsidized settlements.
Contact with Whites brought a new people into the Inuit environment. Yet we do not know if or to what degree this resulted in a consciousness by Inuit of themselves as a people with a common culture. These new arrivals were "explained" into reality by means of myth; the story of the young girl who slept with a dog and bore the forefathers of Indians and Whites is well known (Boas 1888: 229) (Rink 1875: 471). A more recent version from Back River tells of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden as the origin of Inuit and Whites (Briggs 1970).

Conversion to Christianity meant that the new flock was often brought into the struggle between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church (Buliard 1963: 73) (Fleck 1969: 42), but their self-image as Catholics or Anglicans has little effect on social integration. I also find it hard to say if membership in a single church increases the mechanical solidarity of a local group. Suffice it to say that the members of a family resident at Lake Harbour for ten years, who have neither consanguines nor affines, are still treated largely as strangers, despite their active participation in church affairs.

An emic interpretation of the Inuit political group would include those Inuit who had similarity of dialect and dress and who considered each other as real or potential relatives and among whom unchallenged and peaceful trade were normal. There was a diffuse expectation of good treatment at the hands of other members of this group as opposed to distrust and uncertainty when traveling outside of it to the region of those who were not in this political group. Within it a man could travel and receive no chal-
challenge from anyone. However, when traveling to a camp or hunting area outside of it he would be challenged to a duel or test of strength which could end in death for either disputant (Boas 1888: 201). Boas delimits some of these political groups (ibid: 54-57).

With the period of centralization into large settlements (post-1950) many settlements drew in people from different political groups, e.g. at Frobisher Bay, Clyde River (Stevenson 1972: 112) and Povungnituk. In Frobisher Bay today the Inuit definitely perceive the different political groups as continuing to be endogamous, and endogamy was one of the characteristics of the political group. Marriage outside of it was infrequent. Unfortunately I have no information on whether or not marriage in Frobisher Bay is principally within the bounds of political groups. Yet, one of the organic ties of the political group is still perceived as being in operation.

During all three of the periods delineated, the common values and beliefs of the political group had the effect of representing a large audience to which an individual's shame or prestige was sure to be communicated. Concurrent with this, sanctions (both positive and negative) were in effect or potentially in effect from this large group. In earlier days communications were by means of dog sled and boat; today they are facilitated by the skidoo, airplane and the C.B.C. (in Frobisher Bay).

Organic solidarity definitely decreased with the arrival of rifles (through the whalers), for at Lake Harbour as elsewhere (Balikci 1964: 49) the communal fall caribou hunt (for winter clo-
thing) was abandoned in favour of individual caribou-hunting. Other forms of hunting do not seem to have become either more communal (for seals at the breathing hole) nor more individualistic (for seals at the floe edge and in kayaks).

With the period of intensive trapping it was advantageous to be able to lay up enough caches of seal, walrus and whale in the fall so that the winter could be spent in trapping and not hunting food for dogs and humans. Thus, the ownership of a large wooden boat, which aided in harvesting and transporting tons of meat, became important in solidifying local group leadership (Willmott 1959: 68).

The necessity of functional interdependence for food, fuel and skins has decreased with the centralized settlements, for the first two resources are readily at hand from Euro-Canadians through cash, credit or social assistance. Not only is economic activity more diversified in the settlement than it was in the camps, but social interaction is potentially more diversified. Instead of three to ten families in a camp, there are twenty-five or thirty in Lake Harbour, and although one cannot move away from disliked people (as was done in camps), there is a greater variety of friends and relatives to visit. For the men, the settlement is a much larger immediate audience for prestige than the camp was.

The functional interdependence of the household was affected more by centralization into settlements than by either the arrival of whalers or by intensive trapping. Old age pensions made an asset of old folks who would have been economic liabilities
before. Young men are increasingly independent due to wage labour and markets for soapstone carving. But those who have rejected hunting and trapping (and frequently do not even have the most basic gear: a gun, traps or sled) alternate between having fat paychecks (and fancy clothes and twelve-string guitars) and going for long periods without work while utterly dependent on their relatives for even bannock to eat. The typical father of an older teen-ager or young man finds his son alternately independent-minded with nice paychecks and then utterly dependent (with nothing to contribute) to extremes which the father never experienced.

Although Durkheim's distinction between integration by common values and feelings, and integration by functional interdependence yields us some interesting (but not new) insights into Inuit integration, it does not help us to evaluate Inuit flexibility.

Next, we will consider Landecker's four types of integration. Although Landecker seems to be calling for quantification of his types of integration, my interest will be more with their nature and parameters in the Arctic situation.

He defines cultural integration as the degree to which cultural standards which require adherence are mutually consistent. This consistency is emic in nature and is the difficulty due to contradictory demands experienced by the actors.

Normative integration is the degree to which conduct in the group conforms to the cultural standards of that group.
Communicative integration is the degree to which members of the group are linked to one another by exchanges of meanings. One criterion to use here is the percentage of people with symptoms of social isolation; this yields a negative index of communicative integration.

Functional integration is the degree to which members are linked to one another by exchanges of services (1951: 333-340).

One year later Landecker published an article which set forth a scheme for utilizing the four types of integration delineated above to focus on the integration of complex groups. His scheme is particularly exciting, for it calls our attention to aspects of integration not stressed by any of the other formulations and also aids in analyzing, not only Inuit society, but the mutual integration between Euro-Canadians and Inuit and the integration within each of these groups. Taking the "compound group" to be the largest unit under consideration, and calling each group which composes it a "sub-group", we then study all of the extrinsic (between units) relations and intrinsic (within a unit) relations of the compound group and the sub-group(s). Thus, there are:

1. Compound-group integration:
   a) Cultural compound group integration,
   b) Normative compound group integration,
   c) Communicative compound group integration,
   d) Functional compound group integration.

2. Extrinsic sub-group integration (between sub-groups):
   a) Cultural: "the degree of consistency of sub-group specialities with universals of the compound-group and with specialities of other sub-groups would be the only relevant measure of extrinsic cultural integration."
b) **Normative**: "the degree to which the members of the sub-group conform to compound-group standards" (as manifested between sub-groups).

c) **Communicative**: here measures of personal isolation are not relevant, important is "...to what degree the sub-group is being viewed as an 'out-group' by other segments of the compound-group, and also to what extent the sub-group views other segments of the compound group as 'out-groups'. Therefore indices are relevant which measure the degree to which inter-group communication is disturbed.

d) **Functional**: "the degree to which the sub-group is interdependent with other segments of the compound groups". The heterogeneity of each sub-group is also important.

3. **Intrinsic sub-group integration (within each sub-group)**:

a) **Cultural**: this can refer to the integration of the cultural specialities of a sub-group; or it can be the integration of all the culture traits of a sub-group, even those shared with the remainder of the compound group. The choice depends on the focus of the research.

b) **Normative**: "the degree to which sub-group members conform to standards of the sub-group".

c) **Communicative**: the "interpersonal relations" of the members of a sub-group.

d) **Functional**: "the degree to which...members are engaged in division of labour with one another" (Landecker 1952: 395-397).

1(a). What looking at the cultural integration of the compound group in communities in the Eastern Arctic one is struck by the degree to which contact between Euro-Canadians and Inuit is as peaceful and mutually beneficial as it has been because there is a large degree of congruence in the sensual pleasures and material goods that bring happiness to individuals in both cultures. The Euro-Canadians' acquisitiveness took them to the north for sea-mammal oil and bone, mica and furs, and the
Inuit were willing and able to help harvest these resources in exchange for manufactured goods. Consider how difficult contact would have been if the Euro-Canadians had arrived as the Portuguese did in India and were told in no uncertain terms that nothing that they brought had any value.

1(b). But if we look at normative integration (defined as the degree to which conduct in the group conforms to its cultural standards) we find that there is so little similarity between the ways in which members of the two groups gain the entities that cause happiness that this common value yields very little normative integration. Yet happiness as a goal does make possible a high degree of compound-group functional integration.

One factor which prevents over-reaching community values which would include both Inuit and Euro-Canadians is the high order of integration among the Inuit, so much so that they are willing to displease a Euro-Canadian and forego a generous cash payment rather than invite even a small rebuke from one of their own people.

1(c). Remembering that communicative integration is the degree to which group members are linked to one another by exchanges of meanings, it is important to note that only in "on-the-job" contexts does this type of integration exist.

The settlement layout furnishes a diagram of the lack of communicative integration between the two ethnic groups (see map on page y). To the south of the stream live all of the Inuit
(except for a widow). The agency Euro-Canadians live north of the stream (except when a teacher resides in the hostel). How could the marginality of the social scientists be more graphically shown than by putting them almost equidistant from the two groups? And it was the Inuit-run Lake Harbour Housing Association which assigned the researchers to these houses.

1(d). In the settlement of Lake Harbour there is quite acute compound group functional integration (the degree to which group members are linked to one another by exchanges of services and goods) between Inuit and Euro-Canadians, as each ethnic groups' physical presence and often even existence is dependent on goods or skills possessed by members of the other ethnic group. Yet despite tenuous compound-group cultural, normative and communicative integration, the acute functional integration rests on the efficacy of the communicative integration between the two. It would therefore be useful to develop next (a) the nature of the mutual stereotypes held by each group vis-à-vis the other; (b) the critical importance of both Inuit flexibility and Inuit perception of personal relationships as mutually consensual in facilitating what does exist in the way of communicative integration between Inuit and Euro-Canadians.

The mutual stereotypes held by Whites and Inuit are derived in major part from the experiences of each with members of both groups.
This quote originally interested me in combining the study of experience along with that of behaviour:

"Just as any theory of personal interaction that focuses on experience and neglects behaviour can become very misleading, so theories that focus on behaviour to the neglect of experience become unbalanced" (Laing 1969:43, his emphasis).

Our look into the experiential dimension of interaction between Inuit and Euro-Canadians will answer two questions: first, what have been the typical experiences of members of each group vis-à-vis members of the other that are considered most significant by the members of the perceiving group? Second, what are the effects of these experiences on interaction between Inuit and Euro-Canadians?

The following description of a newly arrived agency representative's first interactions with Inuit is derived from conversations with new arrivals, observation of the same, and from Vallee (1967: 105, 111-112).

After being accepted for a job in Lake Harbour, a Euro-Canadian has typically read Farley Mowatt or Peter Freuchen and therefore arrives with anticipation of finding a happy, smiling, fey race of Orientals. In addition, the horror stories of the popular press and the warnings of well-meaning friends have him so terrified of the weather that if he arrives in winter, he is sometimes afraid of getting frost bite while going from the plane to his quarters. The first few days are sometimes spent in fear of a whiteout, which would restrict him to his quarters and keep others from coming to his aid. He "realizes" that under such con-
ditions, in such cold, if the furnace were to go out his very life would be in danger. His first few experiences with "Eskimos" are tantalizingly friendly, his first exploratory smiles and hellos meet with even broader smiles, some few Inuit point at themselves and say their names. The new White is anticipating getting to know this hardy, friendly race. And his own fear of the cold makes him respect them, without ever having known one, because they are able to survive in such a climate.

