Traditional Inuit Decision-Making Structures and the Administration of Nunavut

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Executive Summary

- *This paper explores the different traditional decision-making structures and authority relationships in the Nunavut settlement area, and examines how these might influence public administration in Nunavut.*

- *It rejects the popular notion that Inuit culture and society are shaped largely by the environment, while seeking to identify the structural basis for regional differences in traditional political economy within Nunavut.*

- *Relying on 1) research conducted by the author in Cumberland Sound, south Baffin Island, and 2) ethnographies carried out among the Iglulingmiut of the Baffin region, the Netsilingmiut of the eastern Kitikmeot region, and the Copper Inuit of the western Kitikmeot region, this paper fleshes out the underlying structural foundation of variation in traditional Inuit leadership and decision-making.*

- *As these features operate within well-defined systems of social and material reproduction, it is important to understand how Inuit social structure operates before we can design appropriate practices and institutions for Inuit administration, especially in the area of decision-making.*

- *Three traditional social structures, and thus patterns of leadership and decision-making, are identified. Whereas the Iglulingmiut and Netsilingmiut are found to be embellishments, respectively, of the structural principles* naalaqtuq *(respect-obedience) and* ungayuq *(closeness-affection), the historic Copper Inuit represent a rejection of these behavioral directives insofar as an individual egalitarianism permeated most aspects of society.*

- *As research in Cumberland Sound indicates, these structures, especially those constructed on* naalaqtuq *and* ungayuq *principles, were seen to exist not only between regions, but within regions as well.*

- *It is recognized that Eurocanadian culture and society have altered traditional leadership roles and decision-making relationships in Nunavut. The impacts of commercial hunting/trapping, the church, colonial administration, etc. are addressed with reference to the Inuit of Cumberland Sound. Changes, particularly the erosion of traditional leadership and decision-making patterns, have occurred to be certain, but not to the extent that many have heretofore presumed.*

- *Having identified the structural basis for variation in traditional Inuit decision-making and authority patterns, and addressed the impacts of various southern institutions on these patterns, this paper examines briefly current styles of decision-making in modern communities, again with reference to the Pangnirtarmiut.*

- Contemporary decision-making in Pangnirtung is seen to operate not only at different levels of organization, but also both informally and formally. The differences between these two systems and their articulation in Pangnirtung are described.

- It is acknowledged that before appropriate practices and institutions for Inuit administration can be designed and established an intensive study will need to be undertaken in the communities to determine not only what style of traditional decision-making structure existed in the past, but also to what extent these styles continue to this day. Similarly, it is recognized that this research will provide an ideal opportunity to train and educate Inuit for employment in a Nunavut government.

- It is possible that change has been so great as to alter irrevocably the nature of traditional authority and decision-making relationships. Alternatively, traditional styles of decision-making may still be the dominant form, even when more formal systems are in place.

- Assuming that traditional differences in leadership and decision-making still remain viable to some extent in many Inuit communities, this paper addresses how these might be accommodated into the public administration of Nunavut.

- Both formal and informal means by which to strengthen and support the efficacy of the traditional decision-making structures and relationships in Inuit communities are considered. Vital to this process, is the promotion of extended family values and relationships.

- Recommendations are forwarded to the effect that Nunavut Tunngavik and the federal government 1) recognize the need to determine the nature and efficacy of both traditional and contemporary decision-making structures in the communities, and 2) incorporate the results of this study into the design and implementation of a Nunavut system of government.

- A territorial government structure that incorporates and is sensitive to Inuit knowledge, traditions, and values within and between regions, rather than one that mirrors southern-based and possibly inappropriate models of governance is viewed as both desirable and feasible.

- Finally, it is concluded that a government designed to meet the varying traditions and needs of Inuit in different regions of Nunavut would not only be politically correct, but considerably more cost-effective.

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

This paper explores the different traditional decision-making structures and authority relationships in the Nunavut settlement area, and examines how these might influence public government administration in Nunavut. Most Inuit and informed non-Inuit recognize that there are subtle and often not so subtle social, cultural, and political differences among Inuit in various regions of the Nunavut settlement area. However, while researchers have spent lifetimes trying to explain these differences, the structural basis for this variability has not been adequately or accurately identified.

Most anthropologists working in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic have invoked environmental determinism and, to a lesser extent, historical processes to account for cultural, political, economic, and other differences between regions. Yet, the failure of anthropologists to explain variability within and between regions without recourse to "vulgar materialism" has done a disservice to Inuit in Nunavut. The ability of Inuit to survive in such a frigid and inhospitable land fascinates us; it is this aspect of the Inuit way of life that is most comprehensible in terms of our own cultural system. We wonder how, and rejoice in the fact that, Inuit can eke out an existence under such intolerable conditions. However, Inuit culture and society are not driven predominantly or even largely by the environment. Inuit in Nunavut have a well-defined sociopolitical structure which articulates with the environment to produce distinct social formations with different social customs, political systems, and styles of decision-making.

Relying on 1) research conducted by the author in Cumberland Sound, south Baffin Island, and 2) ethnographies carried out among the Iglulingmiut of the Baffin region, the Netsilingmiut of the eastern Kitikmeot region, the Copper Inuit of the western Kitikmeot region this paper fleshes out the underlying structural foundation of variation in Inuit political economy, leadership, and decision-making. The relationship of these features to other traditional social customs cannot be easily divorced and are also explored. Until we understand how Inuit social structure operates and organization works, it will not be possible to design appropriate practices and institutions for Inuit administration, especially

in the realms of decision-making styles and authority relationships, regardless of the service considered.

Having identified the structural basis for variation in traditional Inuit decision-making and authority patterns, this paper then addresses current styles of decision-making in modern communities, with specific reference to the hamlet of Pangnirtung. However, it is recognized that numerous Euroamerican activities and institutions have altered, if not undermined, traditional leadership roles and decision-making relationships. The impacts of commercial hunting/trapping, the church, colonial administration, and other Eurocanadian institutions will be first addressed, again with reference to the Pangnirtarmiut, after which current styles of decision-making in communities will be examined.

Crucial to this investigation is the recognition that current decision-making operates not only within different sectors of the community (e.g., individual, nuclear family, and *ilagiit* or kin group), but also both informally and formally. The differences between these two systems and their articulation in Pangnirtung will be described.

It is recognized that this paper may raise more questions than it attempts to answer. Ultimately, an intensive study will need to be undertaken in the communities to determine not only what style of traditional decision-making structure existed in the past, but also to what extent these styles continue to this day, particularly in matters affecting the community. It is possible that change vis-a-vis imposed assimilation, increased local group size and compositiveness, etc., has been so great as to alter irrevocably the nature of traditional authority and decision-making relationships. Alternatively, traditional styles of decision-making may still be the dominant form, even when more formal systems are in place. Recommendations as to how this study can be carried out in the context of Inuit training and education are forwarded.

Given that traditional decision-making patterns differed between regions in the Nunavut settlement area, and assuming that they still remain viable to some extent in many Inuit communities, the last section of the paper addresses how these might be accommodated into the public administration of Nunavut. It will consider innovative methods of public administration in Nunavut, while identifying problem areas and proposing recommendations for overcoming problems. In so doing, a government

structure that incorporates and is sensitive to Inuit knowledge, traditions, and values within and between regions is viewed as both desirable and feasible.

Traditional Inuit Social Structure, Leadership, and Decision-Making within the Nunavut Settlement Area

Previous Studies

Few studies have addressed specifically traditional styles of Inuit authority and decision-making. Rather, most research undertaken on these subjects have been conducted within the context of studies on kinship and social organization. Alternatively, what little research has been undertaken has treated these subjects as if they were isolated phenomena, and not part of a larger structure of social and material production. The systemic relationship of leadership, for example, to patterns of sharing, marriage, adoption, territoriality, etc. have simply not been addressed. Yet, traditional styles of Inuit authority and decision-making cannot be adequately appreciated without first understanding their contextual underpinnings. It is thus pertinent here to provide a brief historical review of previous research as it, particularly the work of David Damas, lays the groundwork for identifying and understanding traditional Central Inuit social structure, and thus traditional leadership and decision-making patterns.[1]

Early Research

Based on the early kinship studies of Morgan (1870) and Spier (1925) and on the ethnographies of Jenness (1922) among the Copper "Eskimo" and Holm (1914) among the Angmasilik of Greenland, Murdock (1949) identified an "Eskimo" type of social organization. A single term for all cousins, an absence of exogamous kin groups, monogamy, independent nuclear families, as well as other features were the defining characteristics of "Eskimo" type of social organization (1949:226-27). However, subsequent studies began to cast into doubt the validity of this type

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[1] Inuit inhabiting the central and eastern Northwest Territories, Quebec, and Labrador, are known, after the work of F. Boas (1964) and other anthropologists, as the Central "Eskmio" or, more correctly, Central Inuit. The latter term is adopted here and used to refer to all Inuit within the Nunavut settlement area.

of organization. Sperry (1952), for example, found three distinct types of cousin terminologies represented in the literature, as well as considerable variation in residence patterns and marriage regulations.

"Eskimo" as a system of kinship reckoning and a form of social organization came under increasing attack throughout the 1950s with the works of Giddings (1952), Hughes (1958), and Heinrich (1960), among others. Giddings (1952:5) noted an emphasis on one or the other side of descent in west Alaska, whereby parallel cousins were merged with siblings. Hughes' (1958) study of the St. Lawrence Islanders discovered one common term for both cross-cousins, but two separate terms for paternal and maternal parallel cousins. In northwest Alaska Heinrich (1960) found that three-cousin systems and affinal-excluding structures were associated with the more permanent coastal dwelling groups, while two-cousin terminologies and affinal-incorporating structures were associated with the more nomadic inland dwellers (1960:113-14).

During the late 1950s renewed interest in the welfare of northern native people by the Canadian government led to a number of federally sponsored field studies among Inuit groups in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic. The most influential work of this genre, and arguably the most important study of Inuit kinship and social organization ever undertaken in the Canadian Arctic, was conducted by Damas (1963, 1964, 1968a) among the Iglulingmiut of northern Foxe Basin. As a model of Inuit social structure, Murdock's "Eskimo" type of social organization was doomed to extinction from the start -- its two essential features, nuclear family structure and single cousin terminology appeared to exist more in theory than in reality. If interregional comparisons of Inuit societies cast into doubt the universality and validity of Murdock's "Eskimo" type of social organization, Damas' work laid to rest once and for all any utility this construct may have had for the study of Inuit social structure.

Kinship: the Foundation of Inuit Social Organization?

During the early 1960s Damas (1963, 1964, 1968a) undertook analyses of Iglulingmiut kinship, group composition, and networks of cooperation and authority in economic activity. Damas demonstrated that kinship factors provided the most pervasive means of aligning personnel among the Iglulingmiut, and thus were the most important factors in the formation of

groups (1963:11). Damas' appraisal of the Iglulingmiut system as a conceptually consistent arrangement of behavioural norms, however, was not forthcoming until he realized 1) the frequency with which the terms *ungayuq* or "affection-closeness" and *naalaqtuq* or "respect-obedience" were used in emic descriptions of social relationships, and 2) that the extent to which these directives were observed was based exclusively on the principles of age and generation, solidarity of the sexes, and consanguineal/affinal (i.e., blood relations/in-marrying relatives) boundaries (1963:48-51). Viewed from the perspective of *ungayuq* the three-cousin system of the Iglulingmiut attained a kind of logic whereby the three types of cousins of the same sex could be ranked with respect to affectional closeness according to the principle of solidarity of the sexes:

"For male Ego,...the sons of two brothers form the closest sort of brother-like bond outside the actual sibling group. Most distant of the three cousins for male Ego is the maternal parallel cousin. The logic of that arrangement is that the maternal parallel cousins are related to one another through parents who are both opposite in sex to either of the cousins. Intermediate in affectional closeness are the cross-cousins.... A complementary picture obtains for female Ego. Since the maternal parallel cousins are related through two females, this is the strongest sort of cousin bond, the most sister-like outside the actual sibling group" (1963:48).

The principle of solidarity of the sexes also allowed blood aunts and uncles to be conceived of as surrogate parents. For males, father's brother (*akka*) is more father-like to Ego than mother's brother (*angak*) because he is related through the father, while father's sister (*attak*) is a closer mother-surrogate than mother's sister (*aiyak*). Again, the situation is reversed for female Ego, whereby mother's brother and mother's sister are closer than father's brother and father's sister. So pronounced was the principle of gender solidarity that the terms for sisters and female cousins for male Ego were merged, as were the terms for brothers and male cousins for female Ego (*anik*), although siblings were generally recognized as being closer.

Father-son and mother-daughter relationships formed the closest bonds of any in the actual social life of the people as same-sexed offspring were gradually introduced to the roles of adulthood (1963:49-50). But such relationships were also the most respectful, or *naalaqtuq-directed*, of any in Iglulingmiut society. While bonds of great closeness and cooperation

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existed between parents and their same-sex children, these relationships were also strongly oriented towards leadership and "followership" (1963:50). Within the sibling group age as well as sex determined the subordinate-dominance hierarchy:

"For male Ego, the older brother (*angayuk*) is terminologically distinguished from the younger (*nukaq*), and obedience is along the lines of age, as is the case with females who show a complementary terminology. Between males and females, however, the female should obey the male sibling regardless of age differences... (though) in actuality, this operates only when both the brother and sister are mature "(Ibid.).

Naalaqtuq directives also structured relationships for in-marrying people, and the terminology reflects the dominance and solidarity of the blood-related or consanguineal unit. Thus, in-marrying males for male Ego (mother's sister's husband, sister's husband, daughter's husband, etc.) and in-marrying females for female Ego (e.g., father's brother's wife, brother's wife, son's wife, etc.) were subordinate irrespective of relative age and generational differences between affines and consanguines (1963:51).

With respect to the parental or 1st ascending generation, in-marrying males and females must obey their parents-in-law. Although bonds of affection and closeness could, and often did, develop between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law, this relationship traditionally was the most *naalaqtuq-skewed* of any in Iglulingmiut society. An in-marrying male, however, attained a kind of sibling-like status with his co-affines (e.g., wife's sister's husbands) in that cooperative associations pertained and subordinate-dominance relationships revolved around age distinctions within the sibling core.

Ungayuq and *naalaqtuq* directives did not transmit contradictory information to individuals nor function independently of each other. Rather, these dimensions or axes of social behaviour were mutually influencing and together served to lay the foundations of human relationships in Iglulingmiut society. Although only a select group of relationships has been described here, enough data has been provided to illustrate graphically the operation of the principles of age, gender solidarity, and blood ties with respect to the *ungayuq* and *naalaqtuq* axes (Figure 1). In the parental generation male Ego maintained the closest bonds of affection with, and displayed the most respect-obedience to,

beginning with the most structured relationship, 1) father, 2) mother, 3) father's brother, 4) father's sister and mother's brother, and 5) mother's sister. For male relatives older than self in male Ego's generation, the most respectful relations and greatest amount of affection were shown to, in descending order, 1) brother, 2) father's brother son, 3) father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and 4) mother's sister's son. Based on the principle of solidarity of the sexes, a complementary picture obtained for female Ego. The principles of age and gender solidarity clearly indicate that, as male Ego moves away from father, relationships in the 1st ascending generation become governed more by *naalaqtuq* and less by *ungayuq* directives. Conversely, in Ego's generation relationships are regulated more by *ungayuq* behaviours. Affinal-consanguineal relations, however, were perhaps the most skewed; while they score low on the *ungayuq* axis, Ego's relationships with his/her affines and co-affines are clearly characterized by either subordination or dominance depending on whether s/he is the in-marrying individual or not.