Soon, however, he is advised by the other Whites that the weather is not all that formidable, and then begins a process of enculturation to the "real way things are up here" or, as Vallee has termed it, the "Old Hands" teaching the "New Hands" (1967: 105). Most of these Old Hands have complete contempt for the Inuit, holding that they were once a strong, self-reliant people but now just laze around and try to get welfare, in addition they are considered to be childish and to waste their money on non-essentials like candy and pop. Furthermore, many Old Hands consider "Eskimos" dishonest, recounting stories of broken trust, hard-driven bargains and other alleged betrayals. Now the New Hand begins to wonder if he had the "Eskimos" correctly figured out—but whatever his decision as regards his relations with them, he now knows that he will only be silenced for expressing positive attitudes towards them, for there are sure to be Old Hands present who, with their greater experience, are only too willing to correct his ignorance. However, one thing is sure: although before he expected only good from Inuit, he now half expects to find them as they were described by the Old Hands.
Although a Euro-Canadian typically begins interacting with Inuit with little prior knowledge of them, any Lake Harbour Inuit do so as part of a group which has had critically important economic and social interactions with Kabloonas (i.e., Whites) for at least a hundred years. So he has heard an extensive body of folklore which has as its subject matter the activities of this people.

For the adult Inuit, Lake Harbour has been since childhood the place where one encountered Kabloonas (also the now defunct Amadjuak H.B.C. store). Coming in from the camps, where only fellow Inuit were seen and only their language heard, there were always a few Kabloonas to be seen. But they had already figured much in conversations, especially just before coming in to trade, for it was true that, although they were frightening (because they got angry easily, for no reason at all it often seemed, and they were all very strong-willed and had to have their way—in fact had all the bad characteristics of children) they had control of the important trade goods that the people needed and had to have.

To Inuit there were many different kinds of Kabloonas, not just in terms of their work, or lack of it (some were obviously rich beyond belief although they do very little work indeed), but in their personalities; some were always laughing, joking and enjoyed dancing, while some were very gruff and never happy, and some were generous while others were stingy beyond belief—especially since they obviously had more than they needed. The various adventures with these strange men in all their varieties furnished
many stories heard by the child who had only seen them from the safety of his mother's parka hood.

Several things emerge from this look into the typical experiences that members of each culture have had with each other, and the mutual stereotypes held by each group vis-a-vis the other has a direct effect on the nature of the communicative integration present in Lake Harbour.

One point is that members of each culture perceive the other's behaviour as childish. The Inuit are quite frank on this score and have freely admitted to various investigators that they felt this way (Rasmussen 1931: 128) (Briggs 1970) or in my own case, remarks to that effect were overheard.

I heard only one Euro-Canadian openly say that he considered "Eskimos" childish, but this idea was implicit in much of what was said about them. Constant references were made to their alleged improvidence, lack of sense of time, lack of foresight, self-centredness and cruelty to each other and to animals. To be more precise, Inuit were perceived to exhibit a syndrome that can be described as being "cunning children": improvident and careless yet always looking for an opportunity to take advantage of the White man. These sentiments were expressed with bitterness or anger by seven of the twelve agency Whites who were stationed at one time or another in Lake Harbour while I was there. Only four of the agency representatives ever expressed any positive evaluation of the Inuit. (Only one of these expressed both views.) There is a
strong possibility that the term "childish" or something akin to it was avoided because it could be construed as racist and, of course, my presence as a student who was not obligated to any of the agencies might have been taken in a suspicious light.

Thus, the Euro-Canadians frequently rejected Inuit as a whole, considering them as people not deserving respect, and this was typically after an acquaintance with that people of only months or even weeks. The Inuit, after life-times of contact, characterize Kabloonas in general as childish due to two criteria: their alleged short-temps and their selfishness in insisting on their own way. To what degree do these stereotypes affect inter-ethnic relations?

For Inuit there are several courses taken towards Euro-Canadians. For a newcomer, there is an avoidance of close relations with him "until he is there long enough for people (i.e. Inuit) to know what kind of person he is". Thus, with the passage of time he manifests his personality, and Inuit will know on what basis they can interact with him. Here the effect of the negative evaluation of Kabloonas serves to lengthen the amount of time which passes before interaction is initiated; i.e. visiting or taking a Euro-Canadian hunting and fishing.

The thesis that Inuit society is integrated through consensual relationships which are created by the participating actors would seem to be supported by the fact that individual Inuit also attempt to establish dyadic relationships with Whites((just as they do among themselves) in terms of a consensus between the two people
involved and not in terms of the occupational role of the White. Despite years of contact with different varieties of government personnel Inuit frequently take their problems to the Euro-Canadian whom they know rather than to the agency representative responsible for that problem. For example, people came to me with problems about childrens' schooling and lumber owned by the government. Inuit who like the H.B.C. manager went to him for the treatment of fairly serious injuries. Yet he had little more than a first-aid kit and the acting nurse had an extensively equipped office. By going to the person whom they preferred to have handle the matter Inuit were clearly functioning within a consensual framework and not a role framework. The transference of the implicit pattern of relationships to those with members outside of the culture surely suggests that this pattern is well internalized.

These two strong tendencies for members of each culture to see each other as childish are matched by the different cognitive tendencies of the two groups involved. When Euro-Canadians evaluate ānuInuk any one fault seems to disqualify that person from being appreciated. For example, one of the Inuit is a truly top-notch carpenter whose well-maintained tools regularly produced beautiful and sturdy trap-boats (even his detractors admit to that). He was hired to make a door. When he began to make a beautiful, sturdy and close-tolerance door, one of the White cliques began ridiculing him for producing a "bloody work of art". Because one response of his was considered inappropriate by some of the agency representatives this man was rejected by those Whites.
Another example concerns an Inuk who was quite well thought of by the Euro-Canadians. But something he did was interpreted by Whites as avaricious (although several alternative interpretations could have been validly made), and this man was then pointed out at gossip sessions as proof that "you just can't trust these Eskimos".

Quite a contrast to the prevalence of these stereotypes which are easily and frequently verbalized is a definite tendency on the part of Inuit to avoid rigid stereotypes because each individual (Inuk or Euro-Canadian) is to a very high degree evaluated, commented on and interacted with as a unique entity with his own idiosyncracies. Although my knowledge of the language of Inuit was far from complete, in the conversations I overheard and participated in there was clear evidence of this non-stereotyping tendency.

Gubser has described this non-stereotyping phenomena for Alaskan Nunamiut:

"As a Nunamiut accumulates experience, he gradually modifies his conceptions about the nature of the environment. The greater his ability to remember past experiences and to compare them, the more closely his conceptions will approximate reality." (1965: 222).

Although Gubser was talking about the process of learning to hunt, I am sure that his generalization applies to the way in which Lake Harbour Inuit approach the social environment, and the fact that Gubser was describing an Alaskan group perhaps indicates that it is a very widespread characteristic of Inuit.
Next I shall consider the extrinsic sub-group integration of Euro-Canadians and Inuit.

2(a). Beginning with the cultural standards by which the Euro-Canadians orient themselves to the Inuit in the settlement, I can only confirm Vallee's findings that:

"A person moving into the settlement from southern Canada quickly discovers, if he does not know it already, that he is expected to adopt attitudes and to operate willingly under certain restraints which do not apply in non-Arctic communities. He is expected to cooperate with the other Kabloona, to seek their guidance particularly if he is a New Hand—and to mix with the others in social activities. Like the other Kabloona he is expected to be a good example to the Eskimos, to refrain from excessive drinking, overt sex play with Eskimo women, swearing, off-colour stories, and so on in front of the Eskimos. He learns that he must maintain the appearance of solidarity with other Kabloona even if he is at odds with some of them. With the latter (the Inuit) he is expected to be friendly but not overly intimate; some social distance must be maintained (1967: 105).

2(b). Vallee also notes that almost all Whites accept their own self-imposed role and image as socializers who mold Inuit to "change at least some features of Eskimo behaviour and bring them into line with his or her conception of the desirable person" (ibid: 129). In Lake Harbour this role was unquestionably accepted by eleven of the twelve agency Euro-Canadians, and only one seemed to have enough doubts about such efforts ever to raise them in conversation.

The criteria which Inuit use to judge Euro-Canadians seem to be highly consistent with the criteria used in judging other Inuit. In fact, I find it hard to say if they apply cultural
standards to Whites which are different from those applied to unknown or unrelated Inuit or those considered a bit odd and potentially frightening or even dangerous if not treated delicately. There is certainly no evidence that they have agreed among themselves on a group stance vis-à-vis Kabloonas—and this is to be expected if interpersonal relationships (including those with Whites) are implicitly seen as resulting from the consensus of the participating actors.

The emphasis on maintaining amiable interaction is one cultural standard which among Inuit has such high priority in normative terms (the degree to which conduct confirms to cultural standards) that there is no alternative to it. People who get angry are socially isolated (see Briggs 1970: 225-310) and so are those who act harshly towards others. If Inuit society has a group stance, it is surely in the maintenance of amiable interpersonal relations.

2(c) and 2(d). The communicative integration of Inuit and Euro-Canadians vis-à-vis each other shows some marked differences resulting from the different nature of their economic utilization of each other.

Inuit depend little on special information extracted from Whites for their economic activities. When a Euro-Canadian has any information which he considers of vital interest to Inuit he usually calls a meeting or tells those whom he meets about it. In either case, the news would spread rapidly among the Inuit.
anyway, for the obligation to share information is strong (this will be developed later on). Nonetheless, trading furs, skins and carvings, performing wage labour and collecting social assistance almost never depend on nor are affected by information which would be possessed by one Inuk (or several Inuit) to their advantage.

This is in contrast to Euro-Canadians, who almost all depend on information obtained from Inuit for even minimal performance of their jobs and certainly depend on data for the superior job performances that bring promotion. The D.O.T. mechanic would seem to be the exception here, for where there is an Area Administrator (now called Settlement Manager), the mechanic's job does not require information about Inuit as people other than their job capabilities. The Area Administrator must know the people well enough that he can make decisions such as social assistance allotments and work assignments. It would be a poor H.B.C. manager who was not aware of alliances and divisions within the community as well as individual economic potential, reliability on the job and a myriad of other such factors. The missionary must know the spiritual and carnal attributes of his parish. A teacher is more effective if he knows how he is received by the parents and if he knows the backgrounds of the pupils. In order to gain information the Bay manager and the R.C.M.P. have assistance almost from the start from their chief clerk and special constable, respectively. These long-term jobs outlast many Euro-Canadian transfers, and the Inuit who hold them have good to excellent English. These assistants supply information which helps the new man fulfill his job.
almost immediately upon his arrival. However, in keeping with the consensual nature of relationships among Inuit, the Euro-Canadian who does not keep up good relations with his counterpart soon finds the information drying up.

With the exception of these two (the H.B.C. chief clerk and the R.C.M.P. special constable), Inuit definitely avoid giving information to little-known Euro-Canadians, even about something as innocuous as the weather. This stands in real contrast to the openness and directness which Rasmussen (1927: 22-24) and Fleming (1965: 126) found characteristic of the people when telling (often only minutes after they had met) of their life stories, their joys and sorrows and even philosophy of life.

The Euro-Canadians who want information about people usually carry on as do anthropologists: they are friendly and "good" to the people, attempt to joke some and show themselves to be good fellows. Yet anyone who acts like this is only doing as have dozens of Euro-Canadians before him, and it would be strange if Inuit—who are such perceptive observers of other animal behaviour—did not realize what was going on. These data-seeking activities by the Whites are not organized group activities—yet they are characteristic of individual Whites, each seeking information for his own ends.

Euro-Canadians often try an information-eliciting technique which usually misfires miserably when applied to Inuit. In Euro-Canadian society a common sign of rapport between two individuals is the trading of gossip, information in general and per-
sonal details of their own lives. We often advance or exchange such information as a sign that a closer relationship is desirable to one or both parties involved. By unconsciously assuming that the same process "works" among Inuit, many Whites who want to draw information from Inuit advance information of the type that they want reciprocated. Thus, a teacher who wanted information on "marriage and morals" told a young Inuk about the conditions under which young Whites sleep together and then paused, waiting for his friend to reciprocate. There was no response. He went on to tell about the history and decline of arranged marriages and again paused, again in vain. The usual reaction of an Inuk to these pointed revelations is an embarrassed silence, with avoidance of eye contact by looking down at the table or the floor.

Except for the situation just described, Euro-Canadians offer information to Inuit as part of a friendship relationship and to indicate trust. Yet this information is managed in a very interesting manner: it never concerns Whites who are part of the settlement situation or who could possibly become part of that situation. There is a definite barrier raised here which shuts Inuit off from even the most innocuous information about Euro-Canadians, and this barrier applies as equally to the White's enemies and opponents as to his friends and supporters.

What is the nature of this barrier? It seemed to originate in the Euro-Canadians' expectations that Inuit as a group are not worthy of respect and trust and is compounded by what Whites consider to be unethical acts by Inuit. Note that this often includes
transactions in which Inuit try to gain as much as possible (in cash, goods or services), and they are roundly denounced by Whites who attempt the same thing. Therefore, much of White rejection of Inuit results from a double-standard held by these Whites. Inuit are castigated for behaving in many of the same ways that the Euro-Canadians do: drinking, trying to get as much cash as is possible for carvings and furs, marital infidelity, and not working at maximum effort. In order to maintain the barrier Euro-Canadians cooperate in withholding information about themselves from Inuit and prevent other Whites from forming friendships or romantic ties with Inuit. When an Inuk and a Euro-Canadian become friends, they understandably have the misunderstandings common between any friends, as well as misunderstandings which result from cultural differences. Both types of misunderstandings are treated by the Whites as proof that "you just can't trust those Eskimos". Again, expectations of mistreatment from Inuit are built up among the Euro-Canadians.

It was mentioned earlier that the lack of extrinsic communicative integration does not hinder the extrinsic functional integration of the sub-groups, for economic interactions between Euro-Canadians and Inuit are very standardized, **principally by agency norms**. Still, there are painful crises which occur because of the lack of communication between members of the two sub-groups; a baby dies and the Inuit feel that the Whites "did not take care of it", while the agency Whites feel that the baby's parents were criminally negligent. Children are taught American Indian myths and the teacher is completely unaware of the resentment felt by
the schoolchildren's parents. A teacher tries to begin a swimming
program, and although the kids are obviously greatly interested
they always "forget" to come because their parents are worried
about drownings and prevent them from coming.

Exchanges of services suffer most from the lack of communica-
tive integration and the communications barriers raised by indi-
vidual Inuit and by Whites as a group.

Although the strategies which functionally integrate Whites
to Inuit are largely determined by agency norms, the Inuit usual-
ly perceive the actions of a Euro-Canadian as resulting from his
own personality and not from the directives of his superiors. As
a result, Inuit attempt to creatively manipulate an agency employ-
ee on the basis of what they perceive to be his personality.

In addition, individual Inuit utilize the opportunities pre-
sent in the social and physical environment with great variations
from individual to individual. The argument for this flexibility
lies in the exploitative variations observed, and the effective-
ness of that flexibility rests on the argument that men with great-
ly different personal styles of work have equal prestige. I will
give such information whenever possible in the following descrip-
tions of environmental exploitations. Individual creative action
will be considered first and then group creative action.

Earlier I tried to make the point that the Inuit character-
istic of flexibility allows a situation in which creative action
is possible. Next I will try to verify that this potential for
creative action is realized and will describe the nature of this
creativity by treating the ways in which various men utilize the
opportunities present in the social and economic environment in
order to support their families. I will describe the ways in
which men utilize wage-work, hunting, trapping, carving and the
presence of Euro-Canadians.

Of the twenty-eight economically active men, seven have full-
time jobs, one as R.C.M.P. special constable, four providing munici-
cipal services as D.O.T. employees, and two as H.B.C. clerks. Two
men have regular part-time employment, one as caretaker of the
school, the other as Shell Oil representative. The other nineteen
men carve, hunt, trap and do short-term wage labour whenever it is
available.

The economic position of the men who have regular jobs (full
or part-time) is considered very good by the Inuit because their
earnings are such that they almost always have credit at the Bay.
This is in marked contrast to those who carve, hunt and trap, for
these men are always in the process of going into debt or slowly
working their way out of it.

The expenses of the skidoo are so high in relation to the
return from the seal skins or fox furs (the area has never been
notable for the number of foxes harvested) that my data indicate
that hunting can only be considered as a source of cheap and
nourishing meat and not as cash profit, for the outlay to main-
tain and fun the skidoo is always more than the value of the skins
harvested. As a result, a man who hunts by skidoo can only work
his way slowly into debt. Eventually his debt will be such that he is denied credit, and then the only way to restore his credit is through selling carvings. I describe these men as those who "carve to hunt". Two other men have abandoned this struggle and concentrate on carving so that it represents their greatest cash income. These men only hunt incidentally and evidently for food as much as for the skin and so I say that they "hunt in order to carve". Yet there are significant differences even between these two men and the ways in which they utilize resources.

One of the men who concentrates on carving is a stranger to the area and has no kin in the settlement outside of his household (neither consanguines nor affines). For reasons that I was never able to discover, he seems to be disliked by both the Inuit in the settlement and by the majority of Euro-Canadians, so much so that even his excellent and skillful carpentry and cabinet work bring him no prestige among Inuit nor among most of the Whites. As a result, he does not attempt to gain prestige through bringing home lots of game and concentrates his efforts on carving. Here he specializes in smooth-faced abstract solids which are filled with delicate and accurate engravings of arctic animals and Inuit in fur clothing. His walrus tusks with engraved hunting scenes are always in demand. Being one of the best engravers in the Eastern Arctic, he finds a ready market for his work at the local H.B.C., among the resident Whites and at the co-op in Frobisher Bay. A gentle and quiet man, he enjoys very much the few friendships he has with Euro-Canadians and makes no attempt to sell carvings to them. (This is in marked contrast to other men.)
The other man who principally carves and hunts only sporadically uses the air service which occasionally flies between Frobisher Bay and Lake Harbour to earn himself a very nice income. His wife and children live in Lake Harbour and participate fully in community life there among their many kinfolk. A flight into Lake Harbour often brings the husband in, and he has a quick visit with his family while he gathers up a supply of large soapstone lumps from his cache and then returns to Frobisher on the same flight. Alternatively, he will spend a few weeks in Lake Harbour, socializing, hunting and carving. In either case, he always carves the large massive sculptures with rounded forms and little detail which are seen as "real art" by Whites and which therefore command good prices and a ready market at the Frobisher Bay co-op. This man regularly takes air transportation to utilize this favourable market. While in Frobisher Bay he lives with kin.

Now let us consider the two men who work part-time and the very different ways in which they utilize resources present in the community and outside of it. These men are excellent comparative cases, for both have jobs which pay approximately the same and which use only a couple of days per week (at the most).

One man is the local Shell Oil Ltd. representative; his responsibilities are the sale of gasoline and other fuels, and he tops up the stove oil tanks which supply each building. He feels that he should stay fairly close to the community because of his job, and so he does not make as many trips to sell carvings at the Frobisher Bay co-op as other men do. However, when he feels
that he can get away he prepares many large carvings to sell to
the co-op.

This man consistently utilizes his cash capital in what I
would call a strategic manner. A good example of this occurred
during a two-week period in which very few seals were taken. All
of the hunter-carvers were going out daily, and because most of
them were already in debt they only went as far as was necessary
to get to potentially productive ice. In this way they got as
many trips to the seal grounds as was possible out of their re-
main ing credit.

Then one March morning this man left very early, and for a
long time his tracks were the only ones in the soft deep snow.
The snow discouraged most of the others from going, for they were
still hunting beside the seal's breathing hole and deep snow made
it almost impossible to find the hole, let alone hear the seal
come up. Later that same night at about nine o'clock, just as
people were visiting around after supper, a skidoo was heard coming
in. He brought in five seals, almost as many as had been taken
all week by all the men!

His strategy was this: having enough cash for a large outlay
of gasoline he headed thirty miles west along the coast to an area
which is much richer in seals than the Lake Harbour area and
where he could hunt by the edge of the sea ice. In March the
edge of the sea ice is at its farthest from the land; this would
explain why those who were in debt did not go that far out.

Another example of this man's strategic use of resources so that as high a yield as possible was obtained from his capital was his refusal to hunt by the seal's breathing hole—he felt that hunting seals by the floe edge, or while they were basking in the sun, or in open water with a canoe, were the only methods productive enough to be practiced. He quite consciously took the time one day to explain this to me in suitably simple words so that I would understand.

This man also had a few friends among the Euro-Canadians, and he also did not attempt to sell carvings to them.

The example of the other part-time worker, the school caretaker, offers an interesting contrast to the Shell Oil representative mentioned above. The caretaker hunts like the other men and frequently takes carvings to the co-op at Frobisher Bay. However, he is unique in the way he utilizes the Euro-Canadians present in the community. Because he has a government job he considers the Euro-Canadian government employees his coworkers and visits with them often, at least one night per week. First, he seems to enjoy socializing with Euro-Canadians more than most Inuit do. Second, he enjoys regular drinking (which most of the Lake Harbour Inuit do not), and since liquor is in short supply in the community, the local Whites are the only reliable source for this resource. Third, his friends among the Euro-Canadians provide a market for his carvings; his accurately proportioned animals and people are often quite detailed and are of the type
most appreciated by the average agency-employed Euro-Canadian in the settlement.