Figure 1. *Naalaqtuq* and *Ungayuq* directives for Iglulingmiut male. Line A = consanguines in parental generation. Line B = male consanguines in Ego's generation, older than self. Figure based on Damas (1963, 1968a). F=father, M=mother, B=brother, Z=sister, S=son.
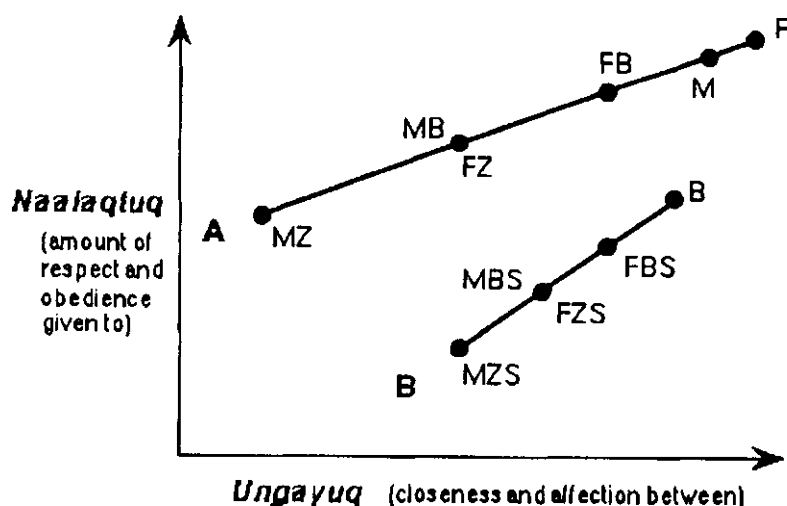
It is clear that, for male Ego, the father-son or *irniriik* relationship constitutes the most stable foundation of group membership. Thus, the majority of Iglulingmiut social groupings tended to be founded on *irniriik* cores. In addition, exogamy prevailed, residence tended to be patrilocal after a year's bride-service, and leadership was very well-developed, sometimes extending beyond the local group. Brother-brother, brother-sister, and paternal uncle-nephew cores, however, proved less viable than the kinship system and the cousin terminology, in particular, would predict.

While Damas clearly established the importance of kinship directives in structuring interpersonal and authority relationships among the Iglulingmiut, about the same time Guemple (1972a, 1972b, 1972c) began to question the importance of kinship vis-a-vis non-kin alliances in organizing Inuit society.

Negotiation: the Foundation of Inuit Social Organization?

Work among the Belcher Islanders in the 1960s led Guemple to suggest that non-kinship alliance mechanisms such as child betrothal, spouse exchange, naming, ritual sponsorship, and adoption (1972c, 1979) played a larger role in structuring Inuit social relationships than kinship. On the assumptions that any social relation constitutes an alliance if it possesses an institutionalized form and its content is based to a very large extent on negotiation, Guemple (1972b:2) argued that Inuit social organization "is most appropriately explained as a system of alliance in which kinship is, more than anything else, a rhetoric which obscures the underlying form." Put another way, various forms of alliance did not function in support of kinship to overcome its deficiencies, but were symptomatic of the negotiable character of all relations in Inuit society:

"Viewed in this light, the alliance system constitutes the heart of the social organization and kinship becomes an unimportant means by which Eskimo rationalize what is essentially a pragmatic social system based on reciprocity" (1972b:5).

Although Guemple (1972c:73) reasoned that kinship may be an important idiom of social relatedness, it was sufficiently flexible to permit a reallocation of existing kinsmen into new social roles even when these violated genealogical criteria. The Belcher Islanders apparently equated

proximity with kinship in that all social relations had to be validated by personal, face-to-face contact to be recognized as genuine (1972c:74). This suggested to Guemple that kinship was not an ascribed status system at all, but a negotiable one (1972c:75):

"Social relatedness is a matter to be worked out by the participants in a social encounter, and... the major criteria to be used are first, that people must actively participate in the system to be counted as kinsmen in a meaningful way, and second, that those who enter the field of face-to-face relations must be treated as kinsmen whether genealogical connections exist to support the claim or not. "

Thus, although consanguinity and affinity were important, they were:

"not the crucial factors governing social life. To put the matter another way, the underlying symbolism of Eskimo society is one of alliance; and kinship, at least as it is manifested in Island society, is more a vehicle for expressing relations of alliance than a basis for locking people into a relatively inflexible, social network. In this context it is the real kinship system which is fictive" (1972c: 75).

Guemple (1972a) continued his exploration into the negotiability of Inuit social status in his examination of Service's (1962) patrilocal model of hunter-gatherer band organization. Simply, Guemple found no convincing evidence to suggest that the foundation of Inuit social structure was ever based on anything but composite organization. Guemple (1972a:85) described Eskimo residence patterns as being "practicolocal", even where patrilocal tendencies were well-developed, and the skewing of bilateral kinship ties in favour of patrikin among some groups was considered to be more apparent than real; kinship is, after all, negotiable. In addition, marriage rules were described as being agamous, and band exogamy could not be found to be "definitely associated with Eskimo social organization anywhere in the Arctic" (1972a:87). Although the social structure of some groups approached Service's patrilocal form, Inuit bands throughout the Arctic exhibited either composite or anomalous band organization (1972a:80). Any resemblances to the patrilocal type were regarded as superficial, and "the underlying form showed a flexible, composite structure based on negotiability of social status" mediated through such institutions as spouse-exchange, childhood betrothal, namesake relationships, ritual sponsorship, and other partnership alliances (Ibid.).

Guemple (1972a:103) ultimately attributed the "compositization" of Inuit social organization to environmental factors whereby 1) seasonal scarcity of resources encouraged geographical mobility, and 2) social and economic survival necessitated that small highly mobile units periodically reunite into larger aggregations. Those groups which had developed more in the direction of patrilocal band structure did so only because they occupied areas of the Arctic where the biomass was substantially higher and more predictable than elsewhere (1972a:105). The environment, then, underlay the composite nature of Eskimo social organization and its most significant feature, "the negotiability of status."

Anarchy or Structure: Kinship or Locality?

Damas and Guemple were not the only anthropologists to explore Central Inuit social structure. Nevertheless, their views represent the two major schools of thought on the subject. Either kinship is seen to be the primary mechanism regulating interpersonal behaviour, or locality and negotiation are the major principles upon which Inuit social relationships are forged. While Guemple underscored the importance of geographical propinquity in creating and sustaining social relationships, his persistent assault on kinship has in no small measure contributed to the view that Inuit social organization is far more flexible or "formless" than that of other cultures:

"What [flexibility] means is that Eskimo social conventions do not allocate people to social membership in any very unambiguous way; and it also means that there are very few prescriptions, either conscious or unconscious, which state how people ought to treat each other once allocated" (Guemple, cited in Burch 1975:61).

Yet, as Burch's and Damas' research have demonstrated, "the stereotypical notion of Inuit anarchy is greatly overdrawn" (Burch 1975:61). Among most Inuit societies there existed definite, strongly institutionalized prescriptions about how kinsmen were supposed to treat and behaviour toward each other (Burch 1975:61-62). If there was any flexibility in the content of Inuit kin relationships it lay in the allocation of people among various positions in a social system, and not in a lack of definition as to how people filling particular positions should behave (Burch 1975:62).

Guemple's views perhaps might have attained greater credibility if more Inuit groups constructed their models of social reality in the way he proposed; i.e., that kinship, adoption, spouse exchange, name-sharing, etc. were equally symbolic conferrals that emerge out of the need to convert a person who is in the local group into a relative of some sort (1979:94). However, few Inuit groups outside of Guemple's Belcher Island experience accord kinship such a minor role in organizing social relationships. In fact, it appears that Guemple's conclusions were drawn from an acculturated situation whereby many Belcher Islanders were exploring alternative means of forming productive relationships in the context of increased centralization and compositization (M. Freeman, personal communication, 1993). A few years prior to Guemple's fieldwork, when most Belcher Islanders were distributed throughout the islands in several small camps, Freeman (1967:154) found that kinship was, indeed, the basis of group composition.

Certainly, the kinship model more closely approximates our own "typically Western" way of thinking about social life (Guemple 1979:92). But, I do not believe that it ought to be discarded on this account. In fact, many features of Inuit social life across the Arctic directly point to the importance most Inuit groups attach to genealogy. Some of the more obvious ones include 1) the way strangers are treated, 2) the use of kin terms over personal names in forms of reference and address, and 3) the strength of parental and sibling bonds over spousal ties. To say that kinship was just another way of rationalizing relations of production is to underestimate its role and to ignore many facts of Inuit social life.

Although Guemple appreciated the fact that the opposition of kinship versus alliance is totally unacceptable when applied to the study of Inuit social structure (1972c:57), what he failed to recognize was that kinship is not a rigid, invariant structure of behavioural directives. Instead, kinship is an artifact, a model if you will (Levi-Strauss 1969), that exists in the conscious and unconscious minds of individuals for organizing relations of production and reproduction. Locality does not attain its importance at the expense of kinship. Rather, biological and geographical propinquity were simply the "hooks" upon which Inuit invested and hung their hopes for emotional security and economic well being (Hickey and Stevenson 1990).

An emphasis on either kinship or locality at the expense of the other is likely to be unrewarding; the former because only partial answers will be provided, the latter because no answer will be forthcoming at all -- an exclusive focus on locality assumes *a priori* that there is no structure, that all social relationships are negotiable. Having rejected the latter view, Damas began to search for structural tendencies in Copper Inuit, Netsilingmiut, and Iglulingmiut socioeconomic organization (1968b, 1969a, 1969b, 1972a, 1972b, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c).

The Search for Structure

While an analysis of Copper Inuit, Netsilingmiut, and Iglulingmiut socioeconomic organization will be presently shortly, it is important to note that these regional groups appear to exhaust much of the variability seen in Inuit sociopolitical organization, and thus decision-making.

In regards to leadership and authority relationships, Damas observed that leadership was ephemeral among the Copper Inuit (1969b). Leadership was better developed among the Netsilingmiut and Iglulingmiut, with *ihumataq* (Netsilik) or *isumataq* (Iglulik), i.e., "the one who thinks", heading extended family units. Only among the Iglulingmiut, however, did the influence of the *isumataq* extend over the entire band, where he regulated game sharing and food distribution.

While Damas compared a host of other sociocultural and economic variables among these groups, he was unable to identify any structural coherence among all three regions. Although there was some internal consistency to the systemic associations of various features within each region -- the Iglulingmiut placed the most emphasis on kinship and leadership, whereas the Copper Inuit placed the least -- some arrangements were more integrated than others (1969b, 1975c). Thus, Damas (1972b, 1975b) saw all three groups on a continuum of increasing integration and complexity in social organization from west to east, with kinship and leadership played increasing larger roles in structuring interpersonal relationships as one moved eastward. However, contrary to expectations, a corresponding decrease in the elaboration of voluntary associations on the same geographical gradient was not observed (1972b:52-53). In fact, quite the opposite was found. Whereas the Iglulingmiut demonstrated the greatest emphasis on kinship, they also possessed the

most complete listing of alliance mechanisms not directly connected to the kinship system. Alternatively, the Copper Inuit possessed the weakest development of kinship coupled with the fewest voluntary associations (1972b:53-54).

Damas (1969b, 1975c) spent considerable effort exploring the relationship of ecological factors to social features among these groups. However, his search for the ecological determinants of structural variation in the Central Inuit social organization yielded mixed results. Environmental factors were held responsible for such social features as large winter aggregations since numerous hunters were required in order to undertake breathing-hole sealing. Adoption redistributed individuals throughout society to produce social units that matched ecological conditions. As female infanticide in the Netsilik and Copper Inuit regions was directly related to survival (1969b:54, 1975c), and as this practice created a shortage of women, child betrothal provided assurance that males would secure mates in adulthood (1969b:53, 54). Child betrothal among the Iglulingmiut also functioned to secure marriage partners for males, but for a different reason. Although the Iglulingmiut did not practise female infanticide, their exogamous tendencies likewise produced local, albeit culturally defined, shortages of eligible females.

The division of the Central Canadian Arctic into two exploitive patterns/areas, one occupied by the Netsilingmiut and Copper Inuit, the other by the Iglulingmiut, continued to yield unsatisfactory results. Parallels between exploitive zones and features of social organization were noted in the case of seal-sharing partnerships, which existed among the Copper and Netsilingmiut, but not the Iglulingmiut. With lower levels of subsistence and exploitive efficiency in the Copper and Netsilik areas, structured systems of sharing were considered to provide special insurance for unsuccessful hunters (1969b:55). Conversely, the lack of these sharing partnerships in the Iglulik area was interpreted as an expression of less urgent ecological pressures (Ibid.). While the Netsilingmiut and the Copper Inuit shared a tendency towards kin endogamy/agamy, more favourable economic conditions among the Iglulingmiut made larger dog teams possible, facilitating mobility, and thus the practice of exogamy (1975a:414).

Beyond these correlations, however, similarities in social features were not forthcoming to the extent predicted by the uniformity of resources

and exploitive patterns of these two groups. The Copper Inuit pattern of nuclear family organization and egalitarianism contrasted with the Netsilik pattern of extended family organization and leadership. The distribution of sharing and commensal practices among the three groups also could not be correlated with environmental conditions; there were three systems in two exploitive zones. Neither were patterns of leadership associated with environmental factors as three different structures existed in two zones. Similarly, a third feature that was split in its distribution was the classification of same-sex cousins. The Copper have a two-cousin system, the Netsilik a one-cousin system, and the Iglulik a three-cousin system. Again, these systems could not be readily interpreted as correlating with ecological factors because two systems existed within one exploitive zone (1969b:56). In violation of ecological predictions, the Iglulingmiut and Netsilingmiut shared some traits which cross-cut their zones, but which were not found among the Copper Inuit. These include a tendency towards patrilocality and extended family organization and the classification of opposite-sex cousins as siblings, the latter contrasting sharply with the practice of separating cousins and siblings in the Copper Inuit area (Ibid.).

While Damas considered a number of social features among the three groups to be related to facts of exploitation, the relationship was far from complete. Many exploitive patterns and social features demonstrated by the three groups were not congruent, and where correlations did exist, Damas concluded that they "could not be convincingly demonstrated to be other than spurious" (1969b:57-58). A more complete explanation of structural variation in Central Inuit societies lay elsewhere, and in this regard, Damas turned to an examination of historical factors such as common heritage, migration, diffusion, innovation, and cultural drift (1969b:58-61, 1975c). Features shared by all three groups were attributed to a common heritage or broad common adaptation, while those restricted to either exploitive zone were considered to represent adaptive innovations to each zone, e.g., seal-sharing partnerships among the Copper and Netsilik. Similarities between the Netsilingmiut and Iglulingmiut were attributed to diffusion, whereas drift, i.e., "divergent cultural change operating under the conditions of isolation" (1969b:60), was considered to be responsible for the main differences between these two groups.

Damas is to be credited for pointing out the remarkable diversity of social features among these Inuit societies, as well as for exploring the ecological and historical roots of this variation. Yet, his explanations, as he acknowledged (1969b), were far from complete. Nevertheless, they represent a significant step towards isolating structure in Central Inuit socioeconomic organization. His inability to offer more complete explanations of Central Inuit social structure, however, begged, if not demanded, further examination. Yet, few researchers have taken up where Damas left off, being content, as it were, with the prevailing view that Inuit in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic constitute a rather "structureless" society, whose institutions (as well as any variability between them) are shaped largely by the environment. Dissatisfied with this description, especially in the light of recent political developments in the Nunavut settlement area, this author initiated a search for the structural foundations of Central Inuit society in Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island (Stevenson 1993).

Recent Research: The Cumberland Sound Inuit

Relying on the memory culture of many Inuit elders from Pangnirtung, I traced the social composition of numerous local groups in Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island, over a 50 year period from 1920 to 1970. Prior to this study, however, I evaluated the effects of various acculturative forces on traditional Cumberland Sound Inuit society, especially traditional authority and leadership arrangements (Stevenson 1993). While these will be described shortly, the Cumberland Sound Inuit example instructs us that Central Inuit society has not been so radically and thoroughly transformed as most outside observers believe.

Naalaqtuq *and* Ungayuq *Social Structure*

Having determined that the foundations of Cumberland Inuit society were not significantly transformed as a consequence of contact with the white man (see below), I undertook an analysis of kinship and local group composition during the contact-traditional period, 1920-1970 (Stevenson 1993). Information on some 49 different occupations from 17 camps was collected from upwards of 20 elders. This research indicated that well-defined kinship ties and consistent arrangements of social features existed

within most local groups. This, in turn, suggested that there was some underlying logic that Inuit in Cumberland Sound employed in the formation of their groups and the propagation of their productive relationships. Specifically, divergences between the two major subregional groups to have occupied the Sound during the 20th century -- the Kekertarmiut and Umanaqjuarmiut -- in terms of leadership, decision-making arrangements, marriage patterns, adoption styles, etc. indicate that two different principles of group formation existed in Cumberland Sound. Thus, it seems that two rather distinctive social systems, complete with different decision-making patterns and authority relationships, operated within Cumberland Sound historically. These two structural tendencies are summarized below.

Table 1. Comparative summary of Kekertarmiut and Umanaqjuarmiut social structures (adapted from Stevenson 1993:Table 20).

Social feature/ characteristic	Kekertarmiut Tendencies	Umanaqjuarmiut Tendencies
Leadership	well-developed	poorly developed
Decision-making	more authoritarian	more egalitarian
Structure of primary kinship ties	parent-child core	sibling cores
Strength of primary kinship ties	strong	moderate
Group size	smaller	larger, more variable
Residential stability	higher	lower
Local group hunting territories	mutually exclusive	overlapping
Local group/quasi-kin endogamy	rare	more prevalent
Mult. affinal ties among consang.	rare	more prevalent
Hypergamy	frequent	rare
Marital residence	patrilocal	matrilocal
Adoption pattern	grandparental	sibling
Food distribution in good times	family heads, leaders	women, family heads
Caching	community and individual caches	local and scattered individual caches

What is particularly interesting about these findings is that the presence/absence of well-developed leadership appears to be correlated strongly with many other features and proclivities. For example, the tendency towards strong leadership among the Kekertarmiut is positively associated with authoritarian decision-making whereby village leaders were trusted and relied upon to make/take decisions for the community. While such leaders were usually the eldest hunters of the largest resident families, infrequently a woman would assume the role of leadership, especially if she was accomplished in the "ways of the land" and most

resident males were in-marrying or infirm (Stevenson 1993). Strong leadership was also correlated with local groups formed around father-son (F-S) cores, small local group size, mutually exclusive hunting territories, a high degree of residential stability/low residential mobility, marriage outside the local/kin group (exogamy), marriage among/with families of high socioeconomic standing (hypergamy), the giving of a child to one's parent (grandparent adoption), as well as the distribution and caching of game by village headmen.

Conversely, the Umanaqjuarmiut exhibited opposite tendencies in most of these respects (Table 1). Especially noticeable was the absence of well-developed leadership and prevalence of egalitarian decision-making, where decisions were made by consensus. At Umanaqjuaq (Blacklead Island), prior to the dispersion of its population and the contact-traditional period, decisions affecting the community would be taken jointly by a group of this settlement's most prominent hunters:

"the men would get together as to where they were to go hunting and discussed other things to be decided as a community."[2]
By way of contrast, at Kekerten, one man was responsible for leading the community in productive activity:

"Although the main leader wasn't able to led (sic) all of the tasks..., Angmarlik would lead them all and they would follow him faithfully. They (the sub-leaders) would follow what the leader wants them to do as to what has to be done.... They didn't have any problems as they followed him the way they were supposed to.... As he was able to look after everything when he was in the community... the sub-leaders didn't even seem to exist when he was around. No one questioned his ability or leadership at all. And when the helpers lead (sic) others they would not question them either, I've never known anyone questioning their responsibilities."[3]

Dissimilarities in leadership, decision-making, etc. between the Kekertarmiut and Umanaqjuarmiut may be most parsimoniously accommodated within an explanatory framework that considers the former to be *naalaqtuq*-structured and the latter to be *ungayuq*-structured. As we have seen, most Central Inuit are governed by *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* directives implicit within their age, gender, and kinship relationships to

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[2] Kudlu Pitsualuk, "Pangnirtung Interviews" (Akpalialuk 1984:13; also Annie Alivaktuk, 1984:9; Simon Shamiyuk, 1984:10.
[3] Etuangat Aksayuk, "Pangnirtung Interviews" (Akpalialuk 1984:22-23).

others. Respect-obedience and affection-closeness, however, are not just flip sides of the same coin, but work in complementary fashion to structure and maintain productive relationships and activity. Yet, a balance between these axes of interpersonal relations exists only in theory. In reality, the nature of any given relationship between two people for any given situation must be governed by one or the other directive, even between parent and child, which exhibited the strongest, most developed, and invariant *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* behaviours of any in Central Inuit society. It follows from this observation that core members of local groups, and ultimately entire aggregations, must also be governed predominantly by one or the other behavioural directive, and thus structural tendency.

On the ground these two structural tendencies are overtly expressed in differences in local group composition. Whereas Figure 2 describes the kinship relations among a group of Kekertarmiut, Figure 3 depicts a typical Umanaqjuarmiut aggregation. While the former camp possessed strong leadership, authoritarian decision-making, and was founded on the relationship between a man and his married sons, the latter camp was governed by more horizontal directives whereby leadership was weak, decision-making was egalitarian, and two related sibling cores constituted the foundation of group membership. Note also how adoption has supported the underlying vertical structure of the Kekertarmiut camp.

Figure 2. Social composition of Naujeakviq, Cumberland Sound, mid-1950s.
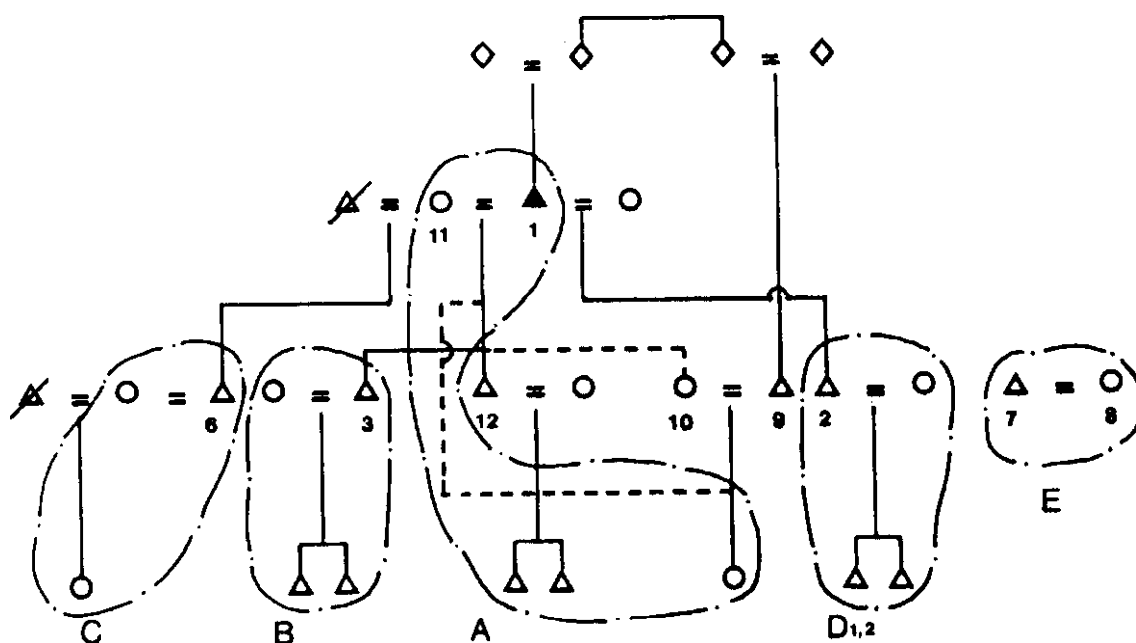
Figure 3. Social composition of Iqalulik, Cumberland Sound, early 1930s.
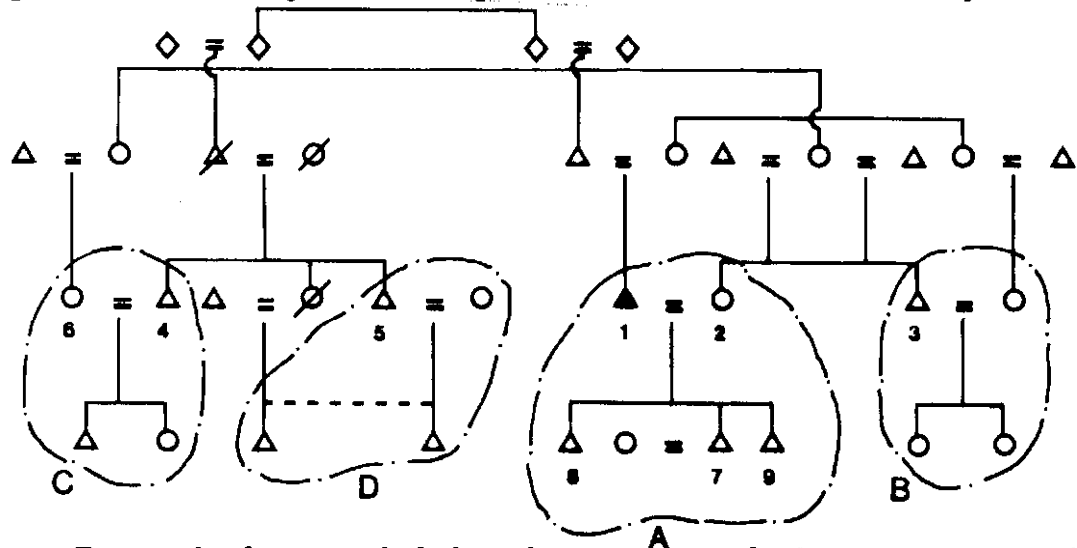
Research also revealed that the structure of a local group, especially among the Kekertarmiut, often alternates from one generation to the next as prominent men become infirm or pass away, leaving leadership and decision-making in the hands of resident sons. However, it was also learned that such configurations rarely endured among the Kekertarmiut as super-subordinate relationships overshadowed any bonds of affection between siblings, especially brothers. Conversely, both same- and opposite-sex sibling cores among the Umanaqjuarmiut, and the families which attached themselves to such groups, not only tended to reside considerably longer together, but they appear to have moved more freely from one local group to another. The absence of well-developed leadership among the Umanaqjuarmiut was not the result of happen-stance, but was a major ingredient in a strategy designed to maintain egalitarian relationships and socioeconomic interdependence among a number of local groups. Clearly, the Umanaqjuarmiut emphasized *ungayuq* behaviours among coresident kinsmen, while *naalaqtuq* directives dominated Kekertarmiut aggregations.

Contained within each structural tendency, however, are systemic contradictions that undermine the maintenance and reproduction of productive forces and relationships from one generation to the next. Here, we come to what may be the pivotal problem in Central Inuit society. Local groups dominated by hierarchical or super-subordinate relationships tend to split apart after the loss of its leader, as *ungayuq* behaviors are not developed sufficiently enough to hold the camp together. Under such

circumstances, ways must be found to recruit new members, either to maintain the existing structure of the local group or to reproduce the same structure anew through the formation of another productive unit. Local and kin group exogamy serve these purposes well, as they bring in-marrying males and females who are subordinate to resident extended family members. Conversely, local groups characterized by egalitarian relationships, generally weather losses in prominent personnel much better not solely because leadership is not well-developed and decision-making is more egalitarian, but also because people have the option of aligning themselves with kinsmen in other similarly structured camps. Moreover, while lack of leadership and direction may engender socioeconomic independence, it may also contribute to a lack of prosperity, and thus a more nomadic tendency. Finally, because egalitarian relations are impossible to maintain in societies where social status is dependent upon economic success, contradictions may arise which generate tensions that require residential moves to resolve.

The Umanaqjuarmiut and Kekertarmiut exhibit what I believe to be the two main options available to most Central Inuit for reproducing productive forces and relationships. After Damas (1963, 1964), these structural tendencies may be best described as *Naalaqtuq* and *Ungayuq* principles of group formation or strategies of affiliation. Yet, contradictions arise when social relationships are dominated by either hierarchical or egalitarian arrangements, for as Graburn (1964) so correctly observed, all local groups are in the process of being and becoming.

Structural Variability in Central Inuit Leadership and Decision-making

The identification of two structural tendencies in Cumberland Sound, with their own decision-making and authority patterns, sets the stage for examining structural variability in these features among other Central Inuit groups, and specifically the Iglulingmiut, Netsilingmiut, and Copper Inuit -- the best known and best studied of all regional groups in the Nunavut settlement area.

The Iglulingmiut: Coping with Naalaqtuq

The Iglulingmiut of the Foxe Basin and north Baffin Island, who were divided into three subregional groups traditionally (the Iglulingmiut,

Tununirmiut, and Aivilingmiut), represent an Inuit society where *naalaqtuq* directives within kinship relations were strongly emphasized. Leadership among the Iglulingmiut was notably well-developed with the eldest resident hunter usually assuming the role of *isumataq*. The authority of the *isumataq* often extended beyond his own extended family to socioeconomic matters affecting the whole camp. He also regulated game sharing and distribution. Both kin and local group exogamy were rigidly practised in Iglulingmiut society. For the male, marriage was often accompanied by a year's bride-service, after which the couple usually returned to the man's father's camp, though very strong bonds of affection still prevailed between a woman and her parents.

Perhaps the most striking features of Iglulingmiut socioeconomy are its emphases on hierarchy and the solidarity of the extended family. In regard to the former, in-marrying males are subordinate to males born into the kin group regardless of age or generational relationships: sister is subordinate to brother, younger brother to older brother, Ego's generation to parent's generation, etc. This structure of relationships is acutely reflected in the kinship system whereby age, generation, gender, and consanguineal affiliation determine one's place in the social hierarchy (see above). Hierarchy is also reflected in other aspects of Iglulingmiut life. For example, in forms of reference and address, personal names were rarely used. Rather, kin terms and the behavioural content that their use presupposes (i.e, deference and respect) were employed. This was most notable among opposite-sex in-laws, where the greatest avoidance and respect relations prevailed (Damas 1963:47). Closely related to the hierarchical structure of relationships among kinsmen is the friendly rivalry that served to establish dominance-subordination relations between non-kin or distantly-related males. As Rasmussen (1929:227, 231) noted:

"Underlying all the games is the dominant passion of rivalry, always seeking to show who is the best... the swiftest, the strongest, the cleverest (etc.). The same spirit of rivalry... is also found in the song contests which are held in the feasting house.... (However) two... opponents in song contests must be the very best of friends; they call themselves, indeed, *iglorek*, which means 'song cousins', and must endeavor not only in their verses, but in all manner of sport, each to outdo the other; when they meet, they must exchange costly gifts, here also endeavoring each to surpass the other in extravagant generosity."

As observed previously, *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* are strongest between parents and children. This upward channeling of respect-obedience and affectional behaviours is congruent with many features of Iglulingmiut socioeconomic organization, most notably strong leadership and authoritarian decision-making (Damas 1975c:21). The authority of the eldest resident hunter with the largest circle of kinsmen extended to all members of the local group, and sometimes even to other camps (Rasing 1989). As in Cumberland Sound (Stevenson 1993), the strongest leaders were also associated with the best hunting grounds (Damas 1963:87). Although the authority of the *isumataq* in later times was undermined by individualistic tendencies engendered by the rifle, this was offset by adoption of the whaleboat and trapping whereby the camp leader had to coordinate a greater diversity of activities and serve as middleman in the trade and distribution of goods. Hypergamous tendencies were observed to be a corollary of leadership in Cumberland Sound, and, not surprisingly, Damas found evidence for this practice among the Iglulingmiut. In fact, so strong was this propensity among Ituksarjuak's descendants that it appears to have led to kin group endogamy and the development of an elite or "royal family" (Damas 1963).

In contrast to the Netsilik and Copper Inuit, affines are not equated with consanguines in Iglulingmiut society. For the male, in-marrying males and females in Ego's and the adjacent generations are strictly separated from blood relatives. Alternatively, relatives in the 1st ascending, Ego's, and the 1st descending generations show relatively greater and lesser father- and mother-like, brother- and sister-like, and son- and daughter-like roles, respectively (Damas 1963:53).

The Iglulingmiut appear to have placed so much emphasis on *naalaqtuq*, however, that it appears to have undermined the reproduction of local groups from one generation to the next. As observed, male sibling groups tended to split apart after the death of the father, and "pronouncedly so after the death of both parents" (Damas 1975c:25). Such splitting of male sibling groups is a direct function of super-subordinate directives implicit in their relationship. Damas (1963:106) noted that disagreements between brothers revolved around matters of authority and decision-making on the horizontal level, and the term *isumakattiginituk*, or "they disagree", was used frequently to explain the separate residential locations of brothers.