Most interesting is the way in which this man regularly utilizes the mails and his Euro-Canadian friends as translators and/or helpers in order to earn money in ways which no other native in the community does. By mailing his skins and furs directly to the fur auctions in southern Canada he receives twice as much as he would have received from the H.B.C. Because of his friendship with the Whites and because he likes to transact through the mails, the Area Administrator often gives him special requests that arrive from various places, for example, the order by an Ontario mosquito repellent manufacturer for several barrels of polar bear and seal oil for a very nice price. Some of his contracts also come through his brother who is on the N.W.T. Council.

As mentioned earlier, both men have approximately the same income and require approximately the same amount of time for their jobs. Yet both utilize this "spare time" (and I am not suggesting that Inuit see it as such) in strikingly different individual styles which are consistent through time.

Yet the argument that such different resource-utilization represents flexibility would partly rest on showing that both men are equally effective in maintaining themselves and their families. To judge this effectiveness two criteria seem applicable: economic prosperity and prestige. Both men have approximately the same level of prosperity as measured by ownership of manufactured goods. And their prestige among the other Inuit seems to be about the same.
If there is a difference in their prestige it would seem to result from their personalities and not from their economic effectiveness.

Even among the full-time wage workers there are considerable differences in their utilization of their jobs, hunting-trapping and carving. Their job performances were remarkably uniform; all of their employers expressed satisfaction with the men's promptness, attention and energy on the job. Here are some examples of work-styles and life-styles.

The oldest steadily employed man is in his late fifties and works on the D.O.T. municipal services crew. He is quite well off, since his ample income is augmented by his retirement pay from long years of service as R.C.M.P. special constable. He never carves. A strong and vigorous man, he is so keen on hunting that he sometimes hires another older man to work for a day while he goes hunting and/or checks his trapline. Although his full-time work prevents him from getting as many seals as the full-time hunters, he runs quite a long trapline (even in poor years) and checks it on Saturday, or during the week if he has hired a replacement for that day, or on long week-ends. As a result he ranked twenty-second in terms of number of seal skins traded but was the second highest trapper of foxskins.

His oldest son also works full-time on the D.O.T. municipal services crew as a Caterpillar driver. Like his father, he does not carve and sometimes hunts on Saturday.
Another member of the municipal services crew, also a son of the retired R.C.M.P. special constable mentioned above, is notable for the energy with which he tackles economic activities. After a full day's work for the D.O.T. he often comes home and carves until bed-time. He sells his carvings to the local Whites, or on long weekends or holidays dashes into Frobisher Bay to the co-op. So energetic is this man that he dislikes hunting or travelling with others because he prefers to set a faster pace and feels held back by their frequent leisurely tea-breaks. More often than not he hunts and travels alone, charging along at his own pace.

Inuit also show creativity on the rare occasions when some of them confront Euro-Canadians who have flown in to present a plan or a change in the agency norms which will be used by the agency Whites. Typically, a Euro-Canadian arrives with a plan already formulated by his superiors. He only needs the tacit approval of Inuit for a tactical success. Yet Inuit often prevent him from achieving this. The following example illustrates this point.

Soon after the government co-operative organizer got off the plane he came to see me and over tea said that he would like to ask a favour. Would I mind helping out in getting the co-op started in Lake Harbour by working just a couple of hours a month? Because of my experience in trying to establish fishing co-ops in Brazil he felt that I would be very useful. I agreed, and he requested that I come to the meeting that afternoon in the school-house.
Only three White people were invited to and present at the meeting: Lake Harbour's Area Administrator, the co-operative organizer, and myself. Of Inuit, there were two groups; the five members of the Co-operative Committee and those who performed municipal services for D.O.T. The translator was the chief-clerk at the H.B.C. There was considerable overlap in the membership of the two groups of Inuit, many were in both.

The government man began the meeting by explaining what he had been doing and why he had had to wait so long in coming to see them about the co-op that they wanted to start. The Inuk head of the Co-operative Committee thanked him for coming and said that they still wanted very much to have the co-op. Then the government man explained that I would be available to help either government or "Eskimos" with matters that could be handled by mail. The Inuit maintained blank faces.

Next he told them that the first problem in starting the co-op would be to get the starting capital, but his chief had thought of a very wise plan and now he wanted to know what they thought of it. It would work like this: the government would give the co-op the lump sum that for the whole year paid the salaries of all the D.O.T. municipal services workers (thus their invitation). With this money carvings would be bought from the people and then sold to distributors and thus the money would be used twice, both to give the co-op its first capital to start with and then to pay the salaries of the D.O.T. workers. He quoted the lump sum available this way and asked the Inuit what they thought of the idea.
There was a silence of about a minute, after which the youngest Inuk there (except for the translator) said in his own language "perhaps it's not enough". The others said "perhaps so" and began calculating the sum of their yearly earnings. In the midst of all of the discussion the government co-op man asked the translator what was being said. He did not reply until several men each did a sum of their incomes and all got the same results on the first try; they were being offered about three-fourths of what they earned. With agreement among the Inuit the translator said, "Oh, they say it's not enough, that they all together earn ___". The government man asked each Inuk what he earned and did his own total. They were right. He said, "Well, uh, I don't feel it's right to lower your men's wages. I'll have to talk this over with my supervisor and contact you as soon as it is straightened out". He asked if there were more questions. There were none and he adjourned the meeting.

It should be noted from this example how ably Inuit quickly improvise strategies in a very egalitarian manner and without leadership. This is a process which constantly occurs while men are hunting (and will be considered further on with the intrinsic functional integration of Inuit). The young man who first mentioned that the lump sum was perhaps too small is well-liked by all, but certainly is not a leader. One should also note that the interpreter kept silent until a consensus had been reached among the men despite pleas for translation by the co-operative director. He kept his silence on his own initiative, nothing was said or signalled to him by the other Inuit.
But most significant is the utter lack of leadership in this confrontation. Present were the native heads of the Community Council and the Lake Harbour Housing Association, the man considered by all of the Whites as the "Eskimo leader", and a man who is very outspoken in public meetings. Yet none of these attempted to influence the others, none took any initiative, none was asked what he thought or in any other way consulted.

Next we will consider the intrinsic sub-group integration of Euro-Canadians and of Inuit. Integration at this level is between members of any sub-group. Naturally, there was a component of this in the extrinsic integration of Whites towards Inuit because the Euro-Canadians maintain a group front which requires their mutual co-operation. However, this is only one small facet of a much larger sphere of inter-relations. I will take each ethnic group separately.

3(a). Remembering that cultural integration is that "...degree to which cultural standards which require adherence are mutually consistent" (Landecker 1952: 394) we find that the Euro-Canadians form a moral community based on mutual expectations that agency norms will be fulfilled. It is important to note that these agency norms are so formulated by superiors that they encourage co-operation between agency representatives. They effectively dampen inter-White conflict by (a) supporting diffuse sentiments of co-operation for the good of the community (both native and Euro-Canadian) and the agency, and thus offer a ready pretext for de-escalating conflicts, and (b) by defining job activities so that
non-co-operation with other agency representatives is definitely considered as poor job performance.

Another way in which agency norms defuse potential conflict in the Euro-Canadian sub-group is by precluding competition between agencies. As Vallee notes,

"...competition in job performance involves any given person at Baker Lake with others outside the community rather than with those who reside in it". (1967: 107).

His comments are equally valid for Lake Harbour.

The Lake Harbour Euro-Canadians also form a moral community because of expectations of "northern hospitality" which are still very alive. It is difficult to say exactly what this ideal is, yet the most common reason for saying that someone did not fulfill northern hospitality was because he/she did not make a visiting White feel relaxed and at home. Therefore I assume that "northern hospitality" was largely seen as making all of the Euro-Canadians who visited feel welcome.

3(b). Remembering that normative integration is the "...degree to which conduct in the group conforms to its cultural standards" (Landecker 1952: 394), we find at Lake Harbour that there was a high degree of conformity to agency norms. This was so true that Dunning's description of the marginal northern White who is almost a law unto himself does not fit this situation (1959: 117-122).

The largest discrepancy between ideal and real behaviour was the gap between the ideal of northern hospitality and the reality
of the two White cliques in the settlement during the winter of 1969-1970. I use the term clique as do Cooley (1909: 23-31), Homans (1951: 133), Newcomb (1950: 641), and Warner (1941: 110-111) to describe a primary group with a strong "we" feeling, which makes all of its choices and none of its rejections within itself.

There were two cliques among the Euro-Canadians whose membership changed as people were replaced by other agency representatives. One was small (three to four people) and always included the two resident social scientists. The other clique was larger (six to seven people with three married couples) and was composed solely of agency Euro-Canadians. Clique activities took place during spare-time and were recreational: gathering together in the evening after work (or on weekends) and drinking, eating together, playing cards and gossiping about events in the settlement. At these get-togethers there was frequent heavy criticism leveled at members of the other clique. The clique divisions were clear through the rarity of visits across clique lines and the strong verbal abuse which clique members heaped on members of the other clique.

Thus, in terms of the integration of the White sub-group, the clique divided the Whites into two mutually exclusive recreational groups. On-the-job integration between agencies was little affected by these cliques, for agency norms require sufficient co-operation to allow each agency to function effectively.

From several viewpoints there was very little flexibility associated with clique activities. Membership in a clique seemed
almost required for those who wished to visit fairly frequently with their fellow Whites. Of the twenty-two different Euro-Canadians (agency representatives and their wives) who were stationed in Lake Harbour, only three were not associated with a clique. Of these three, two visited infrequently with Whites and the third was a dynamic, cheerful, extrovert nurse who wanted to be on good terms with everyone, both Whites and Inuit. None of these three drank liquor. I can only speculate on why eighteen of the twenty-one Whites belonged to cliques. Shortly after my arrival, while trying to socialize with everyone, I found that each visit included a scathing denunciation of those who I later found were in the "other" clique. Many seemed to resent that I was visiting with "bastards like ________". It is easy to see why a newcomer would soon pick a group where he could be sure of a welcome, for as time went by each clique seemed to think I was associated with the other and I felt welcome nowhere.

Despite the presence of two groups of Euro-Canadians who in their spare time almost never visited each other outside of their chosen circle, the resident White agency representative did not perceive himself as a member of a clique. Each time I used the term I was countered with remarks like this: "We don't exclude so and so; however, so and so really did wrong when he...(and his faults would be meticulously listed) and he knows he did it and is too ashamed to come around".

Clearly suggesting that someone was part of a clique was interpreted as saying that he was inhosptable to others, and thus
violated the ideal of northern hospitality. And the resident Whites chose to see themselves as hospitable people who were nonetheless not visited by "them" because "they" had done wrong and were too ashamed to visit.

3(c). The existence of the two cliques naturally affected the communicative integration of the Whites. The flow of job-related information between agencies is required by the agency norms, and even men who heartily despised each other exchanged such information as was necessary, for one of them could be sanctioned by his superior if he withheld information needed by another agency.

However, information which was not job-related was largely restricted to the clique in which it originated. Since most of the information flow among Whites is of this type, the White subgroup clearly had a low index of communicative integration by Landecker's criteria of the per cent of the population which has symptoms of social isolation (1951: 336).