Such splits also appear to have conspired against the aggregation of large permanent groups of kindred (Damas 1963:105). In the life cycle of Iglulingmiut males most sibling splits occurred after the age of forty, subsequent to the passing of the father and the emergence of their own productive extended family units (Damas 1963:106). Thus, *ungayuq* directives and cooperative behaviours between brothers were simply not well-developed enough to allow the local group to maintain its structure and organization after the death of the father. In particular, the new dominance-subordination relationship that pertained between male siblings conspired against the perpetuation of the group and the cohesive nature of its former productive relationships.

It is with reference to this structural weakness that the most unique features of Iglulingmiut socioeconomy can be explained. While the Iglulingmiut regarded male sibling cores to be a preferred living arrangement (Damas 1963), second only to father-son cores, they also evolved a variety of other mechanisms to promote male solidarity among both kin and non-kin in the formation and maintenance of productive relationships. Foremost among these was the three-cousin terminology, whereby FBS for male Ego assumed sibling-like status, particularly with respect to the *ungayuq* axis. Yet, as *naalaqtuq* directives were less structured between parallel cousins, they were even less viable foundations than *nukariik* (brother-brother) cores upon which to build local groups after passing of the parental generation. Even so, the three-cousin system of the Iglulingmiut can be viewed as an attempt to overcome deficiencies inherent within male sibling relationships by isolating cousins in terms of affectional closeness and promoting another dimension of male solidarity in productive activity. The fact that a complementary system existed for female Ego underscores the emphasis placed on kin group exogamy and gender solidarity.

The many non-kinship alliances that once characterized Iglulingmiut socioeconomy can also be viewed from the same perspective. Damas (1972b, 1975c) noted that the Iglulingmiut possessed the most complete system of alliances not founded on kinship (spouse exchange, child betrothal, song partnerships, name sharing, etc.) of any Central Inuit population. Damas (1972b) was at a loss to explain these findings. After all, should not "Eskimo" groups who place considerable emphasis on kinship

need few voluntary alliances to organize society, and vice versa? However, he found just the opposite: Iglulingmiut society was based largely on kinship directives, but it also demonstrated the most complete inventory of non-kinship alliances. Many voluntary partnerships in Iglulingmiut society supported the kinship system, to be sure, but others appear to have overcome its deficiencies, especially its emphases on social hierarchy and kin group solidarity, by providing alternative means for forming productive relationships and extending alliances beyond the boundary of local and kin groups.

Summarized succinctly, these features were means that evolved to overcome weaknesses inherent in too great an emphasis on social hierarchy and solidarity -- i.e., to take the "edge" off of *naalaqtuq*. It is in this respect that well-developed leadership, authoritarian decision-making, exogamy, avoidance of opposite-sex relatives, etc., served complementary and integrative functions.

The Netsilingmiut: Ungayuq Exaggerated

If the Iglulingmiut and the Kekertarmiut embody the essence of *naalaqtuq* social structure, then the Netsilingmiut appear to have carried the alternative structural principle of *ungayuq* to a similar extreme.

The Netsilingmiut apparently consisted of six territorially-defined groups traditionally. However, there was no recognition of an overall "tribal" identity as there was, for example, among the Iglulingmiut or Kekertarmiut. Indeed, Balikci (1970:xx) views the Netsilingmiut on the whole as "a divided and unstable group of people." Prior to the 20th century, sustained cooperative interaction between local groups was not a feature of Netsilingmiut social organization (e.g., Rasmussen 1931:202). As one of Balikci's (1964:71) informants stated "in the past the *ilagiits* (sic) didn't mix; now they are all mixed up." In fact, mutual suspicion and hostility characterized relations between most local groups.

The genesis of most murders and feuds was wife stealing resulting from a shortage of women created, most certainly, by the practice of female infanticide (see below). Plural marriages, which were far more common than the shortage of marriageable females would lead us to suspect, only exacerbated hostile feelings (Rasmussen 1931:54, 74, 77, 78). Even when ecological necessity demanded that two camps cooperate to hunt seals at

breathing holes, mutual fear and suspicion still characterized their relations. As an old informant of Rasmussen's (1931:203) recalled:

"A man in (a sled) procession could not stop to make water without great risk, for the man who walked in front might easily get the idea that the man for some reason or other would strike him down from behind, and the suspicion alone might be sufficient cause of bloodshed."

Balikci (1964) identifies two main socioeconomic units beyond the nuclear family in Netsilingmiut society: the extended and restricted *ilagiit*. The former constituted the widest circle of relatives recognized among the Netsilingmiut, and was composed almost exclusively of consanguines. It was, however, not a residential, ceremonial, political, nor economic unit, but an "ego-based kindred" which formed the largest sphere of security for individuals (Balikci 1964:25-29). The extended *ilagiit* was also the domain beyond which mates were not actively sought. The restricted *ilagiit*, which may be equated with the local group, was the more important and primary unit of productive activity. The relationship between two adult men, ideally brothers, formed the basis of most local groups. Whereas the eldest active hunter was usually regarded as the leader, or *ihumataq*, super-subordinate relationships appear to have been secondary to the maintenance of cooperative relations among adult males. Indeed, important decisions affecting the community were usually taken jointly several adult men. As the woman always went to live with her husband's family (Rasmussen 1931), there was a heavy patrilocal slant to most groups. At the same time, male dominance and solidarity within local groups found expression in the separation of men and women at meal times, the considerable affection and joking relationships that prevailed between male cousins (Balikci 1970:121-122), and the practice of female infanticide, which was the man's prerogative (Freeman 1970, 1971). Marriage with members of the same kin and local group, preferably between first cousins, was the ideal arrangement, whereas unions between non-resident kinsmen were less desirable. In addition, adoption was carried out predominantly within the local group.

The inward focusing of social relationships and the maintenance of *ungayuq* behaviours within the local group is well-reflected in Netsilingmiut mythology. For example, the myth of the "salmon (char) and sea sculpin" warns of the dangers of leaving one's group and associating

with others who are not your kind (Rasmussen 1931:397-398). The myth of Nuliajuk also underscores the importance of kinship ties within the group. In the "Sedna" myth of the Iglulingmiut and other Baffinlanders, "Sedna" (Nuliajuk) is thrown into the water by her father, where she drowns, ultimately as a consequence of denying appropriate suitors and/or marrying a dog, i.e., rejecting society. In the Netsilingmiut version (1931:225-226) Nuliajuk meets a similar fate not because she repudiates society, but because society rejects her, i.e., she was a stranger: "no one cared about her, no one was related to her, and so they (the boys and girls she was playing with) threw her into the water."

First cousin marriage was the preferred marriage arrangement, and while opposite-sex cousins were called by sibling terms, individuals grew up to marry their classificatory siblings. Damas (1975c:17) regards this practice as a transferral of the appropriate sentiments from a consanguineal to an affinal context. During childhood cousins of both sexes are second only to siblings in terms of affectional closeness to Ego. However, unlike the Iglulingmiut and most Central Inuit groups, where avoidance begins to characterize cross-sex cousin relations after puberty, affectional behaviours are not abolished among the Netsilingmiut. Rather, upon reaching adulthood these sentiments are transferred to prospective spouses. In this way, bonds of affection established in childhood were maintained into adulthood, thus preserving deep feelings of trust between local group members and the solidarity of the local group. Rasmussen (1931:191-92) provides ample evidence of this transference whereby couples never addressed each other by their real names, but by pet-names or terms of endearment appropriate to their consanguineal relationship, particularly, it seems, if their fathers were related.

In comparison with most Inuit, indeed most aboriginal societies worldwide, the Netsilingmiut appear to have practised female infanticide to an extreme. Numerous explanations have been offered for the high rate of Netsilingmiut female infanticide. Extreme environmental pressures, for example, may have necessitated the elimination of unproductive members of society, and as boys were more valued than girls (Rasmussen 1931:140-142), the latter were the first to be sacrificed for the good of the community. Alternatively, female infanticide may have arose as a means to correct the imbalance created in later life by high adult male mortality (Balikci 1967,

1970). However, even though female infanticide might have enabled a higher proportion of available energy to be channeled to mature individuals, who use energy more productively and were less likely to perish than children, this practice may have been an expression of male dominance within the extended family household (Freeman (1970, 1971).

While these hypotheses may have varying degrees of merit, the high rate of female infanticide among the Netsilingmiut may be explained most parsimoniously as means of maintaining the closed structure of local groups by restricting or controlling access to women. By eliminating females who could not be betrothed to or adopted by relatives within the local group, access to women was denied to non-kin and non-local group members. As with preferential first cousin marriage, female infanticide functioned to keep and focus affectional bonds within the group. Female infanticide not only served to focus ties inward while restricting relationships with other groups, but it also reinforced male unity and solidarity within the group. By restricting access to women, this custom reduces the potential for the formation of exchange relationships with outsiders, thus preserving the solidarity of the kin group, and, in particular, the integrity of adult male relationships. In this context, leadership and authoritarian decision-making could not develop to the extent that they did among the Iglulingmiut or Kekertarmiut.

Many of the unique customs associated with Netsilingmiut society appear to have developed as means to maintain the closed structure of kin/ residential groups. Yet, there were occasions when mutual suspicion and hostility between groups took a "back seat" to the formation of cooperative relationships, such as in the winter when two or more restricted *ilagiit*, and often extended *ilagiit*, came together to hunt seals at breathing holes. However, these arrangements depended upon an interlocking set of precise and rigid sharing rules between men of different groups (Van de Velde 1956). Although this inflexible and formal system of sharing worked to overcome latent hostilities between non-relatives, thus giving the winter aggregation social cohesion and economic viability (Balikci 1970:138), it was quickly "mothballed" in times of resource abundance.

The Netsilingmiut represent an extreme development of *ungayuq* social structure and demonstrate the appropriate authority and decision-making relationships associated with such a structure. However, they also

illustrate the inherent deficiency of too great an emphasis on establishing affectional ties and productive relationships only with close kinsmen/local group members.

The Copper Inuit: Individual Egalitarianism

It would be possible to conclude at this stage that were two fundamental patterns of leadership and decision-making traditionally within the Nunavut settlement area, each associated with a different social structure, were it not for the Copper Inuit. The latter represent an entirely different solution to the problems of material and social reproduction in the Canadian Arctic than either the Iglulingmiut or the Netsilingmiut.

Perhaps the most intriguing features of Copper Inuit social organization are its pronounced lack of emphasis on the extended family, super-subordinate relationships, and kinship in the organization of society. In fact, among all aboriginal Central Inuit populations, the Copper Inuit alone represent the classic nuclear type of family organization formerly ascribed to "Eskimo" society. The independence of the nuclear family was absolute in all seasons, whether dispersed inland during the summer or assembled in large aggregations on the sea ice. Indeed, while Jenness' (1922) census indicates that adult sons rarely occupied the same dwellings as their fathers, Rasmussen (1932:78-84) recorded that three-generation families account for less than 7% of those families he enumerated. Although communal sharing was practised widely, the eldest productive male of a family had no inherent authority over other local group members. So great was the emphasis on egalitarianism that there were no positions or statuses demarcating certain individuals as standing above or apart from others outside the nuclear family (Hickey 1984:20). While a man because of his ability or character may attain a position of some influence, as his powers faded, so too did his prestige and authority (1922:93). Even women outside the domestic sphere enjoyed equal status with that of men in decision-making (1922:162).

At the same time, the great emphasis on individualism made it virtually impossible for communal action as "there is no common council wherein the will of the people can find a voice, no spokesman to give it public expression, and no leader to translate it into action" (1922:94). Subsequently, murders and other transgressions against society often went

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unpunished, and there was no more respect given to elders or people with superior wisdom or skills than anyone else (Jenness 1922:169). Simply, the Copper Inuit were intolerant of social hierarchy and inequality, a factor which certainly contributed to their legendary mercurial temper (Jenness 1922, Rasmussen 1932).

Just as intriguing is the indifference shown to kinship beyond the nuclear family in the formation of productive relationships. That kinship was simply an unimportant means by which to organize society is apparent in the frequent occurrence of agamous marriage practices, wherein marriages between blood relations, whether of the same or adjacent generations, were neither actively encouraged nor discouraged. As Damas (1975c:12) has observed, for the researcher seeking to correlate kin terminology with behaviour, work among the Copper is bound to be frustrating; enforcement of super-subordinate relationships was weak and egalitarianism was stressed at all times. Consistent with the vague and infrequently observed correspondence between kinship and behaviour is the lack of use of kin terms in forms of address. Outside the nuclear family, personal names were preferred, even between elders and children and between members of the opposite sex. This is in contrast to most other Central Inuit populations, where kin terms were used almost exclusively in forms of address and reference.

If kinship was simply an insignificant means of organizing society, and if the extended family was not an important economic unit, on what basis were productive relationships established and maintained in Copper Inuit society? More than any other Central Inuit society, Copper Inuit social interaction was based on dual reciprocal exchange partnerships. Foremost amongst these were spousal exchange and singing/dancing associates:

"it is by... wife exchange and association in dancing that the Copper Eskimo establishes friendships wherever he goes and travels from group to group without danger" (Jenness 1922:87).

While song/dance partnerships found expression in the dance house, two-family households were constituted on the basis of spousal exchange (Stefansson 1919:65, 293; Jenness 1922:74). However, such relationships

rarely endured for any length of time for, as settlements were abandoned and people moved to more favourable sealing grounds, old partnerships dissolved and new ones formed:

"It was rare for two families that lived together in one settlement to stay together in the next, apparently because they had tired of each other's company and were anxious for a change" (Jenness 1922:74).

Group membership in all seasons, but especially the winter, was volatile as individual families were always changing from one group to another (Jenness 1922:32). Despite the facts that local groups were territorially-defined with a fixed name and possessed exclusive hunting and fishing rights (1922:91), settlements usually consisted of members of many different bands. For example, Jenness (1922:32) in 1915 encountered a winter camp in Coronation Gulf which was composed of people from 11 groups. Such dynamics are clearly reflected in the existence of 20 or so territorially- defined groups for a population of about 750 people (Jenness 1922:42). These figures contrast with the Cumberland Sound Inuit and Iglulingmiut, where there were four and three regional subgroups, respectively, for populations of approximately 1000 and 550 people aboriginally. Comparisons with other Inuit groups, however, may not be appropriate as named groups were splitting and new groups were forming all the time -- a fact which undoubtedly accounts for differences in the number of groups recorded by Stefansson, Jenness, and Rasmussen. In fact, Rasmussen (1942:37-42) documented a number of named groups so new in their formation that they apparently did not include any children. Clearly, these characteristics reflect the fiercely independent nature of the individual and nuclear family in Copper Inuit society.

In contrast to the rich mythology and religious ideology of most Central Inuit groups, the Copper Inuit possessed only vague and indefinite religious notions which left much room open for individual interpretation (Jenness 1922:174, 184). Whatever rules existed were frequently broken. Moreover, there was no segregation of women during birth or menses, no belief in the reincarnation of the soul, no fear of death or the dying, and no real conception of an afterlife -- features so fundamental to other Central Inuit groups (Jenness 1922:169). The Copper also lacked many of the myths

and legends that underpined Inuit social structure and ideology to the east. As Jenness (1924:1) noted:

"a man may live to old age and die without ever learning more than half a dozen of the tales that have been handed down by his forefathers...."

While the Copper Inuit may have been the poorest storytellers of all Central Inuit groups, they were regarded by early ethnographers as the most creative dancers, songwriters, and poets (Jenness 1924, Rasmussen 1932). In these respects, the Copper Inuit appear to have explicitly denied the lessons of the past while focusing on the present. Indeed, "every notable incident, every important experience or emotion in daily life (was) recorded in dance (and) song..." (Roberts and Jenness 1925:9). They also attached great importance to ritual and ceremony, as evidenced, for example, by the fact they possessed two kinds of dance, as well as elaborate festive parkas and headdresses expressly for use on such occasions (Hickey 1984:21). A reciprocal egalitarianism combined with a pervasive dualism seems to have permeated many aspects of Copper Inuit society from the custom of immediately repaying gifts given with goods of equal value (Jenness 1922:89-90) to the configuration of houses shared by spousal exchange partners to mythology.

Jenness (1922) documented the occurrence of female infanticide among the Copper Inuit, although it was not as common as among the Netsilingmiut. However, this custom may have been practised not to maintain the closed structure of camps, but to maintain the independence of young couples and their ability to form life-long socioeconomic relationships with other couples in both nearby and distant groups. Young couples, by delaying reproduction, and thereby obviating claims upon them by others, were granted the social mobility and freedom to form productive relationships that would serve them well in later life. As boys were preferred over girls, (Damas 1975c, Jenness 1922), the latter were put down before the former.

As among the Netsilingmiut, seal sharing partnerships were common among the Copper Inuit. However, sharing rules were considerably more flexible, and were established with both kin and non-kin. This suggests that seal sharing partnerships served not to bring otherwise antagonistic groups together, but to integrate individual families into

temporary productive socioeconomic relationships. That the basis of seal sharing partnerships was different in each region is suggested by the fact that sharing among Copper Inuit families was not abandoned in times of abundance (Jenness 1922:89), as it was among the Netsilingmiut.

The Copper Inuit are so fundamentally different in social structure and ideology from other Central Inuit groups, including the Netsilingmiut, as to suggest that they represent an entirely new and different type of social formation. They are what might be termed the "individual egalitarians." In essence, the Copper Inuit constitute in its fullest expression a rejection of Central Inuit social structure and ideology, as has been illuminated in this paper. In fact, it would be difficult to conceive of a better antithesis. While the Netsilingmiut and Iglulingmiut, respectively, represent embellishments of *ungayuq* and *naalaqtuq* directives implicit in social relations, the Copper Inuit have abandoned kinship as an organizational principle altogether. Rather, Copper Inuit social structure and ideology appear to be based on a pervasive dualism, whereby social relations were governed by individualistic, egalitarian ideals that left no room for hierarchical expression. Under such an ideology, social relationships attained a kind of symmetrical equality or duality which rarely endured for any length of time -- absolute equality is simply impossible to maintain for any length of time. Not only were individual families continually changing affiliations, but band membership was constantly in a state of flux, with named groups being formed and disbanded all the time. In essence, the Copper Inuit have rejected the both affectional and obedience directives explicit within biological propinquity, in favour of creating symmetrical relations with individuals who may or may not have been linked through blood or marriage.

Why the Copper Inuit chose to reject *ungayuq* and *naalaqtuq* directives implicit in kinship relations, i.e., emphasize the individual at the expense of the group, is another question altogether and one that is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is suffice to say that Stevenson (1993) believes that the relatively recent origins and migrations of the Netsilik, Caribou, and Copper Inuit may be related to the emergence of Caribou Inuit middlemen, the disruption of aboriginal trading relationships, and the creation of disenfranchised groups south of the Arctic coast after the HBC opened posts on Hudson Bay during the early 1700s.

<u>Traditional Patterns of Central Inuit Leadership and Decision-making</u>

Based on the above analyses there appears to have existed three basic patterns of traditional leadership and decision-making within the Nunavut settlement area, each associated with a different structure of social and material reproduction. While the above examples do not exhaust all the variability that might be expected in these features, they are considered to be representative of the major patterns. In summary, then, decision-making tends to be either egalitarian or hierarchical, and is motivated at either at the level of the group or the individual. These relationships are graphically illustrated in Figure 4, along with the regional groups that most readily exemplify the three major patterns illuminated above.

Figure 4. Three major traditional decision-making structures in Nunavut.
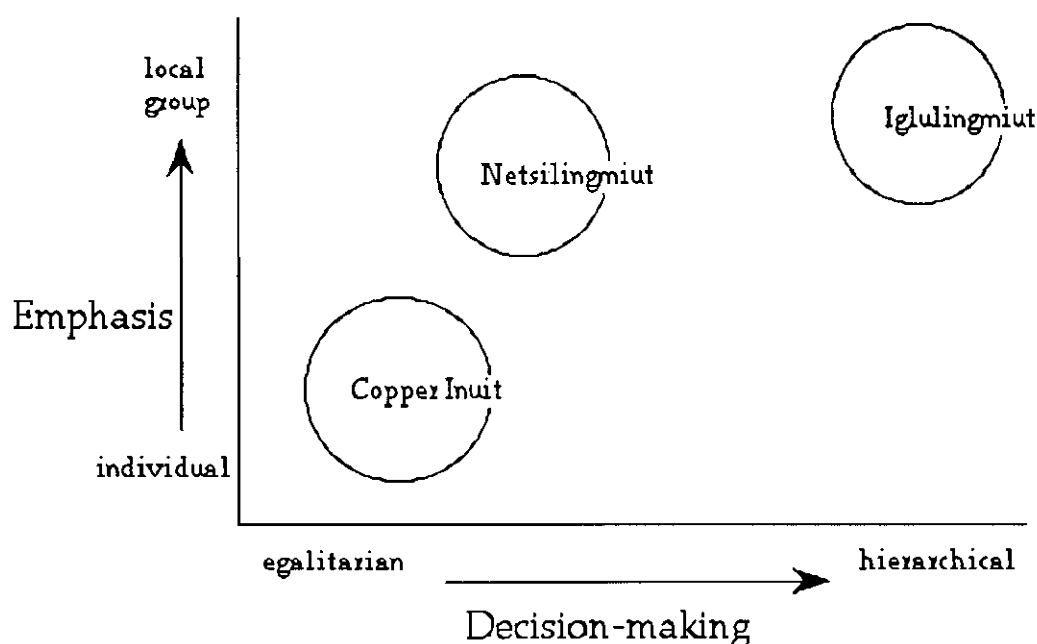
It may be surmised that, while most Central Inuit groups traditionally played by the same rules, whereby either *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* directives were stressed in the organization of society, the Copper Inuit of the western Kitikmeot represent a different social formation in the Nunavut settlement area. It should be noted that the historic Caribou Inuit of the Keewatin region share a common history with Netsilik and Copper Inuit of the Kitikmeot region (Stevenson 1992, 1993); their dialects, kinship

systems (e.g., affinal-including aunt-uncle terms), and other social customs suggest a common ancestry. However, the Caribou Inuit were probably more similar structurally to the Iglulingmiut as local groups were led by fairly strong headmen (Steenhoven 1962). Whether structural differences and their attendant decision-making patterns still exist today between various regions in the Nunavut settlement area is, again, another question, and one that will be addressed below.

It should be observed that, as our analysis of the Kekertarmiut and Umanaqjuarmiut suggest, different structural tendencies existed not only between regions, but within regions as well. For example, in the Clyde Inlet district of Baffin Island there were two rather distinct regional subdivisions that differed with respect to kinship terminology and behaviour, as well as marriage and residence patterns. While northern groups exhibited a typically Iglulingmiut pattern, southern groups demonstrated a more closed formation, complete with the acceptance of cousin marriage (Stevenson 1972). Similarly, Freeman (1967) distinguished two groups of settlements in the Belcher Islands whereby the northern group differed from the southern group in exhibiting well-developed leadership, strong kinship linkages, less variable group composition, and decreased mobility and interaction with other local groups. Thus, the co-existence of *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* tendencies among adjacent social groups may be common to many areas in the Nunavut settlement area. It may even be that these two tendencies frequently constitute a binary structure, since they represent the only viable alternatives within traditional societal parameters that the Central Inuit have available to them in the formation of productive relationships. The rejection of these directives, such as that exemplified by the Copper Inuit, was not an option for most groups.

We have seen that leadership and decision-making are strongly correlated with many other traditional social customs to the extent that few contradictions are apparent, despite the variability observed. Where these features are not well-developed social relationships tend to be egalitarian, marriage is permitted within the local group and often the kin group, individual mobility is high and residential stability low, adoption occurs primarily between siblings, etc. Conversely, where leadership and decision-making are well-developed opposite tendencies are manifested in most of these and other respects. Lest the impression be received that groups

governed by strong leadership and authoritarian decision-making suffer from a lack of closeness and affectional bonding, i.e., *ungayuq*, just the opposite is found to be true. For example, in Cumberland Sound the leader of the Kekertarmiut, Angmarlik, was surrounded by numerous faithful followers who were related to him in one way or another. As one HBC trader bemoaned:

"... When we ask them to work for us they say that they are brother or brother-in-law to the man in charge of opposition (Angmarlik) and that they love him too much to leave him yet.... If you gave them the whole store and all thats (sic) in it you would not get them to come with us...."

"Spent the day talking with the Natives (from Kekerten) and it seems that most of them here are brothers or brothers-in-law of the man in charge (Angmarlik) and do not want to leave him...."[4]

Judging by the size of his following (Damas 1963), the same affection and devotion was shown to Ituksarjuak in Iglulik.

While the relationship between leaders and followers will be alluded to in the following section on cultural change, it is important to observe that, as a leader came to represent the interests of both the trader and his kinsmen, a balance between the two had to be maintained. If not, he would risk losing either his followers or his ability to provide for them. As long as the needs of his employer and followers were met, the leader's authority as well as the welfare of the camp prospered. Indeed, leadership and camp prosperity were strongly correlated in Cumberland Sound:

"It is noticed that the camps that have the leadership of a good headman seem to get by very well indeed.... This was especially noticeable at Bon Accord Harbour (Idlungajung) and Imigen (Sauniqtuajuq), where Angmalik and Johanasee, respectively, are leaders. These camps are in good shape. Other Native camps in the Gulf do not come up to the standard of the above mentioned."[5]

However, too much authoritarian direction resulted in a loss of personnel and one's support base. For example, under the direction of Kingudlik, Padli (near Padloping Island on Davis Strait) was considered to be "far richer than most camps" owing to the fact that he made "the camp get out

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[4] HBCA B455/a/1; 13, 16 February 1922; B455/a/2, 18 October 1922.
[5] PAC RG85/1044, file 540-3 [3B], 23 April 1936, McDowell to Off. Comm. 'HQ' Div.

and hunt at all times, even when there (was) a fair reserve on hand."[6] Yet, precisely because of Kingudlik's strong direction and authoritarian hand "the average native (did) not remain long at the camp."[7] Among a fiercely independent people such as the Central Inuit, the reasons why strong leadership would predict small group size are obvious: people have a tendency to "vote with their feet" when they are subjugated to the extent that the disadvantages of such arrangements (e.g., loss of, or failure to gain, prestige, influence, etc.) outweigh the benefits (e.g., increased economic security). Thus, settlements dominated by social relationships that are too hierarchical or vertically-skewed tend to be small.

Before we examine contemporary decision-making it is important to differentiate between leadership and "headship", which are reflected, respectively, in the use of the words *isumataq* and *angajuqqaaq* ("a person to be listened to or obeyed"). While both terms are known among the Iglulingmiut, *isumataq* is the word is most often used in reference to leadership. Conversely, in Cumberland Sound, *angajuqqaaq* is the favoured term. The root of the latter word is derived from mother's brother (*angak*) and forms the basis of other terms denoting positions of influence and power (e.g., older brother/sister = *angayuk*, shaman = *angaqok*, etc.), and translates roughly as bigger, more substantial, superior, etc. In turn, one is expected to obey and follow the instructions of one's *angajuqqaaq* be it his/her parents, older brother, or employer. Lantis (1987:191) and Kellerman (1984:71) come closest to distinguishing conceptually between *isumataq* and *angajuqqaaq* when they differentiated "headship" from "leadership":

"A head's (read *angajuqqaaq*) authority and relationship to subordinates is maintained by an organized system... whereas the leader (read *isumataq*) is accorded his authority by group members who follow because they *want* to rather than because they *must*" (original emphasis, Kellerman's).

In this context, it is interesting to note that Angmarlik did not so much actively seek the position of leader among the Kekertarmiut as he was asked by some of the village's influential men to lead them in productive activities.

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[6] PAC RG85/1044, file 540-3 [3B], 31 October 1931, Petty to Headquarters.
[7] Ibid.

Thus, there appears to have been two types of leadership traditionally among groups characterized by strong leadership and authoritarian decision-making. While both types of leadership are earned, one is a leader because of the position s/he occupies in an organized system, while the other is a leader because s/he has attracted a group of followers based on individual merit. More often than not, an individual was both. In order to maintain leadership, the *angajuqqaaq* could not neglect his/her role as *isumataq* nor abuse his/her authority. To do so would have resulted in a loss of respect and ultimately one's influence, kinsmen, and power base:

"The boss of the (Kivitoo) camp... is an old man, an ex-whaler type, and is considered too bossy by the majority of the Eskimos. He is not a good leader and it appears that he often uses his position of boss just to show the Natives he is the boss, rather than to direct and lead them in sensible plans that would benefit the community."[8]

Whereas the above individual may have been an *angajuqqaaq*, he was clearly not an *isumataq*. Such men, however, were probably more the exception than the rule.

Just as authoritarian decision-making was not absent in groups dominated by *ungayuq* directives, consensus style decision-making was not lacking among *naalaqtuq*-directed groups. Nonetheless, the latter style of decision-making was far more prevalent among groups where *ungayuq* behaviours prevailed. Parent-child cores are generally more enduring and stable than sibling cores because both *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* directives are stronger or better developed. Conversely, for sibling cores to remain viable over the long term *ungayuq* behaviors must be emphasized at the expense of *naalaqtuq* behaviours. Simply put, for groups founded on sibling cores to perpetuate their forces and relations of production, egalitarian relations must be promoted, while hierarchical relations must be suppressed.

Cultural Change and Continuity in Cumberland Sound

Pre-Pangnirtung

In most regions of Nunavut the commercialization of the hunt, the church, colonial administration, etc. have altered the basis of traditional Inuit leadership roles, authority patterns, and decision-making

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[8] PAC RG18 Acc. 85-86/048, file TA-500-8-11, 26 February 1959, Barr to Off. Comm.

relationships. Yet, Inuit society has not been so radically and thoroughly transformed as most outside observers believe. For example, historical analysis revealed that, despite the fact the few Central Inuit groups have had as long or as an intense association with Qallunaat as the Cumberland Sound Inuit, it was not until the early 1960s when the federal government forced people to move into Pangnirtung, that traditional institutions related to the organization of society began to change. While cultural change prior to forced centralization was different in each region, the Cumberland Sound example illustrates some the broader trends in the magnitude and directionality of change common to all regions.

Wherever the rifle was introduced throughout the Arctic, it appears to have produced a marked individualization in hunting patterns and a reduction in sharing practices (e.g., Balikci 1960, 1964). As one of Balikci's (1960:144) Pelly Bay informants remarked when asked why he didn't share his food as much as he had previously, "Now everybody has a rifle and can go out and get food for himself, there is no need for much sharing." Among the Netsilingmiut this individualization of hunting patterns resulted in a reduction of the importance of the extended family and a concomitant emergence of the nuclear family as the basic socioeconomic unit (Balikci 1960). While the size of families became smaller, the size of dog teams grew considerably, increasing mobility and reinforcing the individualization of the (caribou) hunt (Balikci 1964:48-49).

Although the Netsilingmiut were more dependent upon caribou than most Central groups, the rifle had a similar impact on regional groups where seals and whales played a more important role in the natural economy. The rifle individualized winter sealing by shifting emphasis away from *mauliqtuq* (cooperative breathing-hole) sealing towards the more solitary hunting of seals at the floe edge and and open-water holes in the fast ice. The rifle in Cumberland Sound, then, appears to have resulted in a reduction in both the complexity of the division of labour and the degree of collaboration between hunters in the autumn caribou and winter seal hunts. Nonetheless, an overall decrease in sharing and the importance of the extended family as the basic productive unit was not evidenced because trapping was never enthusiastically embraced by the Cumberland Sound Inuit -- the organizational autonomy of the individual in the hunt encouraged by the acquisition of the rifle appears to have been reinforced in

many areas by the adoption of trapping, an activity that required little cooperative activity. On the contrary the Inuit of Cumberland Sound, remained dependent upon sea mammals for their livelihood well into the 1960s.

More than any other introduction, however, it was the whaleboat which assisted in the preservation of leadership roles and extended family structure in Cumberland Sound. Whaleboats were always a scarce commodity as few individuals had the skills or resources to obtain these craft. Yet, those who did, continued to attract relatives, thus preserving the structure of the camp, a fact not lost on contemporary observers:

"The whalers left the camps very well supplied with boats... usually the headman of the camp owns the boat (and) having one kind of holds the camp together...."[9]

The whaleboat also served to increase the authority of the eldest productive hunter in economic and ultimately sociopolitical matters. In contrast to the rifle, which undermined the authority of the leader by individualizing the hunt and placing less importance on the organization of production, the whaleboat reinforced the authority of its owner by encouraging organized activity and collaboration in both commercial and domestic whale and seal hunts. Thus, the acquisition of the whaleboat reinforced group solidarity, sharing practices, and traditional decision-making relationships within the group at a time when the organizational autonomy engendered by the adoption of the rifle and trapping threatened to undermine their socioeconomic basis.