3(d). Remembering that functional integration is the "...degree to which members are linked to one another by exchanges of services" (Landecker 1952: 394), we find that the Lake Harbour Euro-Canadian sub-group was functionally integrated through agency norms and cliques.

The agency representatives are dependent on each other to varying degrees, and agency norms require that the Euro-Canadians render each other these essential services.

The service rendered by clique members to each other is com-
panionship while being isolated in a strange environment. The nature of this companionship becomes clear when one examines membership for the common underlying factors.

Some agency representatives were much more dependent on each other (or on one another) for information or other aid on the job, than they were with other agency representatives. For example, the R.C.M.P. officer and the H.B.C. manager co-operated on assigning welfare; the H.B.C. manager would say if the family was much in debt, or if they had collected welfare and then sold a lot of carvings (i.e. were not really in as bad a financial state as they had said). The Area Administrator often had to make special equipment and service requests of the mechanic. For a long time all of the agency representatives were dependent on the R.C.M.P. radio for outside communication. Yet dependencies like these little affect clique membership as shown by the fact that new agency representatives had different clique alignments from their predecessors more often than they had the same alignment as their predecessors.

Level of education did not seem to affect clique membership, for college-educated people were equally distributed in the two cliques and all of the rest had grade twelve. Other factors which did not seem to affect clique membership were regional or national origins, political party or political philosophy and religion. Yet the one factor which showed a clear-cut difference between the members of the different cliques were drinking styles. Drinking style here refers to the rate at which liquor is consumed or the
rate at which clique members would like to consume it (for it was often in short supply).

Yet I think there is more to these differences of drinking than just seeking amiable companionship. The drinking styles of the two cliques show two different attitudes towards liquor that are found among Euro-Canadians whether in the north or in their "normal" environment. One clique valued drinking to the point that one's judgement and co-ordination are disturbed enough so that this and the next day's hang-over became a dominant topic of the interaction between the drinkers. The two integral parts of this drinking style are: (a) drinking with others as a sign of acceptance, equality or friendship ("Wassa matter, you too good to drink with us?") and (b) drinking as much as someone else as a test of oneself and of the other person, often in terms of manliness-masculinity.

Another attitude found in Euro-Canadian society sees liquor as an aesthetically pleasing accompaniment to good conversation and as a means of heightening the enjoyment of food and talk. Here there is a definite avoidance of consuming enough alcohol so that physical discomfort results. This was the drinking style of the other, smaller clique.

In the absence of other forms of entertainment, visiting is the prime recreation and source of ego support outside of the job and family for Whites in the north. For those who socialize with considerable drinking, those who do not have in essence rejected
the one who entertains and likes to be so entertained. At the minimum he may choose to interact principally with those who also drink as he does; alternatively, he and others may join against those who have rejected their entertainment styles and a very intimate part of their individual self-esteem. I maintain that such tensions resulted in the two mutually antagonistic cliques found in Lake Harbour during the winter of 1969-1970.

The intrinsic cultural integration of the Inuit sub-group is problematic beyond commonplace generalizations such as that each adult contributes to the economic survival of his household group and that each person behaves so as to maintain amiable relationships and that people should be generous and not stingy. I believe that one contributor to Inuit flexibility is the lack of comparisons made between actual behaviour and ideal behaviour (Honigmann 1965: 237-238). If Honigmann is right (and I feel that he is), then Inuit know when behaviour pleases or displeases them but they do not compare behaviour to an ideal and then judge it accordingly.

Although further research will reveal much about the nature and limits of Inuit flexibility, I believe that I will also learn of more areas of behaviour which are not flexible, where a given course of action is strongly disapproved and elicits negative sanctions. Along this line, Briggs (1970) convincingly develops the disapproval and rejection of anger among the Utkuhiksalingmiut (Back River people) which is also found (but to a smaller degree) at Lake Harbour. I will develop below the necessity of sharing
information. I am confident that recognizing flexibility does not blind us to non-flexibility, i.e., actions which are required, or strongly disapproved, or to which no alternative is allowed.

An example of disapproved action is in the helping-meddling dichotomy which I observed at Lake Harbour. Mrs. Freeman, an Inuk from Great Whale River, first made myself and others aware of the dichotomy by telling how Inuit disliked receiving help when they did not seek it. She told of a White girl-friend who was shocked because Mrs. Freeman did not help her own grandmother carry wet, heavy sealskins up the hillside to dry. As she said, to have done so would have been the same as saying that her grandmother was weak and incapable. In keeping with the low key of Inuit interaction, a quite minor act by White standards carries real overtones of assertiveness to Inuit; she warned us against sitting too close to the front of the sled, and not to walk towards the dogs. Both of these acts would be interpreted as trying to take over control of the dog team.

An example of Inuit sensitivity to offending with unwanted help occurred on my first hunting trip. As the skidoo pitched over roughed shore ice, the towline broke and left the sled (and myself) stranded. Running up to the rope I grabbed hold and tried to pull the sled towards the smooth ice. The hunter ran up and just stood nearby while I ineffectively pulled and strained. I smiled in an embarrassed way and continued alone in my vain hauling until I said "I can't" (piqudnangilanga), at which he instantly grabbed hold.
Yet refusing help is as negatively sanctioned by gossip and ridicule as is meddling by giving aid when it is not wanted. What is the essential difference between the two? A desire for help was often indicated by a look right in the face, often with a lift of the eyebrows (signifying "yes") or by an oblique statement to the difficulty of the task, "because this can make one tired" (*taganagudnammat*).

The helping-meddling dichotomy can explain many incidents which lead Whites to say that Inuit are apathetic and uninterested in each other's welfare. Many Whites tell of Inuit going by camps full of hungry people and yet they did not give them food. If the hungry people did not ask for food, one can see that other Inuit would hesitate to take the initiative to give and so suggest that the hungry ones were unable. At Lake Harbour some children once bombarded a new canoe with rocks and utterly destroyed it while relatives of the owner stood by without saying a word. A possible explanation is that meddling would have suggested the owner could not take care of his own things. An interesting anecdote from Parry's 1821 voyage tells of a man who overturned in his kayak, whereupon

"His countrymen and women, when they saw him upset, took not the slightest notice of his disaster, but continuing their dancing and barter, did not turn their heads a second time to see if he was alive, or if any person was gone to his relief. This brutal insensibility, although differing from their behaviour when the woman's boat was stove some days before, yet exactly agrees with what Crantz relates of the insensibility of the Greenlanders on similar occasions" (Lyon 1824: 25-26).

I suggest that the incident is well explained as due to the
kayaker's kinsmen's unwillingness to take action which would suggest his inability to take care of himself, for Lyon himself noted the attention that all of the men present gave to the women when their umiak was stove in by ice; here, salvaging a sinking twenty-foot boat which was being towed at a fast clip (ibid: 19) was probably not expected of the women. Therefore no stigma was implied by coming to their aid.

3(b). Considering normative integration as "...the degree to which conduct in the group conforms to its cultural standards", I hesitate to generalize about the normative integration of the Inuit sub-group in Lake Harbour because I do not yet have an adequate understanding of extant cultural standards to judge how much the behaviour which I observed conformed to those standards. For example, Briggs has delineated anger avoidance among the Back River people, and I find that, compared to them, Lake Harbour Inuit were much freer in expressing anger. If the Lake Harbour people see anger as less socially destructive than do the Back River people, then the two groups have roughly similar levels of normative integration. But if at Lake Harbour anger is seen as destructive of social relations as it is at Back River, then this Baffin Island people have a much higher disparity between conduct and cultural standards. Only further study can allow me to generalize on normative integration.

3(c). Communicative integration (the degree to which members of the group are linked to one another by exchanges of meanings) is obviously very high by Landecker's criteria of the percentage of
people with symptoms of social isolation, for at Lake Harbour only one Inuit household out of twenty-five is outside the web of information flow. This family is excluded both because they are from outside of Lake Harbour and because they have neither consanguines nor affines in the community.

Remembering the exception noted above, information was nearly a free resource among the Lake Harbour Inuit: it seemed freely offered with no return appearing necessary. The degree to which information approaches being a free resource among Inuit is shown by the following excerpt from my field notes on a spring hunt after seals basking on the ice—I was riding on the sled pulled by a friend's skidoo:

"Arluktoq had just entered an area of cracked ice (i.e. where seals were likely to be found) when he saw someone skinning a seal. We went over and were soon tasting raw tidbits of seal. Arluktoq asked if there were any seals around and he was given explicit directions...(in terms of direction and distance)...where there were two groups of seals basking. We set off and he got one from each group..."

The informant was not through hunting for the day, and the information he gave reduced the number of seals immediately available to him, necessitating a slightly greater outlay of gas for him to have a chance at an equal number of seals. The two men were neither friends nor opposed to each other. The social costs of either refusing information or giving false or scanty information seems to have outweighed the cash gains possible from doing so. This is particularly significant because seal-hunting today is primarily for the cash or credit received for the skin and only secondarily for some meat.
During the period of intensive trapping, when the people were almost all living in scattered camps, information about hunting was probably not modified or held back without negative sanction (gossip and ridicule) being applied. A free flow of this type of information was very likely adaptive not only for each camp but for the household, for most game could be hunted with greater effectiveness by more than one man (the exception is stalking seals basking on the ice), and meat was shared throughout the camp.

In the centralized settlement sharing occurs settlement-wide only when large game (walrus or whale) is taken, and while the cash or credit value of skins is critically important, the men see themselves as pursuing with greater difficulty fewer and fewer seals. Therefore I suggest that one cause behind the persistence in sharing hunting information is the necessity for each man to maintain himself in the generalized flow of information found among Inuit, and he can only do so by offering information that he has; if he withheld it he could be sanctioned (among other ways) by information being withheld from him.

3(d). Landecker's definition of functional integration as "... the degree to which members are linked by exchanges of services and goods" is so similar to Durkheim's idea of organic solidarity (as interpreted by Angell 1968: 381) that the comments made earlier in the section on Durkheim apply here as well. When treating the organic solidarity of Inuit in centralized settlements I stated that the interdependence of households and individuals decreased as food, fuel and clothes became more and more available through Euro-
Canadian agencies in exchange for skins and furs, labour, or evidence of destitution (Willmott 1959: 63-64).

Yet one critical interdependence among Inuit is on their fellow Inuit as the group of social reference, for the numerous and important Euro-Canadians are still for Inuit only a means to the end of prestige among other Inuit. When an Inuk has to choose between disappointing and angering a White, or receiving negative sanctions from even one other Inuk, he will invariably disappoint the Euro-Canadian. This occurs frequently when a Euro-Canadian asks an Inuk to make a large carving when all of his soapstone is too small. Rather than borrow stone from even a close relative he will refuse the request.