While mechanization of the hunt appears to have had little overall impact on traditional leadership and decision-making relationships in Cumberland Sound, involvement in commercial whaling and trading had a greater potential to engender change. Participation in commercial whaling resulted in a greater diversification and specialization of economic activities as individuals assumed a wider variety of functions and duties in the procurement, transportation, and processing of whales. In turn, certain individuals accrued more authority and influence as there was an

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[9] PAC RG85/815, file 6954 [1], 23 August 1935, p.12, MacKinnon to Turner, Northwest Territories (NWT) and Yukon Branch.

increased need to organize, coordinate, and rationalize the greater complexity and division of labour.

The gradual change in economy from commercial whaling to general trading in furs, skins, blubber, and ivory during the early 20th century may have further reinforced the authority of some individuals by providing opportunities for them to assume larger roles as middlemen and organizers of various hunts. After the diversification of the resource base and the return of most Inuit to their original settlements, trading companies usually entered into agreements with the most productive hunter of each camp whereby the latter coordinated the activities of resident hunters while representing the interests of both the trader and local group members in economic transactions:

"The system adopted has been to leave specific trade goods with an intelligent native and expect him to make the best possible returns of oil, furs, skins, etc. (He) will outfit and supply himself with the goods, but other renumeration is nebulous. Their duty as they see it is to obtain what their employer requires in exchange for his goods."[10]

With the institution of the "camp boss", the leading hunter represented the interests of both the trader and his immediate kinsmen. In order to satisfy the needs and wants of both parties, the "camp boss" had to walk a fine line between obligations to his employer and to his *ilagiit*. As noted above, subordinating the interests of either party would have jeopardized his position as he risked losing either his followers or his ability to provide for them. As long as the "camp boss" was successful at *satisfying* the needs and wants of both his kinsmen and the trader, his authority and the camp prospered. While the need to coordinate and organize activities in the whaling industry enhanced the authority and influence of certain individuals, the emergence of the middleman within the context of general trading placed even more control in the hands of prominent Inuit.

Nonetheless, at no time prior to forced centralization was the traditional mode of production and especially, aboriginal decision-making and authority relationships, subordinated by the capitalist mode of production of the whalers and traders. This is evident in the fact that, although it might have proven otherwise advantageous to do so, the

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[10] PAC RG85/775, file 5648, 30 April 1929, Petty to Headquarters Division.

Cumberland Sound Inuit refused to alter their sharing structure if economic gains resulted ultimately in social losses:

"One would expect that the introduction of our economic standards by the trading companies would quickly alter theirs. But the department is extremely fortunate in that we are dealing with a... race that seems to have a strong passive resistance to any alteration. We know that they still share. In good times the good hunters purchase new rifles. Their old ones are handed on to the less fortunate and I do not think that they are bartered. I know when it came to supplying me with seal for which he would be paid... or whether Ahnmahle (Angmarlik) would give it to Newyillia who needed it, but could not pay, Newyillia was given the seal."[11]

This anecdote reveals that traditional relations of production still largely influenced sharing practices; an individual was only as successful and influential as the number of people he could depend on in times of want or need. Traditional relations of production also played a role in the rejection of credit. While most Cumberland Sound Inuit were indebted in one way or another to his/her kinsmen, they were not willing to enter into such relationships with the whiteman for any length of time:

"(They reject HBC) attempts to outfit themselves in good years and going into a large debt, despite that the present manager has done everything he possibly can in that direction. The natives pay him the compliment of listening very carefully but immediately trade for tobacco or flour. They do the same with all of us and our progress in overcoming this has only been to the extent of cutting relief to zero for the past year. They will not voluntarily set aside a credit for years when the fur return is only (sporadic)."[12]

The rejection of credit, which continues to this day, particularly among the elderly, represents an explicit resistance to enter into socioeconomic arrangements that would alter or jeopardize the structure of traditional productive relationships. Just as the Cumberland Sound Inuit determined which resources ultimately became the focus of production in the commercialization of the hunt -- the white whale hunt was commercialized by the HBC in Cumberland Sound largely as a consequence of Inuit leaders refusing to trap fox -- so too did they maintain control over those relations of production that obtained in the reproduction of society. In other words,

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[11] PAC RG85/815, file 6954 [3], 14 September 1936, p.10, MacKinnon to Turner, NWT and Yukon Branch.

[12] PAC RG85/815, file 6954 [3], 1 September 1938, Orford to Turner, NWT and Yukon Branch.

credit, like trapping, was resisted simply because its use undermined the traditional mode of production.

The arrival of the RCMP at Pangnirtung in 1923 heralded fewer changes in Cumberland Sound Inuit society than some might otherwise suppose. Prior to this time, trouble-makers and deviants, irrespective of the nature of the crime, were reprimanded and dealt with accordingly either by the camp leader (Kekertarmiut) or by collective agreement of two or more prominent individuals (Umanaqjuarmiut). While this style of justice continued virtually unaltered well into the 1960s, the RCMP assumed responsibility and jurisdiction over more serious criminal offences under Canadian law, e.g., murder, assault, rape, etc. The RCMP also took over the task of supporting the destitute and needy by issuing relief when they thought it necessary. While the traditional system of law and justice remained intact, the RCMP also played a role in promoting traditional values and economy. By encouraging Inuit not to settle permanently in Pangnirtung and to avoid the purchase of store-bought clothing, tents, etc. the RCMP, perhaps more by parsimony and sense of fiscal responsibility to southern superiors than by design, supported traditional lifestyles.

It can be argued, in fact, that Cumberland Sound Inuit participation in the capitalist mode of production reinforced the traditional mode, and that only recently has the latter begun to articulate with the former. Rey (1971, cited in Foster-Carter 1978:55) has distinguished three stages in the articulation of pre-capitalist with capitalist modes of production: 1) an initial link in the sphere of exchange, where interaction with capitalism reinforces the pre-capitalist mode, 2) a stage in which capitalism takes "root", subordinating the traditional mode of production, but still making use of it, and 3) the eventual disappearance of the pre-capitalist mode. The traditional mode of production remained dominant in Cumberland Sound throughout the historic period, in spite of the fact that new means of production were introduced, because 1) no new relations of production accompanied Inuit participation in capitalist economy, and 2) the exchange of labour and produce in the context of commercial whaling and general trading reinforced traditional relations of production, particularly decision-making and authority relationships. Thus, until the mid-1960s capitalism depended exclusively upon traditional relations of production in Cumberland Sound for the provisioning of its goods (cf. Foster-Carter

1978:59). Bradby (1975:147) has suggested that, "the process of capitalist reproduction only implies the expansion of capitalist relations if it is taking place in a social formation where capitalism is already dominant." That participation in commercial whaling and general trading served only to underpin existing modes of production is evident in the fact that the Cumberland Sound Inuit explicitly rejected capitalistic relations, such as those which might have been instituted by the adoption of credit.

Even though the Cumberland Sound Inuit eventually came to depend upon international markets to maintain their traditional mode of production, only since the mid-1960s has this mode begun to articulate with the capitalist mode. This, in large measure, is the result of the demise in the market for seal skin products and the adoption of cash as a medium for exchange. What this example teaches us is that one should not view traditional Inuit economy as the passive and formless victim in the process of articulation with capitalist economy that has heretofore been assumed.

Acquisition of the whiteman's technology and participation in capitalist economy may have resulted in greater social and economic differentiation than was the case aboriginally. However, these were not the only external forces that may have engendered changes in authority and decision-making relationships during the historic period. Epidemic disease and the adoption of Christianity must also be considered.

The Cumberland Sound Inuit, living on the outermost fringes of a worldwide economic system, have always been susceptible to foreign diseases. For example, every fall after the supply ship left, many Inuit in the Sound came down with what was known locally as "ships flu." In some winters a significant portion of the Sound's population succumbed to epidemics. However, no years were worse than the mid-1850s, when the frequency and duration of interaction with commercial whalers increased by several orders of magnitude. Did the loss of so many people result a fundamental change in leadership patterns and decision-making relationships? We cannot answer this question with the precision we would like. But we can rationalize that, following Guemple (1972a), there is little theoretical basis from which to argue that epidemic disease facilitated the emergence of new social formations with different decision-making relationships in Cumberland Sound. For one thing, decreases in group size mean only that some parts of the social apparatus fall into disuse, so that

while some "boxes" in the structure collapse, it does not always mean that the structure itself collapses (Guemple 1972a:106). Moreover, transcending an existing social structure requires conscious knowledge of an alternative method of material reproduction (Asch 1979:93). Out of this dialectical process, alternative conceptions can arise through the recombination of existing elements and their negations (Ibid.). As there was no socioeconomic basis from which to formulate alternative social structures, Inuit might have chosen to respond to population decimation in Cumberland Sound through more simple and traditional means, such as migration, fissioning, and the suspension of customary laws. Moreover, increased reliance on the old social order might be anticipated as a means of reproducing the social and material conditions with which people were familiar and trusted. In this regard, it is likely that a greater degree of mutual cooperation and bonding among surviving relatives may have occurred as they attempted to cope with the social and economic losses of their recently departed kinsmen. In fact, a greater emphasis on leadership, both political as well spiritual, might be expected in order to rationalize population loss and the impacts of other external forces.

In this light, it is difficult to see how fundamentally different leadership patterns and organizational structures could emerge. While the Cumberland Sound Inuit may have been decimated by foreign diseases at various times, their social system, albeit under considerable strain, did not collapse to the point where a structurally different social formation arose from its ashes.

Sacred and secular leadership appear to have always been correlated strongly in Cumberland Sound; a village's secular leader or *angajuqqaaq* and sacred leader or *angaqok* (shaman) were usually one and the same. The introduction of Christianity around the turn of the century, however, threatened to undermine the power and influence of these leaders by usurping their control over spiritual and ultimately secular matters:

"The Eskimo, being pagan, were under the authority of their religious leaders, who were unprincipled and crafty men, shrewd enough to appreciate the fact that if (missionaries) were successful in their efforts they would destroy the power of the pagan leaders" (Fleming 1932:41).

Thus, prominent individuals rigorously opposed the teachings of the Anglican missionaries. Nonetheless, some leading figures adopted the new

religious ideology much more readily than others. Women also accepted Christianity much sooner than men, as the new religious order eradicated many of the taboos and ritual injunctions to which women were subject and forced to adhere under the old religious ideology.[13] Eventually, influential men came not only to accept Christianity (Greenshield 1914), but to preach it (Munn 1932). Nonetheless, the structure of religious ideology appears not to have been as radically and quickly transformed to the extent that Christian authorities believed. The role of the supreme deity, in particular, remained virtually unchanged. That the Christian God simply assumed "Sedna's" benevolent/malevolent role as giver/taker of life without a change in the overall structure of the belief system is apparent in the teachings of some whereby "game (came) in answer to prayer, and bad accidents (were) punishment for sin."[14]

Despite the casting off of many former religious beliefs, some continued on in the same or slightly altered form. That the missionaries failed to destroy immediately all or even most shamanistic beliefs and practices is evident in Hantzsch's (1977:107) observation that "Sedna" was still remembered and thanked in 1910. Over a dozen years later, baptized Inuit from Cumberland Sound were still practising the traditional customs of polygyny and spousal exchange,[15] and enlisting the services of *angaqut* in times of sickness (Munn 1932:220). Indeed, as late as 1934 the latter practice was still occurring,

"Time has not yet erased from their memory the magic performed by their shamanistic healers: (Neither) has the association of sickness with taboos, and superstitions etc., been replaced by anything that the white man has up to this time brought them."[16]

The same astute observer (Ibid.) also recognized that "the process of erasing traditional gods from their minds must be calculated in terms of generations." In fact, many of the old beliefs were not abandoned until after most of the old leaders became infirm or passed away during the 1940s and 50s. In other words, as the influence of leaders raised under the old

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[13] PAC MG30 D123 "An Arctic Diary, Being Extracts from the Diaries of the Rev. Edgar Greenshield", 20 November 1909.

[14] PAC RG85/1044, file 540-3 [3A], 31 October 1928, Petty to Headquarters Div.

[15] PAC RG85/1044, file 540-3 [3A], 20 July 1924, Wilcox to Headquarters Division; 31 January 1925, Wight to Headquarters Division.

[16] PAC RG85/815, file 6954 [1], Medical Report for 1934.

religious ideology faded, so too did the primary means by which many pre-Christian beliefs and customs were socially sanctioned and enforced wane.

Eventually, however, the adoption of Christianity served to undermine traditional authority patterns as white missionaries came to assume many of the non-secular roles and functions of aboriginal leadership. While this was mitigated somewhat by the instruction of native catechists in Pangnirtung, white missionaries remained the ultimate dispenser and authority of religious ideology.

Life in Pangnirtung

As the old leaders died off and the government began to assume increasingly larger roles in Inuit affairs, traditional leadership roles and decision-making relationships began to erode. The institution of welfare in the late 1940s provided assistance to needy families, but it also alleviated the traditional responsibility of kin to provide for each other. It is a truism that Inuit do not share as much now as before. While the independent nature of the individual in Inuit society would predict this, sharing on the basis of need declined with the institution of welfare and old age security payments.

Increasingly, the federal government began to deal with Inuit on an individual family basis, which was very different from that system employed by the traders (see above). However, with the help of high prices for seal skins, the Cumberland Sound Inuit entered the 1960s with their traditional economy and social structures relatively intact. And when distemper wiped most of the dogs in the Sound in 1961-62, Cumberland Sound's Inuit still retained "the rapidly disappearing virtue of being a self-reliant people."[17] This epidemic, which effectively destroyed the ability of hunters to travel, combined with government initiatives to better service Inuit needs (as perceived by the former), resulted in a massive airlift to Pangnirtung in the spring of 1962. Here, relief was issued and a dog breeding program was begun. While most people returned to their camps the following year, the offer of government housing, social assistance, medical services, and wage labour, in conjunction with the introduction of the snowmobile -- this device allowed hunters to travel much further in

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[17] PAC RG18 Acc. 85-86/048, file TA-500-8-1-11, 24 March 1960, Nazar to Off. Comm 'HQ' Division; 8 March, 3 May 1962, Alexander to Off. Comm. Eastern Arctic.

shorter periods of time than dog teams -- soon brought them back. At the same time, with the adoption of snowmobiles, outboard motors, and freighter canoes, the hunting economy reached a critical stage whereby income from the sale of native products was no longer sufficient to cover operating and depreciation costs in the mechanization of the hunt (Haller et al. 1966:197). As late as 1966 native products accounted for 52.4% of the annual income in Cumberland Sound (Ibid.). However, by the late 1960s, the Sound's economic base changed from the sale of native products to wage labour employment (Haller et al. 1966:89-90) and social assistance. By 1967-68, 73 houses had been built in Pangnirtung and its population had increased tenfold from a decade earlier to 531.

In exchange for these services and perceived benefits, Inuit were forced to send their children to school. The federal government operated under the belief that traditional Inuit culture was doomed to extinction and that the best solution for all concerned would be to integrate them as quickly as possible into the Canadian "mainstream" by creating a healthier, better educated work force for future economic development (Mayes 1978). No longer did life on the land, where various agencies found it difficult to attend to Inuit needs, provide a viable lifestyle for the majority of the population. As with other Inuit populations, the Cumberland Sound Inuit were forced, owing to factors beyond their control, to participate in and be affected by the rapid and uneven developmental forces that were sweeping across Arctic Canada.

Of special concern here is the erosion of leadership and decision-making arrangements subsequent to the centralization and compositization of the population in Pangnirtung. Traditionally, these found expression in the productive relationships and activity of the extended family/local group. However, with 1) a decline in participation in and the economic importance (although not necessarily sociocultural value) of the traditional economy, and 2) the imposition of government structures which emphasized the nuclear family at the expense of the extended family, traditional leadership and authority patterns found fewer and fewer opportunities for expression.

The relationship between the erosion of leadership and the extended family has been articulated by VanStone (1962:163) for Point Hope, Alaska:

"The decline and virtual disappearance of the large extended families...
has more than anything else, served to reduce the importance of the family
head in village social structure. In spite of this, leadership patterns do not
seem to have undergone as a great a change as might be expected. The
most important men in the village are still the good hunters and whaling
captains. If these individuals also happen to be strongly associated with the
church, it does them no harm. The less obvious aspects of leadership are in
day-to-day activities; under these circumstances, the successful hunters
and whaling captains function as leaders. If these individuals are also well
adjusted to a money economy it enhances their position in the eyes of the
villagers, and their prestige is correspondlingly (sic) increased. Although
leadership qualities remain much the same as in the past, the individuals
who possess them are no longer the heads of the large extended families
and their influence is correspondlingly decreased."

While family heads in Pangnirtung are still regarded as leaders of
their own nuclear families, individuals rarely possess any authority over
(or accept responsibility for) other extended family members, especially
members of the same generation (opposite-sex and younger siblings,
cousins, brothers-in-law, etc.) and their children. This, it should be noted,
is not antithetical to Central Inuit ethos where individualism and
independence are highly valued traits -- a person who can provide and care
for his/her family is esteemed. Yet, so are communalism and cooperation
in economic, social, and political activity. The fact remains, however, there
is little opportunity nowadays for traditional extended family leadership
and decision-making patterns to find expression. That they still do, despite
the foreign institutions imposed upon them, is a testament to the vitality
and integrity of Central Inuit culture. Elders are not only still consulted for
their wisdom and advice, especially on matters pertaining to the land and
traditional values, but they are still shown considerable respect and
deference.

Nowhere did this reveal itself more vividly than during an
unplanned whale hunt in Pangnirtung Fiord in August of 1989, which I
shall relate in narrative fashion. A pod of 40 or so narwhal had just swum
by the town towards the head of the fiord, and not wanting to waste this gift,
all available males in the community jumped into boats in "hot" pursuit.
What immediately followed was something that, in retrospect, I was
fortunate to survive. Nearly a hundred men, half of them with rifles, in 25
or more boats trapped the pod near the head of the fiord. Shots rang out
from every direction as boats sped past our bow and stern. After a period of

about 40 minutes or so, we spotted several boats on a beach. Here, two whales had been hauled ashore and a dozen or so Inuit were busily cutting *maktaaq* off the whales, helping themselves to small pieces in the process. But this scene was in striking contrast to the seemingly random chaos that had just transpired. There was order, structure to the events unfolding before my eyes. On the periphery of this activity, passive and observant, teenage boys watched the flensing operations, while gorging on *maktaaq*. Meanwhile their fathers, older brothers, and/or uncles cut off slabs of this delicacy and transported them to the boats. The job of flensing the whales, however, was reserved only for the boatowners. Yet, in the midst of this flensing, a hunter with a captain's hat, the eldest man on the hunt, freely helped himself to the choicest parts of both whales, i.e, the flukes and cheeks, which are frequently given to the elders.

This man was probably not the individual who shot the whales -- although who could tell. Nor was he the richest or most powerful; there were younger men on the hunt who held "better jobs", were wealthier, and had more political acumen in community affairs. He was simply the eldest and no hunter had more substance and life experience, or *isuma*. Here, in the increasingly contradictory and perplexing world in which the Pangnirtarmiut found themselves, traditional leadership roles, productive relationships, and social order were being acted out and reaffirmed through the hunt.

Perhaps more than any other incident, this whale hunt provided a glimpse into how local people still thought about and acted out their concept of what it means to be allied in productive enterprise. It also demonstrated to me the inherent, if latent, cultural integrity of modern Inuit populations in the face of pervasive acculturative influences. Yet, after nearly a quarter century of forced assimilation, traditional leadership and authority relationships still found expression.

Traditional Leadership and Decision-making in the Modern Inuit World

Cultural change and continuity within various regions of Nunavut has been an uneven process, which intensified after the forced centralization of the population in the 1960s. Nevertheless, the Cumberland

Sound example 1) illustrates some the broader trends in the magnitude and directionality of change common to all regions, and 2) instructs us that Central Inuit society has not been so radically and thoroughly transformed as most outside observers believe.

The effects of forced assimilation and subsequent sociocultural adaptation elsewhere in the Inuit world are likely to demonstrate both similarities with and differences from the Cumberland Sound experience. Although space does not allow us to examine processes of sociocultural change and continuity elsewhere within or outside the Nunavut settlement area to the extent they deserve, a few examples might be instructive for our purposes.

Lantis (1972) studied the relationship between leadership and factionalism on Nunivak Island in Alaska and compared this situation with others from northern Alaska, and the western and eastern Canadian Arctic. The introduction of village councils, the church, and commercial economic enterprises that added wage labour work to the economy created new positions of leadership and allowed younger leaders to emerge. This created a contest with traditional leaders for influence and control over community affairs. A concomitant factionalism and diversification of leadership was also evidenced whereby men became trend-setters in culture change, and/or mobilizers of people either as a) inciters or b) organizers-directors. Whereas the former (a) closely resembled the traditional concept of leadership-followership, the latter (b) was arbitrary and maintained by an organized system (see above).

Elsewhere in Alaska, Palinkas (1987) has seen the emergence of two distinct sociocultural orientations in Bristol Bay with differing values, where formerly there was only one. These, which are equally applicable to Pangnirtung, include a traditional subsistence orientation and a commercial orientation. Whereas production in the former orientation is guided by the need to minimize the risk of starvation, the desire to share with members of a social group, and the social recognition that comes with ability in hunting/fishing and sharing, in the latter orientation production is guided by delay of gratification, maximization of profit, savings and investment, adherence to a 40 hour work week, etc. (Palinkas 1987:295). Both place a value on self-reliance and independence, but for different reasons:

"Whereas self-reliance in the subsistence orientation is viewed in terms of adherence to tradition and a communal or group perspective, it is viewed in terms of initiative or a break from tradition and an individualistic perspective in the commercial orientation" (Ibid.).

These orientations were articulated by the residents of Bristol Bay to meet certain needs. However, as the subsistence economy came to depend increasingly on capital generated from participation in the commercial economy, it was also observed that the articulation of these two orientations had the potential to create disenfranchised groups and an inability to adequately manage sociocultural change. Especially vulnerable in these regards were the young and families who engaged primarily in the subsistence orientation. It was those individuals and families who were successful at both orientations that were best able to manage change.

Contemporary Decision-making in Pangnirtung

Nature of Contemporary Leadership

My research over the last decade in Pangnirtung has only touched upon contemporary styles of leadership and patterns of decision-making. Nevertheless, I did acquire some anecdotal insights into these issues which might prove informative. First, like the situation described by Lantis, there appears to have been a marked increase in the styles of leadership in Pangnirtung concomitant with the increased size and compositization of the population. Previously, there were two basic patterns in Cumberland Sound (see above) and certainly no formal or elected offices. Now, there many elected offices and 20 or so committees. During Pangnirtung's formative years in the 1960s individuals of considerable influence under the traditional system were elected into office. However, as the population grew so did the nature of the village council. Formerly, both individual family and community-wide issues and problems fell under the jurisdiction of the council. However, as Pangnirtung grew in size and gained hamlet status, community affairs rather than personal ones dominated the affairs of the council. At the same time, numerous *ad hoc* committees were created to address issues and problems formerly falling under the jurisdiction of the council. In addition, the offices of council member and mayor became more involved and time-consuming.

In recent years, while concerned individuals of substance continue to hold office, they are not of the same style as the traditional leaders of the past. Rather, they tend to be better educated, younger, bilingual, and adroit at dealing with Qallunaat authorities. They also possess more political acumen. Elected officials are still respected owing to their commitment and dedication to the betterment of the community, but their experience differs from that of traditional leaders. According to several elders interviewed, leaders were leaders in the past primarily because they possessed the most knowledge about their respective hunting areas and the animals that frequented them (i.e., they were oldest productive hunters), and they knew how to take charge, organize people, and give directions. Based on these qualifications leaders attracted followers, who were related to them, usually directly, in one way or the other. The current mayor of Pangnirtung, however, possesses different qualities altogether. For example, he is in his late 30s/early 40s, not known for his productive capabilities on the land, and is unmarried with no children. Yet, because of his education, bilingual capabilities, and commitment to the community and the preservation of Inuit values, he is unquestionably qualified for the office of mayor. The distinction between "headship" and "leadership" described above appears to be relevant here.

At the same time, men demonstrating abilities formerly associated with traditional leadership (sound judgement, hunting prowess, generosity, extensive knowledge of the land, large kin/support group, adherence to traditional values, etc.) are not generally available to hold office. Rather, they are intensely involved in both the commercial and subsistence sectors of the economy. Indeed, the local economy has diversified in order to maintain the traditional subsistence orientation. The ability to hunt and to remain in intimate contact with the land still motivates most individuals in their daily lives, as the whale hunt described above suggests. Thus, men who are successful in the commercial orientation, be it guiding/outfitting, commercial fishing, seasonal construction, or more steady employment through wage labour, tend to be

the best providers in the traditional subsistence sector because they can generate enough capital to keep up the hunt.[18]

Thus, not only has the structure of leadership been altered, but so too has the type of people willing to ascend to such positions changed. In effect, while traditional leadership roles still exist at the level of the nuclear family, and less frequently the extended family, at the community level "headship", whereby individuals assume and maintain their office through an organized system, has supplanted traditional leadership. In fact, overtures towards strong leadership (in the traditional sense) in large groups, whether decisions are made by one central figure or by several through consensus, may be disruptive in large communities insofar as they may lead to factionalism. In large Inuit communities such as Pangnirtung it is unlikely that any one person or group of individuals from the same *ilagiit* could muster the necessary support to sway and maintain public opinion. And any attempt that did likely would only serve to create friction and further divide the community.

Although strong (traditional) leadership may be selected against in large village settings, on the land traditional leadership roles and decision-making patterns may still find expression. I have not studied contemporary productive activity and organization in Pangnirtung's traditional resource sector in any detail. However, I would anticipate that many features formerly associated with traditional leadership and decision-making, which find no opportunity for expression in town, are still realized and reaffirmed through the hunt and living on the land.

Formal Structures and their Operation

There are close to 20 formal committees and boards in Pangnirtung including the Hamlet Council, Local Education Authority, Housing Association, Hunters and Trappers Association (HTA), Radio Society, Mens' Group, Elders' Committee, Womens' Auxiliary, Tourism Committee, Alcohol and Drug Committee, Mental Health Committee,

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[18] In this context, it can be seen that, while capitalism has taken "root" in the local economy, it has not subordinated the traditional orientation, at least not in the minds of the people. Yet, because capitalism no longer depends upon traditional relations of production, the subsistence orientation is now more vulnerable than it ever was.

Social Services Committee, Juvenile Committee, and Recreation Committee. Membership in the first three committees is determined by community-wide elections, while members of the HTA and Radio Society are elected at the AGM (annual general meeting). Individuals sitting on the remaining committees are either appointed by the Hamlet or are volunteers. There are also a number of other volunteer positions available in the community, including the Justice of the Peace (J.P.) and Fire Chief. In addition, a number of special interest groups in the community have formed committees or boards, such as the Uqqurmiut Inuit Artists Association and Fisheries Committee. However, individuals that sit on these boards represent their interests and those of their collective, rather than the community per se.

Most of the major decisions taken/made by the community fall under the jurisdiction of these committees. Generally, the more formal membership is on a committee (e.g., elected versus appointed), the more formal the decision-making process will be. Almost without exception decisions taken by elected committees are voted upon, and Rogers Rules dominate the proceedings. Committees that are composed of volunteers and/or appointed individuals reach decisions in a considerably more informal manner; votes may or may not be taken, and consensus is the order of the day. The mayor, J.P., and other hamlet council members recognize the need and value of incorporating elders more systematically into community-wide decisions; "the current system is just not working." And it is felt that the best way to do this would be to strengthen the formal participation of the elders.

Growing dissatisfaction with Qallunaat law system, and in particular its ineffectiveness in reforming young offenders, has lead to the recent establishment of a Juridic Committee. Presently, young offenders are handed over directly to the justice system with little intervention from or consultation with the community. Once offenders stand trail, the community may or may not be informed of the court's decision and course of action. Only rarely is the community consulted directly. Composed of one member each from the Elders', Womens', and Mens' Committees as well as the J.P. and social worker, the Juridic Committee was formed specifically to intervene in this process. The main aim of this committee is to deal with deviant behaviour in a way that will benefit both the individual

and community. Relying on the traditional knowledge and experience of the elders, this committee will recommend to the justice system culturally appropriate methods of restitution. For example, in lieu of incarceration, sentences will be served in traditionally productive and beneficial ways whereby offenders will be forced to learn and live off the land and with people in a socially acceptable manner.

It would seem that the local J.P. could have exercised his powers more extensively than before for the benefit of the community. The powers of the J.P. are limited to the adjudication of summary conviction offences, which include specific offences against the Criminal Code and federal statutes, and all Territorial Ordinances and Municipal by-laws (Rasing 1989). J.P.'s may also issue summons and warrants, and compel the attendance of witnesses. Additionally, a JP is entitled to adjourn proceedings in the absence of Territorial Court Judge, and conduct other acts necessary before a hearing as set out in the Criminal Code (Ibid.). However, several factors have conspired against the J.P.'s ability to incorporate and dispense traditional justice. First, when this individual took this position some 28 years ago, we was a young man in his twenties with little or no experience in settling conflicts and correcting deviant behaviour. At this juncture, it would seem that the elders of the community would have been consulted. Yet, elders were rarely involved in resolving conflicts or correcting deviant behaviour owing to the general deference to Qallunaat systems of authority and justice. In addition, as elsewhere in Nunavut, there is general tendency in Pangnirtung not to become involved in other peoples affairs, a fact underscored by the size and diverse make-up of Pangnirtung.

The Articulation of Formal and Informal Decision-making Structures

The above discussions lead us to expect that traditional decision-making patterns and relationships no longer operate in any meaningful capacity in contemporary Pangnirtung. However, recent interviews conducted by the author and Meeka Kilabuk suggest that this is not entirely true. Our interviews indicate that elders are still respected and consulted for their wisdom and experience in many areas of life, and still play a role in influencing decision-making in the community, although they may not be directly accountable for the decisions taken. Two examples, the Hunters

and Trappers Committee (HTA) and the Mental Health Committee (MHC), should suffice to illustrate how informal and formal decision-making structures currently articulate in Pangnirtung.

The primary function of the MHC is to assist people in healing their emotional wounds stemming from problems that fall under the jurisdiction of Social Services and other agencies (e.g., substance abuse, sexual abuse, suicide, chronic depression, etc.). Individuals with emotional problems are frequently referred to the committee by the Health Centre or RCMP. Sometimes they will seek out the services of the committee on their own volition or on the advice of friends and family members, especially parents. Their problems will be dealt with by individual committee members or as a group, depending on the nature of the problem.

The committee is made up of 10 members, composed of a chairperson, secretary, etc. Committee members are mostly volunteers and mostly women. There is no formality, or even voting, in decision-making. Rather, decisions are reached through consensus on a case by case basis. The usual procedure is to examine problems when they arise as a group, discuss the issue until all have had their say, and reach a consensus on what should be done to resolve the problem. However, never are decisions taken without consulting the elders. In fact, at least two elders are present at each monthly meeting. Elders are also consulted at any time, both on an individual and group basis, as problems requiring immediate attention arise. This is especially so if they have direct experience with the problem at hand. Invariably, the advice of the elders carries the most weight, and forms the basis of most recommendations of the committee.

Also present at the monthly meetings is at least one teenage representative. As elsewhere, there appears to be a breakdown in communication between elders and youth in Pangnirtung. Formerly, the relationship between the top and bottom generations was characterized by great affection and considerable respect, perhaps second only to that between parent and child. Nowadays, however, the experiences, knowledge, and wisdom of the elders are perceived by many younger individuals to be outdated or not fitting into present-day circumstances (Rasing 1989). To be fluent in English, to have a formal education, to have ready access to cash, etc. are sometimes perceived by youth to be more important and valuable than to have expertise at hunting/travelling or

acting in a manner appropriate to traditional cultural values (e.g., not being greedy, helping the less fortunate, etc.). The inclusion of both elders and teenagers on the committee sets stage for the transmission of traditional values and attitudes of proper behaviour and conduct in a social context.