Despite their increasing dependence on Euro-Canadian agencies for essential goods and services, that certain men are able to get more goods and services does not seem to gain them more prestige among their fellow Inuit. Damas has pointed out that as more and more industrial luxuries are gained by Inuit the rich man is increasingly envied more than the successful hunter (n.d.: 15). However, I would add that his riches do not bring him any more prestige than that of the good hunter. This can be shown by the lack of leadership by these men and by the lack of deference towards them. Other interesting data on this situation come from looking at men's friendships. Two men who have been friends for a long time, who visit frequently, and who have a clearly egalitarian relationship are roughly similar in prestige. I can think of six such pairs of friends in which one of the pair had a big new outboard motor, a new skidoo, a carpet, console stereo, and
washing machine, while the other had an old, low-horsepower outboard motor, an old skidoo and only the furnishings given everyone by the government. In fact, the two common characteristics of the men in such friendships are that both are adequate hunters. In short, similar prestige is shared by men who earn their living in greatly different ways and with quite different levels of consumption of purchased luxuries. I consider this another aspect of Inuit flexibility alongside those in family organization, kinship terminology, community organization and recreation as developed by Willmott (1960: 49-55).

Now let me summarize what has been drawn from my data on Lake Harbour by means of Landecker's approach to societal integration.

Although both Inuit and Euro-Canadians in Lake Harbour share the ultimate ends of survival and the achievement of happiness through material goods and other sensual enjoyment, the natures of the fulfillment of those ends are so disparate for the two that the normative integration of the two groups as a unit (defined as "...the degree to which conduct in the group conforms to its own standards") is minimal. However, the desire by members of each sub-group for happiness results in the acute functional integration of the two sub-groups.

Euro-Canadians and Inuit each consider the other group as childish; Euro-Canadians are so considered by Inuit because they are allegedly selfish and stingy and lose their tempers easily. Euro-Canadians think Inuit are childish because they allegedly do not plan for the future and are self-centred. Inuit show much
more flexibility in applying their stereotype to action than do Whites. While a Euro-Canadian typically develops contempt for Inuit in general over a period of months (largely due to enculturation by his fellow Whites), Inuit tend to consider each individual as unique, and each Inuk interacts with each Euro-Canadian in terms of his personality. Next I will summarize the nature of the relations of each sub-group in Lake Harbour vis-à-vis the other.

The Euro-Canadians behave like parent figures towards Inuit, each one believing that the natives should behave as he feels they should. In their exchanges with Inuit, Euro-Canadians place the maintenance of amiable relations secondary to their own career goals and their beliefs as to what is proper behaviour towards Inuit. Whites often maintain a united front vis-à-vis Inuit.

Inuit, on the other hand, rarely present a united front towards Whites. In nine months of field work the example given earlier was the only one observed. Their behaviour towards Euro-Canadians is highly consistent with the norms extant in their own relations with each other. One of these norms stresses the maintenance of amiable relations, but the means to achieve it are open to creative action.

Whites frequently seek information from Inuit both for career reasons and from curiosity, while Inuit seldom attempt to draw information from Euro-Canadians, for the information from Euro-Canadians could only rarely benefit an individual Inuk.
In their economic activities the Inuit are much more flexible than are the local Euro-Canadians. While the latter are governed heavily by the norms of their respective agencies, Inuit utilize wage labour, hunting and trapping, carving, welfare and other opportunities, each in a creative, idiosyncratic manner. Examples of group creativity by Inuit are less frequent.

Next, considering the intrinsic integration of each sub-group in Lake Harbour, we find that the Euro-Canadians constitute a moral community due to agency norms (which require that each White fulfill his job and co-operate with the other Whites) and through cliques which are based on different styles of recreation.

In considering Inuit cultural standards, one is struck by the low degree to which they require specific behaviour in specific circumstances. This argument for flexibility does not obscure some exceptions: the helping-meddling dichotomy was one developed, another is the stress on maintaining amiable relationships.

The high degree of communicative integration among the Lake Harbour Inuit contrasts with the Euro-Canadian sub-group's division into two cliques. The members of these cliques almost never visited across clique lines and thus formed two separate sets whose members typically communicated only due to job requirements. I suggested that the free flow of information among Inuit resulted from each person maintaining himself in the flow of information.

Finally, I suggested that another area of Inuit flexibility is in the similar level of prestige shared by men who have very
different standards of living. A sign of this is in the frequent egalitarian friendships of men who have very different levels of prosperity.
"Kommana, in order to buy my favour brought me a present which he knew I would appreciate: a knife of ancient pattern... I immediately asked him what he wanted in payment for it but... someone remarked that the owner of the knife was the father of Guninama (for Kommana had taken the knife from the grave of Guninama's father) ... She (Guninama) replied that the knife had belonged to her father and not to her, and that if Kommana dared to take the risk of removing it from the grave it was no concern of hers... (Stefansson 1913: 364-365)

There are two faces to the importance of consensual relationships among Central Inuit. First I will try to show the validity of my thesis that Inuit society is integrated through consensual relationships which are created by the participating actors by tracing the interpersonal relationships established by Inuit through the course of their lives and in this way demonstrate their consensual nature. In this way I will illustrate the rich variety of situations and institutions which depend on dyadic consensus to be initiated and to continue operating. The other face of the importance of consensual relationships among Central Inuit is with the lack of imposed authority and command among peers. This will be developed later in the chapter.

Pre-Christian Central Inuit beliefs held that even a child in the process of being born sometimes interacted with his relatives by refusing to emerge from the womb until his correct namesoul was recognized. With difficult births the mid-wife or mother called out the names of various deceased relatives whose souls could be eligible for rebirth. It was believed that when the correct soul was identified the child began to come out of the womb.
Thus, an individual's very identity was not assigned by others but was manifested by the new child (from the Inuit point of view) (Balikci 1970: 200).

Even a mother's love for the child depends on a rapport being established between the two—very unlike the belief in North American society that not only must a mother love every one of her children, but she should love them all equally. The mother's love and affection for her new child are seen by Inuit as developing through time (Briggs 1970) (Guemple 1970), and this love does not develop automatically but can be influenced by many factors. One of these is separation from the child at birth or soon after, for it is believed that this can prevent a child from arousing love in its mother. Several women at Lake Harbour who each had a child to whom she was apathetic or even hostile, explained that it was because she and the child had been separated for too long at the hospital. Some babies are considered inherently unloveable, due to appearance, voice or other reasons (Briggs 1970: 317).

This process of a mother's love developing through time may not appear very consensual to Whites, but two things should be kept in mind. One is that the Inuit language "sees" love as more reciprocal than does English. While the standard formula for expressing love in English is "I love you"; in the Central Inuit dialects it is phrased naglinaqtutit: "You cause one to love you", "You arouse love". The tagmemic breakdown of the phrase is: nagliq-(love), -naq-(cause one...), -tutit (you). So Inuit tend strongly to see love as being aroused in someone by something, as opposed
to our formulation which suggests initiating love towards something else.

Another Inuit concept which colours this mother-child relationship as more consensual than in our cognitive world is the name-soul with which each child is born. Because the name-soul of a recently dead loved one animates the child from birth, to a large extent the child is considered to be that person, and thus acts from his own volition animated by the soul of his dead namesake (Guemple 1969: 482).

In the namesake-giver and namesake-receiver relationship (saunik) as described by Guemple (1965) the namesake-giver is chosen by the child's parents before its birth, as is the ritual sponsor (Guemple 1969: 469). But the newborn child also participates in the relationship. Because the adult ritual sponsor initiates his relationship with the child by the gift of a layette, from the Inuit point of view the newborn child reciprocates by choosing some clothing for his ritual sponsor. Various pieces of clothing are put near the child and he soon grabs at one of them. Onlooking Whites might cynically say that the first piece of clothing that happened to be grabbed by the child was considered his first gift to his ritual sponsor (ibid: 471). But I believe that the important thing here is the characteristically Inuit accent of having the newborn child participate in the relationship for this has the flavour of a society based on consensus.

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned mothers who are apathetic or hostile towards one or more of their children. Let me describe the importance of consensus in the integration of these children
into society.

Once these children begin walking and playing outside, they become objects of pity for those Euro-Canadians who are perceptive enough to notice their ragged clothing, that they are often sent outside just because the mother doesn't want to see them, and that their mothers scold them publicly and leave them out of candy and soda-pop treats shared by their siblings. Thus, these children unwittingly become propaganda for Whites who use them to argue that "Eskimos are cruel and self-centred", and if a White berates such a mother, she is sometimes answered with the Inuit equivalent of "Well, it's like this, I just don't like him!" (ilâl iqianammat). Again, as with the statement of love, the emotion is not seen so much as originating in the speaker as being stimulated or aroused by the object: the above phrase translated literally as "Because he/she arouses disgust in one, really!" 20

By all the precepts of Euro-North-American child-raising these children should be utter social misfits for having been so completely rejected by their mothers. Yet my admittedly short-term observations of six such children indicates that they all have harmonious relationships with their peers and with older people. In these relationships they are open, expressive and reciprocate socially so well that one would never know that they daily withstand what Euro-Canadians believe should be traumatic rejection and abuse by their mothers. A good example is a four-year-old boy who was separated from his mother for a year after his birth because she was being treated for tuberculosis. She says she has never loved
him (due to the separation) and often sends him outside because she tires of his presence. Typically, when he enters the house she abuses him for three to five minutes while he stands stock still, tears streaming down his face and his hands clenching and opening nervously. Yet when playing with his peers he is open, not submissive and frequently suggests games which the others follow. With older children and adults his shyness is average for his peers and he is not as shy as some who have a "normal" relationship with their mothers. I would say that in his other relationships he shows no signs of his mother's rejection. I believe this is because he finds satisfying relationships with both peers and older people which reflect back an adequate image of himself.

The means by which these children have relationships with others in the community vary considerably from child to child. In one half of the cases an adult (either consanguine or affine) frequently takes care of the child; this adult offers him tidbits of meat, offers tea and bannock and an affectionate gesture while all of the other adults present ignore the child. No one assigns this role; so far as I know it is neither approved nor disapproved of, but results entirely from the protective feelings aroused by the child, and it does not seem to be institutionalized in any way.

Another possible compensatory mechanism for these children is the attention given them by older children—in a very protective manner an older child makes sure the smaller one gets his turn or suggests a special ability such as singing, animal imita-
tions, dancing or sexual pantomines and in this way the older child helps the younger to share in the audience's approval.

Yet another integrating mechanism for the rejected child (as for all Inuit) is the company of his peers. Lake Harbour Inuit informally divide themselves into age sets, and the normal integration of the children with their peers begins to bind them to people who will be important to them all of their lives.