The influence of the elders in the arena of mental health extends not just to those with immediate emotional problems, but to the whole community, especially in the area of prevention. The MHC will call public meetings for special interest groups (mothers, fathers, teenagers, school children, etc.) to talk to them about larger community problems and ways to deal with or avoid them. During these meetings, information on healthy relationships and lifestyles are provided. While most of this information is generated by various Qallunaat health authorities, much of it is relevant to the Inuit experience, especially information relating to personal growth and healing. Moreover, it is delivered in Inuktitut with the culturally appropriate concepts and meanings. Generally, people are very happy with and supportive of the work of the MHC as it addresses the needs of and has the trust of the community.

The HTA is a considerably more formal and, interestingly, male-dominated committee than the MHC. It consists of eight elected representatives from the community. We were told that this process insures equal representation such that no one family or group of families can set or control the agenda of the committee. As most families in Pangnirtung originate from different camps and hunting grounds across Cumberland Sound this is an appropriate strategy. Decisions taken by the committee regarding hunting restrictions, quotas, renewable resource programs, etc. are almost always voted upon. Sometimes, however, when not all members are present, issues are decided by a few individuals with delegated authority. One of these individuals is always the chairman.

Elders are seldom approached directly for advice and consultation by the committee per se. This is particularly the case for retired (or older) elders. Sometimes these elders are consulted individually. However, even then, there is a general and shared feeling that the "real elders" of the community should not be bothered with what they might perceive to be trivial. At the same time, there is an expectation, held by both the elder generation and next descending generation, that one should be independent

and in charge of his own life and affairs. Even so, there is also an expectation that elders will be consulted on the more serious and important matters. Sometimes it is difficult to know where to draw the line.

Still economically productive (i.e., the younger) elders are consulted more frequently on an individual basis than the retired elders. For example, our informant stated that he will often consult with his father for information and advice on weather, hunting, game distributions, and other issues that fall within his area of expertise. He also said that this was the same for every committee member. While committee members are free to deal with this new found knowledge in ways they see fit, there is also an expectation by their fathers that the views of the parental generation will be respected and listened to, if not incorporated into the decision.

As these two examples illustrate, elders still play an important role in influencing decision-making even within the context of more formal structures. Interestingly, elders tend to be consulted more on an individual basis when issues are related to traditional economy, e.g., the weather, animal distributions, hunting practices, food preparation, clothing production, etc. This, again, is not surprising as many elders possess knowledge specific to the hunting grounds they frequented. Alternatively, when it comes to social problems (e.g., deviant social behaviour, dysfunctional individuals/families, etc.), elders are consulted more as a group. The fact Pangnirtung is a large community composed of people originally from many different camps/hunting grounds has contributed to the development of both tendencies.

The treatment of elders in the top generation as a social group by both Qallunaat and Inuit is something relatively new to the latter. Formerly, elders held the positions of highest status and authority among their own kinsmen and local group, irrespective of whether *naalaqtuq* or *ungayuq* was the prevailing structural tendency. The decline in the socioeconomic importance of the extended family, the suspension of many traditional sharing practices, the reduction in the obligation to provide for one's kin, the centralization/ compositization of the population, etc. have disenfranchised and segregated elders from the mainstream of Inuit society to the extent that they have formed their own interest groups. In effect, while the flow of information, knowledge, respect, affection, etc. was once largely vertical, it is now primarily horizontal. This, in turn, has been

gratuitously supported by various government authorities in the creation of elders committees, centres, conferences, etc. This is all fine and good. However, unless there is a concerted effort by all parties to involve elders in more aspects of contemporary life and decision-making, much of Inuit traditional culture, values, concepts, etc. risk being lost to subsequent generations.

Conclusions

Traditional Decision-making Structures within Nunavut

We have seen that there were two major decision-making structures traditionally within the Nunavut settlement area. These were observed to be related to one of two fundamental structural emphases that the Inuit of Nunavut have for forming/expressing socioeconomic relationships and reproducing their society, *naalaqtuq* or *ungayuq*. Where *naalaqtuq* is emphasized within and between local groups, leadership/followership is correspondingly well-developed, decision-making is primarily authoritarian, and socioeconomic relationships tend largely to be constituted hierarchically. Conversely, where *ungayuq* is emphasized, leadership/followership is more ambiguous, decisions are made by consensus, and socioeconomic relations are more egalitarian.

At the same time, we have observed a third type of decision-making structure traditionally within the Nunavut settlement area, as exemplified by the historic Copper Inuit of the western Kitikmeot region. This structure was seen to be a rejection of both *naalaqtuq* and *ungayuq* behavioral directives, whereby the individual was emphasized at the expense of the group and a pervasive individual egalitarianism permeated many aspects of society and culture, especially decision-making. Frequently, these features found fleeting expression in dualistically structured arrangements which rarely endured for any length of time. However, with exposure to various external forces during the 1920s and 30s, especially the church and the fur trade, the Copper Inuit became more like their eastern neighbors whereby greater importance was placed on extended family relationships in productive activity (Stevenson 1993) -- a trend that, like elsewhere, was subsequently undermined by the centralization and compositization of the population in the 1960s.

While the historic Netsilingmiut of the eastern Kitikmeot appear to have emphasized *ungayuq* behaviours to the extent that even their own reproductive forces may have been jeopardized, their neighbors to the east, the Iglulingmiut of the Baffin region, were seen to be an embellishment of the alternative directive, *naalaqtuq*. At the same time, these two structural tendencies were observed to be operate within the same regional populations (e.g., the Cumberland Sound Inuit).

Questions for a Nunavut Government

The questions that arise most directly and inevitably from the above analyses and discussions are several: Do the different structural tendencies observed historically still exist between and within different regions of the Nunavut settlement area? Would Inuit within each community/region like to see their traditional styles of leadership and decision-making incorporated into a government system? Or have Euroamerican models of governance completely supplanted traditional systems? If not, can the two be integrated? Should they be integrated?

Inuit Training and Research

Clearly, these are the type of questions that need to be considered and addressed if Nunavut is going to be an effective and responsive government. It is obvious, however, that this will require many man-months of intensive study and reflection involving many Inuit from many communities. This study, which would train and educate Inuit researchers in the collection of information relative to designing appropriate decision-making (and other) structures for government, would endeavour to determine not only what style of traditional decision-making structure existed in the past in various communities, but also to what extent these styles continue to this day. It is possible that change vis-a-vis imposed assimilation, increased local group size and compositiveness, etc., has been so great as to alter irrevocably the nature of traditional authority and decision-making relationships. Alternatively, as we have seen above, traditional styles of decision-making may still be a dominant form, even when more formal systems are in place.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that future research determines that sociopolitical differences are no longer significant enough within/between regions to warrant their consideration or inclusion into the

design of a Nunavut government system. Alternatively, it may be that the majority would prefer, for whatever reasons (familiarity, ease of implementation, etc.), a southern-based style of governance. Whatever the case, in undertaking the research that needs to conducted in order to design an effective and responsive government, many Inuit will acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and expertise to represent their people within the government system, regardless of what form it ultimately takes. This will be the chief benefit of Inuit training and research.

Accommodating Traditional Decision-making Structures and Relations
The "Kudlu Solution"

Assuming that this research determines the contemporary efficacy of traditional decision-making structures within and between regions, and that the majority wish to see these incorporated into government, how might this be done? Although premature, I would propose that, in communities governed largely by *ungayuq* directives and egalitarian relationships, social service agencies be designed so as to take into account this systemic tendency by attempting to empower groups rather than individuals for sociopolitical control. At the same time, renewable resource development must avoid the institution of capitalistic relations, hierarchical organization, and authoritarian decision-making. This, I would call the "Kudlu solution", after the current matriarch of Pangnirtung, Kudlu Pitsualuk.

The "Etuangat Solution"

Alternatively, in communities governed predominantly by *naalaqtuq* directives, where leadership and lines of authority are well-developed, hierarchical relationships are more likely to be successful. One might even envision a formal system of decision-making whereby, in agreement with societal expectations and traditions, elderly individuals are given more voting power in social and economic matters affecting the Inuit affairs. For example, in municipal, regional, and perhaps even territorial elections, an elder's vote ought to count for more than that of a teenager with considerably less *isuma*, or a transient Qallunaat worker for that matter. It is antithetical to most Inuit ways of thinking that those with the least commitment to and investment in Nunavut and Inuit affairs would have as

much decision-making power (or even more, considering the present birth rate in Nunavut which is three times the national average) as those with the most.

The most parsimonious, although probably legally challenging, way to institute such a system is to provide individuals with increasing more voting shares as they pass various milestones indicative of their commitment to Nunavut, as measured by length of residence. All individuals whether Inuit or Qallunaat will acquire the same voting power upon residence in the territory, regardless whether they moved to or were born into the territory. However, after 15-20 years or every generation, for example, an additional voting share would be acquired. While a person born in Nunavut, whether Inuk or not, will acquire the same voting power as a transient worker from the south who plans to live in Nunavut for only a few years, upon reaching voting age that indigenous person will acquire an additional voting share. In this system, a 75 year elder would have five voting shares, a 40 year old Inuk three voting shares, an 18 year old Qallunaaq or Inuk born and raised in the territory two voting shares, and a transient southerner with six months of residence one voting share. In effect, this voting system would formalize traditional Inuit styles of decision-making in those regions/communities favouring this solution. No one who is eligible would be excluded from voting. However, those with the most invested in Nunavut, as measured by residence, whether native or non-native, would have the most voting power.

Not only is this system, which I call the "Etuangat solution" (after the patriarch of Pangnirtung, Etuangat Aksayuk), reflective of Inuit values and traditions, but it will also provide a needed measure of protection for Inuit rights should Inuit ever become the minority in Nunavut. Even though many would not otherwise anticipate this scenario given the small size of the population, the potential mineral/hydrocarbon wealth of the territory leaves Inuit vulnerable to mega-development and the mass influx of humanity that such development engenders. It is not unlikely, then, that Inuit may at some time in the future become a voting minority in their own homeland.

There are few concrete provisions in the existing land claims agreement or the Nunavut Act and Political Accord that effectively safeguard and guarantee Inuit rights. One is that Inuktitut will become

one of the official languages of government in Nunavut. However, Inuit culture is not adequately protected because Nunavut will be a "public" rather than an "ethnic" government. In this spirit, the "Etuangat solution" does not constitute a form of aboriginal self-governance as it is based on residence, not race. Some problems may be foreseen, however, in establishing and maintaining such a system of voting, not least of which is its constitutional legality, something which the Supreme Court of Canada may have to ultimately rule on. However, it is not only a just and equitable solution, it is reflective of Inuit values and traditional decision-making structures, and thus will allow Inuit to better manage their future and fulfill their destiny.

Promotion of Traditional Decision-making Structures and Relations

While the above solution formalizes what once was a informal decision-making structure, other solutions might consider less formal, more proximate means for 1) preserving/promoting traditional decision-making structures, and then 2) accommodating them into governance. Especially critical at this stage in the evolution of Nunavut is recognition of the need to preserve extended family values, and specifically traditional authority and decision-making relationships within the extended family. As we have seen, numerous factors have conspired against the maintenance of the extended family at the expense of the nuclear family in recent and modern Inuit society. This has been one of the major negative side-effects of imposed assimilation, and western culture/ideology in general, as traditional authority relationships and the role of elders in community decision-making have declined proportionately. It is obvious, then, that values associated with the latter will continue to be vulnerable to erosion, and ultimately extinction, until the roles of elders are broadened and strengthened.

It is self-evident that the erosion of extended family in Inuit society has undermined individual support bases, i.e., the number of people one can depend on in times of need or want. While the independence of the nuclear family was always a highly valued trait traditionally, it was only esteemed so long as it contributed positively to the group. Forced individual autonomy has created far more disenfranchised people than in the past. This, in turn, has contributed indirectly to increased rates of substance

abuse, crime, suicide, and other deviant behaviours. Even today, those families with the largest support bases appear to be the most well-adjusted and best able to manage change. Expanding the role of extended family values, relationships, and lines of authority in Inuit society, thus, not only has political merit, but it has social implications as well.

It is a truism at this juncture to state that elders should be involved in most facets of contemporary decision-making, particularly in matters affecting their own *ilagiit*. And perhaps the best way to accomplish this is through the promotion of extended family organization and relations -- an initiative that could take many forms at many levels. For example, hunter support programs and small scale economic development projects might offer incentives/bonuses to those who form economic relationships with other extended family members, as opposed to those outside their *ilagiit*. Alternatively, councils, whether at the hamlet level or regional level, could be composed of elders elected from and representing their own kin group/local group. The same structure might be appropriate for major decision-making councils at the territorial level.

Integral to this whole initiative is the promotion of knowledge possessed by the elders, which consists largely of two interrelated components: 1) knowledge of the land and its resources, and 2) knowledge of living in a social context on the land. The strengthening of the subsistence economy is, thus, vitally important to the preservation not just of traditional decision-making structures, but to Inuit society and culture in general.

In our effort to expand the role of elders in society and incorporate traditional decision-making structures into government, however, we must be careful not to isolate elders gratuitously from the mainstream or emphasize their roles to the extent that their relationships to their *ilagiit* are undermined or jeopardized. Rather, we must first endeavour to promote traditional extended family values, decision-making structures, authority relationships, etc. at the "grass roots" level, where these features are given value and meaning. The involvement of elders in Pangnirtung's Mental Health Committee would be an excellent example of this.

We have talked briefly about how traditional decision-making structures could be accommodated into the public administration of Nunavut, should this be desirable. While some methods and problem areas

for implementation have been identified, a government that incorporates and is sensitive to Inuit knowledge, traditions, and values, both within and between regions, is viewed as theoretically feasible. Nonetheless, however desirable this scenario might be, it is something that subsequent research will have to determine and validate. Ultimately, the exact nature of decision-making structures within Nunavut will have to be determined by the communities themselves in their own ways. However, whatever solutions are drafted, the design of government must consider the social structure and history, as well as contemporary values and traditions, of the people they are intended to serve, while contemplating the adoption of Euroamerican styles of government. In this way, Inuit in Nunavut will become the architects of their own future. Failing this, the wholesale adoption of southern-based models of governance without first addressing these issues will surely undermine Nunavut's chances to be viable and effective government.

Recommendations

In order to facilitate the design of a Nunavut government that is sensitive and responsive to the varying sociocultural institutions, values, traditions, needs, etc. of its people, the following recommendations are offered to Nunavut Tunngavik and the federal government.

<u>Recommendations to Nunavut Tunngavik</u>
The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples recommends to Nunavut Tunngavik that they:

1) recognize that there were socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociopolitical differences traditionally, especially in the realm of decision-making, within and between regions of the Nunavut settlement area,

2) recognize that these differences may or may not be present or effective today,

3) recognize the need/urgency to undertake a study in the communities to determine the nature and efficacy of both traditional and contemporary decision-making structures,

4) identify/acquire the necessary personnel, resources, and funding to undertake this study,

5) identify and train prospective researchers in the communities, who would become potential employees within a Nunavut government, to collect and synthesize this information,

6) consider/use the results of this study in the design and implementation of a Nunavut system of government, and

7) consider formal and informal means by which to strengthen and support the efficacy of the extended family and traditional decision-making relationships in Inuit communities.

Recommendations to the Federal Government

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples recommends to the federal government that it:

1) recognize the need/urgency for Nunavut Tunngavik to undertake a study in the communities to determine the nature and efficacy of traditional and contemporary decision-making structures and relationships,

2) provide Nunavut Tunngavik with whatever support it needs to undertake this initiative,

3) recognize that it is correct politically to undertake the research required to design an effective and responsive government structure for Nunavut,

4) recognize that this initiative is a fiscally sound strategy insofar as the establishment of a government that is sensitive to the varying structural institutions and needs of its people will undoubtedly require far less funding in terms of set-up costs (training, infrastructure, etc.) than a structure that is a copy of a southern and potentially inappropriate model of governance.

5) assist Nunavut Tunngavik in exploring the constitutional legality and logistical problems of implementing a method of voting such as that proposed by the "Etuangat solution."

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