Among Inuit an orphan is a pre-adolescent who has no one to care for him due to the death of a parent (or both parents) and who either has no close consanguines or those that he does have do not help him (Guemple 1970: 74-78). Yet a child could not survive in the Arctic without clothes, food and a place to sleep. There were no institutionalized means of providing these goods and services for him (Guemple 1970: 74-85). The one complete life-history we have of an Inuk orphan is the autobiography of Nuligak (1971) and in it he states that different people at different times advanced these resources to him. A more emic way of seeing their response to the orphan's deprivation would be to say that he aroused pity in them and therefore they responded. Nuligak relates how his father died and he was aided at various times by his grandmother (who sewed and kept house for him while she lived), by his own mother (who kept him in the household whenever one of her husbands would tolerate Nuligak's presence); by a Siberian couple who were traveling through, saw and pitied him, and gave him new fur clothes; and by various other people who were moved to help him (ibid). The lack of patterning in this help is clear.
But some may question whether such aid is part of societal integration. Remembering that we are defining integration according to Smend as "the constant unification" of the members of society, we note that such aid: (a) allowed a potential producer of food to survive to the age where he could bring in meat (and Nuligak became a very productive hunter indeed) and (b) demonstrated to the orphan that people were not wholly apathetic to him and that he did count as a person who could participate in interactions with others.

Willmott notes that in Inuit society the "...household is rendered flexible in membership by the mechanism of adoption, which distributes children between households more equitably than does nature alone" (1960: 50).

The adoption rate among Inuit is high; Willmott found it at Part Harrison to be 16% of the children under fifteen, and some of these were serial adoptions with a child going from one household to another (ibid). In 1969 the adoption rate at Lake Harbour was 13.1%, almost unchanged from the 12.5% found in 1960 by Graburn (1961: 16). However, Guemple makes a convincing argument that for Inuit both adolescents and adults are also frequently adopted, and therefore the number of people who have ever been adopted in their lives rises to 30% (Belcher Islands) and probably to 50% in some groups, for 36% of the children are adopted at Nain (Ben Dor 1966) and 37% in Port Harrison proper (Willmott 1959: 93).

Related to the process of Inuit adoption is the consensual nature of all Inuit consanguineal relationships; all social rela-
Relationships must be validated through time by personal contact or they cease to exist. I estimate that a lapse of ten years without personal contact can nullify sibling relationships, more distant ties in less time. It should be noted that this is not because the person forgets his long unseen kin; when asked to list his brothers and sisters, for example, the lapsed relationship will not be mentioned. But if questioned specifically he will simply say "Because I have not seen him/her for a long time" (takganí akunialuk|x{akunginama). Guemple says that uncontacted relatives at Great Whale River and the Belcher Islands are called by kinship terms but are not considered real relatives (1970: 39).

Conversely, Guemple shows that in Inuit society an adopted child becomes integrated into his new family to a degree not possible in Euro-North American society, while still frequently maintaining affectionate relationships with his natural parents. The reason for this seeming paradox lies in the different views held by each society on the nature of parent-child bonds.

Euro-North American society believes that "each parent makes a body-substance contribution to the child at its conception with the result that the bond of "blood" is created between the child, its parents, and siblings" (Guemple 1970: 119). This blood-bond is considered so powerful that it is a potential threat to ties created by adoption, and so every effort is made to protect the adoptive relationship from it; the adopted child is then told, or allowed to believe, that it is the natural child of its new parents; or, the child and its natural parents communicate
only through an insulating agency. If a child learns that it is adopted it frequently suffers anxiety for at least two reasons: first, about the characteristics of its real parents, which it shares through the blood-bond; and second, because of the realization that it is "only" adopted and not a "real" child in its own family as it had believed (ibid: 119-124). Inuit view child-parent bonds very differently:

"...they stress physical presence in the household as an important aspect of family membership:...and they emphasize nurturance--symbolized as the giving and receiving of food--care in sickness, and the sharing of a relatively large amount of personal ritual associated with child rearing...the giving of pet names and nicknames, the teaching (and learning) of duties and family 'lore', the selection of persons to provide interlocking ritual relationships--all these and other elements serve to integrate the individual into the family household. Eskimos also stress attitudes and sentiments as vital to family membership. These are phrased in terms of love and loyalty" (ibid: 124-125).

Furthermore, Inuit believe that the child takes its characteristics and attributes and sentiments from its ritual relatives (as in the name-soul tie) and not from its parents or close consanguines (ibid: 125).

Guemple found that his informants had very different expectations about the success of infant and child adoptions, as opposed to adoptions of adolescents or adults and these different expectations give us some insight into the nature of intrahousehold integration from the Inuit viewpoint. He found that there was anxiety about adopting adolescents and adults because Inuit felt they might just stay in the new household and derive benefits until they saw a better chance elsewhere and would then move on.
But no such fears were ever expressed about infant-child adoptions. The anxiety about adolescent adult adoptions are paralleled in the reciprocal terminology of adoption: infants are adopted and after a short period called "son" or "daughter" by their adopters and respond with "father" or "mother". Children adopted past infancy are usually called "potential son or daughter" and answer with "potential father or mother" using the -seq particle which means "potential..." or "material for...". Adolescents and adults, on the other hand, are called tiguak ("adopted"), and there is no suggestion that they are emotionally and affectionately bound to their adopted household. Sentimental ties to household members are believed to develop through childhood and are not expected to become intense when begun in adolescence or adulthood, "...the sentiments are more often gratitude and acceptance, not those of familial solidarity" (ibid: 87-88).

It is my view that Guemple really elicited the emic integrating processes for all junior family members when his informants told him, in effect, that they felt confident about infant-child adoptions because these long-term relationships developed sufficiently strong sentimental and affectionate ties to maintain the adoptees in their new households.

If sentimental-affectionate ties are considered sufficient to integrate infant-child adoptees into the household then surely they are also emically considered sufficient to integrate the children of the parents, for, as it was pointed out above, Inuit view child-parent bonds as originating from long-term interaction,
especially through nurturance (ibid: 124-125). Conversely, since ties of dependence (Durkheim's organic solidarity) are not considered sufficient to keep adolescent-adult adopters in the household, they alone would also not keep children born into the household unit, for the temptations that draw the older adoptees away from the household exist as well for them.23

There are two faces to the importance of consensual relationships among Central Inuit; one has already been illustrated—the rich variety of situations and institutions which depend on dyadic consensus for their operation. The other face of the issue is the lack of imposed authority and command among peers.

These paragraphs are not intended as a thorough study of leadership at Lake Harbour for that would demand extensive treatment itself. Rather, I will only raise those issues relevant to my topic of mutually consensual social relations.

Weyer (1932: 212-213) cites all of the following pre-1930 sources as saying that Central Inuit leadership consists of greater or lesser degrees of consideration given to the opinions of one or more older, capable men: (Birket-Smith 1929: 259) (Boas 1888: 173) (Hall 1864: 316) (Hawkes 1916: 110) (Mathiassen 1928: I: 209) (Masmussen 1927: 283) (Rink 1887: 27) (Turner 1887: 101). Later sources with similar interpretations are Honigmann (1965: 234) and Vallee (1967: 201-204), while Willmott (1959: 63-69) records large boat-ownership as a leadership pre-requisite at Port Harrison. Damas (1963: 184) and Graburn (1963: 17-19) stress these attributes of leadership: being at the head of a large kin group, ownership
of a Peterhead boat (or trapboat) and personality.

Graburn further stresses that a secular leader is heeded only as long as he benefits his followers (1969: 48). I believe that this puts the proper perspective to Central Inuit leadership, for the other three salient characteristics of leaders mentioned by Damas are only effective in promoting leadership if they yield benefits to his followers. For example, in Lake Harbour there is an older man who is the head of a large kin group, he owns the only Peterhead boat and has a vigorous and considerate personality. Therefore, by Damas' criteria he should be a leader, yet he is not, while another man with a smaller boat is definitely leader of the camp people, a much smaller kin group. The difference between the two men is this--in the settlement situation the older man cannot act as an intermediary towards any resource any more than several other adult men while the camp leader's knowledge and direction are of direct benefit to his kin group in camp.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

To conclude this paper I would like to consider several issues: one is the basic validity of the flexibility concept when applied to social organization; the other issues are those problems raised for the anthropologist by the flexibility of Inuit society.

I consider the concept of flexibility to be most useful when viewed as a tendency which is found in varying degrees in different aspects of a culture. Honigmann noted that it does not suggest complete permissiveness (1959: 120) nor does flexibility mean an irregular, haphazard and unstructured milieu, as Stevenson believes (1972: 4, 8). Flexibility was used in this paper as a lack of societal preference among several different courses of action. I chose this definition because it fitted my idea of flexibility among Inuit as a strong tendency not to sanction negatively the use of dissimilar means for achieving approved ends as long as those means are effective. Some of these ends are amiable inter-personal relations, the maintenance of individual autonomy and gaining prestigious durable commodities (furniture, appliances, electronic equipment, etc.) which increase comfort and pleasure. Earlier, with the meddling-helping dichotomy, I showed that there is a rigid rejection of some behaviour, for example, imposition on an individual's sense of personal autonomy. When discussing information-flow among Inuit I suggested that it was necessary for an Inuk to maintain himself in the flow of communications, and he could do so only by sharing information. The importance of effectiveness is
clear in the comments of a very acculturated young Frobisher Bay Inuk when she was telling me of an old man who goes inland with just a two-dog team: there was clear approval in her voice when she said, "And you know, he gets those caribou".

Graburn presents an interesting view of Inuit society when he suggests that behind the apparent flexibility there really lies a limited number of structural principles which are implemented in a variety of ways:

"1. For men, life is a competition for prestige involving:
   a) the acquisition of women by any means possible
   b) the production of as many children as possible (especially males) and
   c) the procurement of sufficient game to feed as many wives and children as possible with enough left over to be generous to others.
2. Times of plenty are a time for co-operation and generosity...but the search for prestige remains a salient consideration.
3. Life goods and some of the marks of prestige are frequently so scarce as to be unavailable to a seeker unless he makes a concerted effort to deprive another of these goods.
4. The future is by no means entirely predictable and is often subject to forces beyond one's control.
5. Life loses its value for one who can no longer participate effectively in the prestige competition" (Graburn 1969b: 47).

The "personal strategies" which result from these are:

"1. Consider one's own self above all others in all things.
2. Take every opportunity for self-enhancement of prestige or self-preservation.
3. Never risk self or prestige unless such risks are unavoidable.
4. Test every situation and person to see how much one is liable to get away with safely.
5. Manipulate one's social position to every advantage.
6. Beware of and take steps to appease the many forces of the supernatural.
7. Accept situations when they cannot be helped (ajurnagnamat) ...(ibid).
He then says that the effects of these strategies are

"...an almost constant atmosphere of competition which leads to frustration, aggression, reaction and violence ...(because) close-kin and marital relationships may fail to provide a necessary restraint upon violent social interactions" (ibid: 48).

Aside from my doubts about the validity of the above principles, I am struck by the gap between them and the flexible, often creative behaviour found among Inuit. And I do not see how the warm, mutually supportive, emotional interactions found among Inuit could develop in a society as tension-ridden and intensely competitive as that suggested by Graburn. I know that highly intense competition occurs among Inuit, but I believe that he over-emphasizes it to the exclusion of components that do not induce stress. A society as strife-ridden as that suggested by Graburn could hardly show flexibility, for his initial formulation allows only for the escalation of conflict.24 Furthermore, he ignores the female half of the population and their values and prestige system.

In his case histories the individuals who most clearly exemplify his behavioural directives are murderers and philanderers who are killed, abandoned or avoided (ibid: 50-52).

However, he defines flexibility as

"an adaptation to the extremely variable ecological and social situations that confront Eskimo individuals and groups" (ibid: 56).

I support this assessment.

The next issues to be considered are those problems in understanding Inuit society which are suggested by the flexibility found in Inuit social interaction. Willmott originally raised these is-
sues (1960: 57-58), they were mentioned in the Introduction, and I will approach them with the data and interpretations developed in this paper.

One issue involved the integration of the local group. Willmott noted that "...kinship is not the primary mechanism for integration of the organized camp, but rather the economic co-operation of the households, primarily in the use of a large boat" (ibid: 57). The statement is valid for Quidjuak camp (near Lake Harbour), for the four households there co-operate principally as one group of father and son, and another group of father, sons and son-in-law. This is despite the fact that the two fathers are brothers. Co-operation between these two brothers is minimal, although they share meat regularly. Willmott's statement is also true for the Lake Harbour settlement if we substitute "settlement" for "organized camp" and omit reference to the large boats, which in the settlement are no longer a focus of community leadership.

Other forms of co-operation at Lake Harbour are clearly more consensual in nature than kin-based, for hunting partners are more often distant kin than close kin, and money loans are given as frequently to distant kin as to close kin.

Another problem is with the individual's personality development:

"...how does the child gain his sense of personal identity? How does he learn to understand his status and consequently, his relationships with other members of the society? It has been assumed by social scientists... that this personal identity comes from the unique relationship between parent and child, especially mother and child. Is it possible that personal identity may develop without
such a unique relationship that is defined as endowed with extra-ordinary emotional intensity? (ibid: 57).

In the previous chapter I suggested that personality development among Inuit is frequently through ego’s interactions with age-set peers and sometimes with non-parental adults who relate to the child solely from individual volition and not because of group pressure nor even approval. Furthermore, it seems likely that peers are more important for pre-adults today in the settlements than they were when the majority of the people lived in camps; both Inuit (Pitseolak 1971) and social scientists (Graburn 1969a: 164) have described increasing misbehaviour by young people and their lack of response to parental control as compared to when they were in camps. They all cite the present-day concentrations of children as the cause of most misbehaviour. This indicates that formerly childrens’ peer groups inculcated values concordant with adult values whereas today some aspects of “Eskimos”26 are looked down on by the young. So often I heard children jeer at another child who had dirty ears saying in English "He very dirty, very Eskimo" or they would ridicule a child who said pua instead of "four"; "He very stupid, very, very Eskimo". Whether this represents just youthful one-up-manship or rejection of their identity or something in between is difficult to say.

Yet what are some results of perceiving fellow members of your ethnic group as deprecable? I do not believe that present data allows us to answer the question but I advance two alternative explanations. One is that if an Inuk orients his behaviour to a generalized Inuit group then his rejection of “Eskimoness” means that he would pay little attention to Inuit values. Guemple (1970:
186-190) and Lubart (1971: 42-45) say that this has already happened with large numbers of Inuit women who yearn for a Euro-Canadian lifestyle through unions with male Whites. However, if my argument is valid that Inuit integration is solely through consensual dyadic relationships, then it seems likely that an Inuk could reject some characteristics of "Eskimoness" and yet still participate fully in long-term reciprocal relationships with some Inuit; and these would constitute his reference group. I see much to support this view even in the behaviour of the girls in Lake Harbour and Frobisher Bay who sought White boy friends and husbands. They rejected Inuit clothing (in favour of American Indian or White dress), arranged marriages and generally correct behaviour by Inuit standards. Yet they still maintained ritual relationships with those whom they liked, took pride in speaking the Inuit language, visited frequently with friends and relatives who were often very traditional, and reciprocated work and food with those Inuit whom they liked. Unlike Guemple and Lubart, I saw none who had completely rejected their heritage.

The basic issue here is whether the Inuit group of reference for an individual's behaviour is a generalized group or is it specific individuals with their own characteristics, or both, and under what circumstances? The literature and my data provide no answer to this question, and it seems a very difficult one to approach, let alone answer rigorously.

Willmott saw another problem in the high adoption rate current among Inuit, for the relative ease of adoption (for the parents) combined with
"...the apparent lack of personality damage to children resulting from even repeated adoptions, indicates that ties between parents and children are easily broken, easily made. This would suggest that neither parent nor child feels an overwhelming sense of unique relationship" (1960: 57).

As with the "neglected" children mentioned in the last chapter, I suggest that there is so little emotional trauma for adoptees because their peer group is a vitally important group of reference. Furthermore, for Inuit nurturance and affectionate emotional interaction fully integrate children into a household, while Euro-Canadians see adoptions threatened by the powerful blood bond which implicitly ties the child to his biological parents (Guemple 1970: 119).

Another problem raised by Inuit flexibility is the integration within each unit of society, for "...if patterns of behaviour are not standardized as values and defined to include deep emotional content, what produces solidarity and integration in the society, in the local group, or in the family?" (Willmott 1960: 57). My argument is that each of these units is in actuality composed of all of the dyadic consensual relationships that exist between two people, and these dyadic consensual relationships result in what integration there is between Inuit. One evidence for this view is the lack of brokerage between Inuit, for their social organization does not allow "B" to be an intermediary for "A" towards "C". All such relationships involving Inuit are derived from the pre-sense and influence of Euro-Canadians. In fact, when looking at the history of the area one is struck by the degree to which the
presence of Euro-Canadians has fostered Inuit leadership as a response to exploitation of the physical environment through large boats (Willmott 1960) and not to exploit the Whites. As pointed out earlier, the frequent attempts by Inuit to utilize Whites are instigated by the Inuk as a dyadic consensual relationship, so that the Inuk approaches the White whom he feels can be trusted and/or manipulated, even though, for example, the Euro-Canadian is a social scientist and the problem is in housing or education.

The high degree of mutual consensuality in Inuit dyadic relationships results in a high order of negotiability over the content of those relationships. An earlier chapter pointed out that little can be taken for granted about any relationship including that between mother and child, as well as between peers. This suggests that the integration of Inuit society is critically dependent on people voluntarily establishing ties of dependence and support.
FOOTNOTES

1. I am indebted to Professor Burridge for this formulation.

2. This formulation is a simplification of the concept of ethos used in his Keska monograph, for he has eliminated motivation from consideration (ibid: 107).

3. Examining Kroeber and Weakland we find that for the former style is "...a coherent, self-consistent way of expressing certain behaviour or performing certain acts" and it is "concerned mainly with form and possessing some consistency of the forms operated with; plus a coherence of these into a set of related larger patterns" (1957: 150, 26). For Weakland, form is "...the organization of symbols in a message" (1958: 389). All three of these terms (ethos, style and form) are so unspecific as to make their inter-relation difficult. I can visualize each of them referring to abstractions at different levels of generality.

4. Of these six aspects of Inuit ethos, only one was not found in Lake Harbour. His feature "C. A narcissistic idealization of the self..." and its development in the text is just not supported, nor does it agree with anything that I observed at Lake Harbour. The second part of this aspect is "...a strong feeling of personal responsibility for one's actions" --although some behaviour was observed which could be interpreted to substantiate this, I am not prepared to say that the interpretation is correct nor that it is so important as to deserve being called one of the dominant qualities of Inuit life.

5. Dr. Burridge pointed out to me the nature of this group as political.


7. I see information flow as a service yielded by group members for each other. But it is just as well to have it as a separate category for this draws attention to it, as is proper considering its importance. Furthermore, I would consider the flow of goods as an integral part of functional integration—why he omits them is puzzling for in a later article he includes them with services to comprise functional integration (Landecker 1952: 396).

8. Unless stated otherwise, the definitions and criteria for Landecker's four types of integration apply here as well.

9. This quote is from a lecture by Mrs. Minnie Freeman on how a social scientist should behave towards Inuit in order to minimize stresses. Mrs. Freeman is an Inuk from Great Whale River.
The lecture was in November, 1969, at Memorial University, St. Johns, Newfoundland.

10. This sentence rephrases Mrs. Freeman's explanation of Inuit shyness towards strangers; November, 1969, Memorial University.

11. And I heard quite a lot of talk about other Whites, because the Inuit seemed to believe that I understood less than I did and they seemed to feel safe to talk using nicknames and circumlocutions.

12. Unfortunately I have little information on women's functional integration outside of Inuit society. However see Guemple (1970: 186-190) on the increasing number of young Inuit women who reject marriage to Inuit and unsuccessfully try to marry Whites.

13. I say this because those who principally hunt have plenty of meat (usually) and distribute it around while lack of meat often seemed to prompt those who "hunt in order to carve" to go out hunting.

14. This is in dramatic contrast to Frobisher Bay, where every employer whom I contacted complained that the Inuit men came to work late, competed among themselves in seeing how little they could do, and frequently used up their vacation-time and sick-time and more by just taking off and going hunting. I plan to look into this difference between the two communities in further detail when I return to Lake Harbour.

15. Men tend to set shorter trap-lines in poor years and longer trap-lines in good years. Thus, the yield in foxskins fluctuates more in amplitude than does the fox population.

16. These figures are based on information supplied from the Lake Harbour H.B.C. fur records for 1967 through, and including 1970. Mr. George Croston and the H.B.C. are sincerely thanked for allowing me access to this valuable information.

17. His luxuries do gain him prestige (and even resentment) among the local Euro-Canadians, who may even mistakenly transfer ideas from their own culture about affluence and influence and therefore assume that he gains leadership because of his wealth.

18. The only case I know of the phrase nagligtok, "he loves" occurs in the New Testament when speaking of God or Jesus. The point seems to be that They love us of Their own volition and not because there is anything inherently loveable about us degenerate sinners which could arouse Their love.

19. Yet decreasingly so with age, although even mature adults are discussed in terms of their name-soul relationships as causing personality characteristics (Guemple: ibid).
20. Mrs. Minnie Freeman reports that in Great Whale River children are treated "cruelly" (as seen by the White population) but the mother does so to strengthen the child for the trials that lie ahead of it in its' life. This is called "bittering", but I do not have the Inuit word for it.

21. This figure is from Guemple (1970:18).

22. I mentioned only consanguineal relationships here because I do not know how affines fit into this pattern. I suspect that they lapse even more quickly than do consanguineal relationships.

23. The emic importance of affection and sentiment in intra-household integration makes emotional-cognitive studies such as Briggs (1970) even more interesting.

24. In fact he does describe "reactions to conflict" but these contradict his behavioural principles (Graburn 1969b: 47,48).

25. I thank George Diveky (graduate student at U.B.C.) for this information on the Qiudjuak camp.

26. I use the word Eskimo here because of the pejorative connotation which it frequently carries.
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